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INDEX
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VOLUME XXXIV

January	1-56	July	321-372
February	57-108	No August Issue	
March	109-160	September	373-432
April	161-208	October	433-480
May	209-268	November	481-532
June	269-320	December	533-596

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INDEX

National Municipal Review

Volume XXXIV, 1945

AUTHORS

Adolfson, L. H. 125
Allen, Bernal B. 287
Asplund, Rupert F. 182
Atkins, Carter W. 423
Augur, Tracy B. 210
Bauer, John 393
Beckett, Alexander W. 211
Beckett, Paul 184
Biser, D. Benton 589
Blakeman, T. Ledyard 210
Bland, F. A. 357
Blandford, John B., Jr. 376
Buck, A. E. 529
Craigie, E. J. 466
Dam, Loring 10
Dowling, Edward, S.J. 33
Eldersveld, Samuel J. 445
Fisher, Marguerite J. 213
Fleming, Berry 385
Fletcher, Mona 440
Frank, Curtiss E. 205
Frank, Forest 91
Franklin, Zilpha C. 154
Garrigan, Robert E. 325
Goldstein, Nathaniel L. 168
Gregg, Ronald E. 493
Hallett, George H., Jr. 42, 144, 205, 251, 292, 304, 354, 417, 465, 516, 581
Heavenrich, Max P., Jr. 247
Hill, L. C. 116
Hillman, Arthur 477
Horgan, John J. 278
Huie, A. G. 311
Humphreys, John H. 417
Johansson, Bertram B. 450
Jones, Howard P. 2
Kelsey, W. K. 111
Killpartrick, Eleanor W. 536
Knepper, David W. 297
LaGuardia, F. H. 400
Lancaster, Lane W. 69, 339
Larsen, Christian L. 223
LeeDecker, Charles F. 283
Levine, Harold 488
Levit, Bert W. 273
Litchfield, Edward H. 14
Loeb, Tess 165
Loughlin, Thomas A. 28
Lovett, William P. 28, 262
Lowry, Robert E. 112
MacCorkle, Stuart A. 540
Magee, John, Jr. 89
Martin, Boyd A. 81
Martin, James W. 21, 262, 362, 571, 589
Mauck, Elwyn A. 45, 97, 149, 198, 254, 315, 355, 420, 468, 518, 584, 591
McCloskey, Robert G. 14, 122
McGoldrick, Joseph D. 5
Moran, Carlos M. 499
Olmsted, H. M. 30, 64, 80, 130, 179, 237, 290, 337, 401, 424, 453, 503, 567
Osborn, F. J. 60
Parker, Elsie S. 38, 89, 139, 188, 246, 301, 348, 412, 460, 512, 576
Peery, W. K. 329
Peterson, Henry J. 99
Phillips, Hugh Stowell 526
Powell, Norman J. 488
Reeves, J. E. 183, 573
Roher, Miriam 484
Satterfield, M. H. 144, 150, 241, 258
Short, Lloyd M. 318
Simon, Shena D. 332
Sims, Lewis B. 218
Smith, Wade S. 46, 94, 146, 194, 259, 308, 351, 422, 470, 521, 586
Spencer, Richard C. 381
Studenski, Paul 157
Stutz, John G. 421, 425
Taft, Charles P. 4
Tait, Marjorie 172
Tough, Rosalind 437
Tugman, William G. 230
The Volker Fellows 547
Walden, Jesse L. 74

- Walker, Mabel L. 207
- Weidner, Edward W. 39, 52, 100, 151, 200, 263, 311, 357, 386, 427, 474, 525, 590
- Weintraub, Ruth G. 437
- Willoughby, Alfred 3, 58, 110, 163, 211, 271, 323, 374, 435, 482, 530, 534
- Winwood, George M., Jr. 140

TITLES AND SUBJECTS

(Main Articles in Italics)

A

- **Absentee Voting:** (See Voting and Elections)
- **Adams County, Colorado:**
  - Tri-County Groups Plan Recreation 585
- **Administration:** (See Public Administration)
- **Airports:**
  - Bureau of Airports 575
  - Cities Collect Revenues from Airports 471
  - County Officials in Kansas Seek Improvement 99
  - Extra-Municipal Activities in Minnesota 406
  - New State Zoning Laws Protect Airports 572
  - Texas Counties to Acquire Abandoned Army Airfields 519
- **Alabama:**
  - Bureau of Public Administration of the University of 36, 300, 344
  - Committee Proposes Many Reforms 237
  - Help for Legislators 300
  - How Can We Improve Legislative Committees? 344
  - Legislative Committee Makes County Recommendations 257
  - Legislature Study Continues 36
  - *State Reorganization* 69
  - Veterans' Assistance, Personnel Measures Voted 31
- **Alberta, Canada:**
  - Boundary Changes in Two Canadian Provinces 429
  - Local Government Elections Planned 590
  - Local Reorganization in Canada 203
- **Allegheny County, Pennsylvania:**
  - Civic Club 513, 580
  - Fiftieth Anniversary 580
  - League of Women Voters 513
  - Metropolitan Area Problems Probed 408
- **Alliance, Ohio:**
  - Interest in Manager Plan 84
- American Association of University Women 40
- American Society of Planning Officials 144
- American Women's Association 513
- **Anderson, South Carolina:**
  - Interest in the Manager Plan 179
- **Annapolis, Maryland:**
  - Manager Plan Recommended 133
  - May Vote on Manager Plan 240
- **Ann Arundel County, Maryland:**
  - Maryland County Reduces Size of Board 45
- **Annexation:**
  - Change in State Fealty Sought for Isolated Island 134
  - North Carolina County Fights Annexation 151
  - Virginia County Loses Territory by Annexation 151
  - Wilmington, N. C., Extends City Limits 569
- **Apportionment:** (See Reapportionment)
- **Arapahoe County, Colorado:**
  - Tri-County Groups Plan Recreation 585

1198227 MAR 21 1946

Arkansas:
Four States Reject, One Approves Federal Tax Limit 183
More States Defeat Federal Tax Limit Proposal 298
Veterans' Assistance, Personnel Measures Voted 31
Arlington County, Virginia:
May Become City 356
Asbury Park, New Jersey:
Commission Plan Petitions Circulated 34
Move to Abandon Manager Plan Blocked 132
Assessments:
Assessment 346
MFOA Cautions Members on Special Assessments 472
'Plan E' Succeeds in Cambridge .. 450
Property Reassessment Urged by City Manager 523
Tax Rates of American Cities ... 547
Atlanta, Georgia:
Citizenship Day in Transition? .. 348
Atlantic City, New Jersey:
Proposal for Manager 455
Auburn, California:
California City Serves Meals in Emergency 456
Auburn, Maine:
As Maine Goes So Goes Nation 287
Auditing:
New York State Speeds Local Audits 587
Auditoriums:
Auditoriums, Registration, Reporting Interest Seattle 87
Augusta, Georgia:
Citizens Union 92, 514
Citizens Union Surveys City Government 301
Considers Manager Plan 84
Education on the Manager Plan 514
Survey Report Published 317
Australia:
Federal Government Active in Housing Program 53
Local Government Notes 54
Local Government Trends 357
Municipal Elections 361
The P. R. Movement 466
Recent Publications 361
What Government Is Doing 203
Austria:
P. R. in 468
Authorities:
Chicago Adopts Publicly Owned Transit Plan 343
Chicago Transit Authority Gets Lower Court Approval 474
Device for Operating Utilities ... 283
Los Angeles City and County Create Civic Center Authority 585
Metropolitan Authority for Chicago Transit Lines 296
New Zealand Discusses Administration of Utilities 475
U. S. Supreme Court Upholds N. Y. Port Bond Tax Exemption 94
Automobiles:
Funds, Boards, Tort Liability, Auto Licenses Investigated 138

B

Baltimore, Maryland:
Baltimore and Hartford Deal with Employee Unions 84
Charter Body Submits Tentative Draft 406
Citizenship Day in Transition 348
City Finance Made Digestible 300
Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy 37, 188
300, 345, 410, 458, 574
Firemen's Pay Rates for Large Cities Reported 37
New Taxes Authorized 588
Research Bureaus—Watchdogs of the Treasury 574
Salaries and Tenure of Police Investigated 458
Sells Bonds for Postwar Program 589
What Type City Jail for? 345
Beacon, New York:
Interest in Manager Plan 406
Beckley, West Virginia:
Approves Charter Commission ... 508

Belfast, Maine:
- Considers Manager Plan 84

Belgium:
- Letters from Overseas 2
- Prewar Communal Councils Serve 102

Belleville, Illinois:
- Interest in Manager Plan 455

Bellevue, Ohio:
- Citizen Publications 464
- Rural-Urban Coordinating Council of Bellevue and Surrounding Townships 464

Bennington, Vermont:
- Reapproves Manager Plan 240

Benton Harbor, Michigan:
- Interest in Manager Plan 84

Bessemer, Alabama:
- Jefferson County Consolidation Study Progresses 519

Bettman, Death of Alfred 162

Bird, Reginald W. 250

Birmingham, Alabama:
- Jefferson County-Birmingham Consolidation Studied 421
- Jefferson County Consolidation Study Progresses 519

Birmingham, England:
- In Banking Business 54

Bloomfield, Connecticut:
- Adopts Manager Charter 295

Bloomfield, New Jersey:
- Watching Democracy Operate 579

Blue Earth County, Minnesota:
- Three Counties Selected for Experimental Program 420

Bogota:
- Bogota 152

Bonds and Debt (See Finance—Bonds and Debt)

Books in Review 55, 106, 157, 207, 267 318, 362, 430, 477, 529, 594

Boston, Massachusetts:
- Citizen Publications 464
- "Lame Duck" Appointments Continue 137
- Metropolitan Organization Stressed in Boston Contest 30
- Municipal Research Bureau .. 137, 511
- Plan E Bill 568
- P. R. in Prize-winning Plan for Greater Boston 145
- Program for Citizen Training Part of "Boston Contest" Plan 141
- Sad Financial Picture 511
- Women's Municipal League Committees Incorporated 464

Boundaries:
- Boundary Changes in Two Canadian Provinces 429
- British Labor Victory and Local Government 427
- England Makes Postwar Plans for Local Government 263
- *England Plans Area Changes* 332
- Revision of Local Boundaries Considered 590
- Wilmington, N. C., Extends City Limits 569

Bradenton, Florida:
- Interest in Manager Plan 240

Brazil:
- Brazil 153
- Elections 314
- Plans First Elections in Sixteen Years 266

Brazos County, Texas:
- Texas Counties Centralize Road Administration 470

Brookfield, Illinois:
- Adopts Manager Ordinance 405

Brookfield, Missouri:
- Adopts Manager Plan 567
- Interest in Manager Plan 406

Brooklyn, New York:
- *Can We Rebuild Our Cities* 5
- Committee for Better Housing ... 41

Brownlow, Louis, Retires 270

Buchanan County, Missouri:
- County Civic Groups Seek Home Rule Charter 513

- Missouri Counties Continue Self-Analysis 520

Budgets: (See Finance—Budgets)

Buenos Aires, Argentina:
- Buenos Aires 153
- Planning in Latin America 361

Buffalo, New York:
- League of Women Voters 513
- Mayor Urges City-County Separation 200
- Municipal Research Bureau 37, 88, 459
- New York Cities Consider Pay-as-you-go 426
- Summer Series 459

Burlington, North Carolina:
- Approves Manager Plan 239
- Interest in Manager Plan 132
- Manager Petitions Filed 179

Burnet, Texas:
- Adopts Manager Ordinance 405

C

Cairo, Georgia:
- Manager Elections Postponed 179

Caldwell County, North Carolina:
- North Carolina County Fights Annexation 151

California:
- Bureau of Public Administration of the University of 346, 458, 574
- Citizenship Day in Transition? 348
- *Coast States Try Cooperation* 484
- Double Filing in Primary Elections 458
- Employment Problem 574
- Financing Postwar Works Arouses Controversy 308
- Help for the Legislator 346
- Intergovernmental Relations Facilitated on Pacific Coast 404
- Late Reports on November Elections 48
- Looking Toward the Peace 460
- Managers Meet 241
- New Budgets 192
- Reapportionment Again 514
- States and Cities Foster Urban Redevelopment 453
- State Surpluses 245
- Taxpayers' Association 192
- Veterans' Assistance, Personnel Measures Voted 31

Cambridge, Massachusetts:
- Makes Over-all Plan 523
- *'Plan E' Succeeds in* 450

Canada:
- Democracy and Local Government 410

Carey, Ohio:
- Adopts Manager Plan 405

Casey, William J. 351

Charleston, West Virginia:
- Manager Plan Advocated 455

Charters: (See also Council-Manager Government)
- Baltimore Charter Body Submits Tentative Draft 406
- Charter Guide Committee Meeting 322 Government)
- Freeholders Commission Submits Seattle Charter 569
- Guide for Charter Commissions 162
- New Charter Commission Appointed for Minneapolis 35
- Research Institute Analyzes Hartford Government 457
- *San Francisco's Unique Charter* 273
- Seattle Elects Charter Revision Commission 241

Chattanooga, Tennessee:
- Bill for Manager Plan 132
- Manager Bill Passed 180

Chester County, Pennsylvania:
- Local Officials Organize in Pennsylvania Counties 316

Chester, South Carolina:
- Adopts Manager Ordinance 405
- Candidates Favor Manager Plan 296

Chester, Vermont:
- Approves Manager Plan 179

Cheyenne, Wyoming:
- Manager Petitions Filed 342

Chicago:
- Adopts Publicly Owned Transit Plan 343
- Approves Postwar Projects 352
- "Better Chicago" Contest Spurs Metropolitan Planning 296

Budgets 42
Chicago's Pocketbook 351
City Club 41, 93, 143, 249, 303
Civic Federation .. 42, 92, 302, 351, 465
Civic League 142
Citizens' Association 247
Citizenship Day in Transition? 348
Commercial Club 351
How Far Shall We Go in Pensioning Public Employees? 302
Joins Club from Italy 303
A Junior State 515
Metropolitan Authority for Transit Lines 296
Sewage 143
Taxes, Finance 465
Transit Authority Gets Lower Court Approval 474
Union League Club 247
Woman's City Club 41

Chile:
Housing—Worldwide Problem ... 200

Chula Vista, California:
Adopts Manager Ordinance 405

Cincinnati:
Charter Committee Accepts Postwar Challenge 91
City Charter Committee 91, 513
'Get Out the Vote' Campaigns Conducted 512
Nine P. R. Elections and One Referendum 465
Taft Returns 434

Cisco, Texas:
Interest in Manager Plan 509

Citizen Action and Organization: (See also Democracy, Preservation of)
Annual Meetings 350, 580
Apprentices in Citizenship 213
Assessment 346
Augusta Citizens Union Surveys City Government 301
Boy-Legislature Plan Continues to Grow 39
Budgets 42
The Burden Grows Heavy (Editorial) 375
By Their Own Bootstraps, IV 230
A Chairman Reports 516
Cincinnati Charter Committee Accepts Postwar Challenge 91
Citizen Action (Department) 38, 89, 139
188, 246, 301, 348, 412, 460, 512, 576
Citizen Control 88
Citizen Education In Britain 172
Citizen Lethargy 303
Citizen Publications 302, 464
Citizens Finance Committee 575
Citizenship Contests 465
Citizenship Day 303
Citizenship Day in Transition? .. 348
Civic Fund Drive 193
Civic Groups Campaign for New Illinois Constitution 246
Civic Groups Question Local Candidates 464
Civic Organizations Gird for Fall Elections 412
Civic Plan to Bridge 18-21 Gap .. 10
Civic Vigilance 385
Cleveland Plans on Area Basis .. 223
Clubs Study City Improvement .. 193
Committees Report on Community Problems 576
Community Forum 40
Community Planning 40
Connecticut Council Reports to Its Members 409
Constitutional Convention 580
Constitutional Revision 93
Constitutional Revision at Issue in Kentucky 183
Constitutional Revision Discussed in Kentucky 573
Cooperation 41
County Civic Groups Seek Home Rule Charter 513
County Reform Run-Around 386
Court Battle 88
Dayton Handbook Sells Citizenship 247
Death of Mayo Fesler 317
Defining 'Politician' 400
Detroit to Experiment in Citizenship Education 38
Educating the Citizen on Governmental Procedure 409
Education on the Manager Plan .. 514

Efforts for New Constitution Continue in New Jersey 33
Fesler, Dean of Civic Leaders, Retires; Bebout Takes Over ... 247
Fiftieth Anniversary 580
The First P. R. Election in Long Beach, N. Y. 581
The Fourth P. R. Election in Yonkers 582
From War to Peace 578
From War to Postwar in Community Planning 477
Fulton County Civic Leaders Work for Manager Plan 469
'Get Out the Vote' Campaigns Conducted 512
GRA to Open National Office 343
Guides for Citizens 248
High School Civics Lessons on the Air 302
High School Pupils Plan Their Communities 301
How Far Shall We Go in Pensioning Public Employees? 302
Imitation Is the Greatest Flattery 303
Joins Club from Italy 303
A Junior State 515
King County, Washington, Must Collect Rentals 98
Learning by Doing (Editorial) ... 4
Legislation 40
Legislative Committee 187
Legislative Records 579
Legislative Score 579
Litchfield Voters Make 'Self-Survey' 185
Looking Toward the Peace 460
Los Angeles Town Hall Investigates Civil Service 184
Maine Pupils Hold Town Meeting 415
Make Plans Now for Citizenship Day 139
Manager Charter Sought for Santa Clara County, Calif. 255
Man Bites Dog (Editorial) 110
Middletown Women Voters Win Fight for Secret Ballot 190
Movement for Constitutional Convention Grows in Illinois 239
Municipal Forum 192
New Budgets 192
New Charter for Philadelphia 93
A New Civic Group? 192
New Constitution for Missouri ... 165
New Organizations 516
New Publication 580
New Sources of Revenue 193
1945 Objective 249
Organized Neighborliness (Editorial) 482
Orphaned Unicameral Move Nearly Wins in Missouri 33
P. A. C. Circulating Petitions in Toledo 252
Paper in a Paper 192
Planning Bibliography 144
Planning by Citizens 579
Postwar Planning 94
The Postwar Problems Are Here (Editorial) 435
Postwar Program 143
Preview of the 1945 Legislatures 92
P. R. Election 303
Prizewinner 143
Program for Action 515
Program for Citizen Training Part of "Boston Contest" Plan 141
Publication on Leadership 351
Radio 40
Rochester Takes a Critical Look at Itself 141
Seattle Citizens Survey Budget Laws 353
Seattle Creates Advisory Council 578
Seattle Plans "Gallup Poll" 39
A Selectman's Advice Brings Results 415
Sewage 143
Springfield, Mass., Takes Lesson from Best Sellers 89
Springfield, Ohio, Group Tackles City Problems 140
Study Government Setup 579
Tales of Aladdin Smith and HIS Wonderful Lamp 462
Taxpayer Training School 578
Toledo and Its Big Tomorrow ... 493

Toledo Citizens Urge Added Revenues 524
Toledo Committee Reports on Postwar Planning 39
Toledo Prefers a Mirror (Editorial) 534
Toledo Votes to Keep P. R. 581
Too Many Voters Pass the Buck . 416
Voting Dates 42
War Memorials 143
Watching the Legislatures .. 142, 192
What is a "Civic Club"? 515
William E. Mosher Dies Suddenly 322
Wilton Schools Studied by League of Women Voters 415
With the Women Voters 144
Woman's Foundation Holds First Workshop 188
Women Jurors Permitted in 30 States 403
Women Voters Celebrate 25th Birthday 190
Worth Fighting For (Editorial) .. 211
Youth Conference 41
Zanesville Worn Out and Broke Says Chamber of Commerce ... 299

City Clerk:
City Clerks Form National Organization 35

City Councils: (See Legislative Bodies and Proportional Representation)

City-County Consolidation:
Buffalo Mayor Urges City-County Separation 200
Consolidation under Manager Proposed for Miami-Dade County 256
Electing the Sheriff 575
Jefferson County - Birmingham Consolidation Studied 421
Jefferson County Consolidation Study Progresses 519
Legislation Sought for City-County Consolidation 355
Philadelphia City-County Consolidation Again Proposed 150
San Francisco's Unique Charter .. 273

City-County Cooperation: (See also Metropolitan Areas and Intergovernmental Cooperation)
City-County Departments of Health Increase 315
Cooperative Planning in Napa County, California 422
Joint Reference Library for City and County of San Diego 584
Los Angeles City and County Create Civic Center Authority 585
Madison-Dane County Personnel Office Proposed 200
Montgomery County and Dayton Plan Cooperatively 356

City Manager: (See Council-Manager Government)

Civil Service: (See Personnel)

Cleveland, Ohio:
Area Survey Begun 434
Bureau of Governmental Research 247, 298, 576
Citizenship Day in Transition? .. 348
Citizens League 92, 138, 192, 247, 298, 513
Committees Report on Community Problems 576
Fesler, Dean of Civic Leaders, Retires; Bebout Takes Over .. 247
'Get Out the Vote' Campaigns Conducted 512
New Bureau Makes Police Survey 298
Plans on Area Basis 223
Postwar Planning Council of Greater Cleveland 577
What Price Stable? 576

Codification:
New York Considers Recodification of County Laws 45

Colorado:
Optional Manager Bill approved . 241
Optional Manager Bill Prepared . 133
Veterans' Assistance, Personnel Measures Voted 31

Colquitt County, Georgia:
Three Counties Selected for Experimental Program 420

Commons, John R.—P. R. Pioneer . 419

Congress: (See Legislative Bodies)

Connecticut:
- Annual Legislative Sessions 510
- Change in State Fealty Sought for Isolated Island 134
- Contest for Municipal Reports .. 571
- Council Reports to Its Members. 409
- League of Women Voters 143
- Municipal Fiscal Officers Go to School 423
- Nine Statewide Retirement Systems Adopted in 1945 407
- Public Expenditure Council .. 185, 244, 409, 510

Conservation:
- New Zealand Adjusts Local Government Functions 52

Consolidation of Functions: (See also City-County Consolidation, City-County Cooperation and Intergovernmental Cooperation)
- Texas Counties Centralize Road Administration 470
- Trend in Kansas to County Road Systems 421

Consolidation of Local Governments:
- Consolidation 138
- Fewer Wisconsin School Districts 136
- Local Reorganization in Canada 203
- New York Village and Township May Consolidate 135

Constitutions:
- *Civil Service by Constitution* 14
- Civic Groups Campaign for New Illinois Constitution 246
- Commission Studies Tennessee Constitution 503
- Constitutional Amendments Shelved in New Jersey 338
- Constitutional Changes Approved, Rejected in Idaho 81
- Constitutional Convention 580
- Constitutional Convention Proposed in Minnesota 239
- Constitutional Revision 93
- Constitutional Revision at Issue in Kentucky 183
- Constitutional Revision Discussed in Kentucky 573
- Constitution Changes Sponsored by New Jersey Solons 239
- County Home Rule in New Missouri Constitution 198
- Efforts for New Constitution Continue in New Jersey 33
- Georgia Commission Drafts New Constitution 80
- Georgia's New Constitution Draws Fire 522
- Georgia Steps Out in Front (Editorial) 374
- Georgia Voters Adopt New Constitution 402
- Georgia Voters to Pass on Constitution 338
- Home Rule for Georgia Counties 420
- Illinois Legislature Blocks Constitutional Revision 290
- *Jamaica Gets Reform Program* .. 116
- Kentucky Adopts Absentee Voting Amendment 571
- A Logical Question (Editorial) ... 272
- Missouri Steps Ahead (Editorial) 164
- Movement for Constitutional Convention Grows in Illinois 239
- New Constitution 37, 187
- New Constitution Approved by Georgia Legislature 238
- *New Constitution for Missouri* .. 165
- New York to Vote on Drastic Veterans' Preference Law 242
- New York Voters Use Care on Amendments 571
- State Direct Legislation Holds to Average 341
- *The Tax Limitation Delusion* 64
- Virginia Holds Limited Constitutional Convention 338
- Watching the Legislatures 142
- What Should a Municipal Pension System Provide? 244
- What's Wrong with Louisiana's Constitution? 243
- Wisconsin Legislature Defeats County Government Amendment 256

Contributors in Review 29, 79, 129

Cook County, Illinois:
Makes Administrative Improvements 99

Coos Bay, Oregon:
To Hold First P. R. Election in 1946 145

Corbin, Kentucky:
Adopts Manager Plan 567
To Vote on Manager Plan 508

Corpus Christi, Texas:
Adopts Manager Plan 508
Candidates Support Manager Plan 241

Corruption: (See also Political Parties and Politics)
Crooked Elections (Editorial) ... 535
The Evil of Forgiving (Editorial) 58
"Lame Duck" Appointments Continue in Boston 137
Manager System for Counties ... 449
New Spending Spree on the Way (Editorial) 323
One-Man Grand Jury 249
The Sick State Legislatures (Editorial) 271
What's in a Name? (Editorial) .. 59
Worth Fighting For (Editorial) .. 211

Council-Manager Government:
As Maine Goes So Goes Nation .. 287
Augusta Citizens Union Surveys City Government 301
Changing the Rules (Editorial) .. 436
Clubs Study City Improvements 193
Consolidation under Manager Proposed for Miami-Dade County 256
Coos Bay, Oregon, to Hold First P. R. Election in 1946 145
Council-Manager Plan Developments 34, 82, 132, 179, 239, 295, 341, 405, 455, 508, 567
Council-Manager Survey 40
Education on the Manager Plan .. 514
Growth of Irish Manager Plan ... 278
Manager Charter Sought for Santa Clara County, Calif. 255
Manager Plan Evaluated 93
Many Cities Consider Manager Plan 179
New Charter for Philadelphia? .. 93
'Plan E' Succeeds in Cambridge .. 450
Property Reassessment Urged by City Manager 523
Recent Elections Further Council-Manager Plan 567
San Francisco's Unique Charter .. 273
A Selectman's Advice Brings Results 415
A Set-Back in Yonkers 253
With the Women Voters 144
Yonkers Progresses with P. R.—Manager Plan 205

County Government—General: (See also City-County Consolidation, City-County Cooperation, County Manager Government, Local Government, State-Local Relations, and Names of Individual Counties)
Agriculture Department Studies Rural Debt 518
Alabama Legislative Committee Makes County Recommendations 257
County and Township (Department) 45, 97, 149, 198, 254, 315, 355, 420, 468, 518, 584
County Budgeting Wins Commendation in Nebraska 315
The County Clerk as 'Manager' .. 125
County Home Rule in New Missouri Constitution 198
County Legislation in Tennessee ..257
County Officials in Kansas Seek Improvement 99
County Personnel Officers Organize 422
County Poor Farms Continue to Close 421
County Reform Run-Around 386
County Road Legislation Surveyed 520
Digest of New York State Local Laws Issued 422
Efficiency Trends in County Government 315
Federal Aid May Strengthen County Highway Departments 519
Government of Georgia Counties Studied 255

Home Rule for Georgia Counties 420
Kansas Counties Building Hospitals 45
Michigan Institute Trains County Officials 45
Missouri Counties Consider Home Rule 315
Missouri Counties Continue Self-Analysis 520
New York Considers Recodification of County Laws 45
1943 County Revenue and Debt Summary Issued 98
Statewide Library Service Sought in Tennessee 150
Texas A and M College Studies County Purchasing 150
Texas Counties to Acquire Abandoned Army Airfields 519
Three Counties Selected for Experimental Program 420
Toledo Revives Discussion of County Reform 257
Trend in Kansas to County Road Systems 421
Veterans Service Officers Appointed 585
Virginia Conducts Planning Institutes 421
Wisconsin Counties Get Emergency Postwar Powers 468
Wisconsin Interim Committee on County Government 356
Wisconsin Legislature Defeats County Government Amendment 256
Wisconsin Retirement Plan Includes County Employees 585
Wyoming Removes County Salary Freeze 99

County Manager Government:
The County Clerk as 'Manager' .. 125
County Manager Bill in Oregon Legislature 149
County Manager Law Enacted in Oregon 254
County Reform Run-Around 386
Fulton County Civic Leaders Work for Manager Plan 469
Growth of Irish Manager Plan .. 278
Manager Plan Brings Surplus to Hamilton County, Tenn. 97
Manager System for Counties 449
More Counties Consider Manager Plan 199
A New "Manager" Proposal for Montgomery County, Md. 199
Oregon Legislature Considers County Manager Plan 98
Postwar Program 143
Supervisor Appointed for Montgomery County, Maryland 420
Two New Publications 162

Courts:
Chicago Transit Authority Gets Lower Court Approval 474
Constitution Changes Sponsored by New Jersey Solons 239
Court Battle 88
Court Outlaws Lobbying by Michigan League 570
Detroit Utility Tax Voided by Court 148
Minnesota High Court Refuses Districting Aid 504
Modernizing the Courts 138
New Supreme Court Justice and P. R. 466
Pennsylvania Corporate Franchise Tax Held Valid 259
Rhode Island Surveys 411
U. S. Supreme Court Upholds N. Y. Port Bond Tax Exemption 94

Crookston, Minnesota:
Charter Commission Considers Manager Plan 180

Cuba:
Era of Cooperation for Cities 499

Cuyahoga County, Ohio:
Modernizing the Courts 138
New Supreme Court Justice and P. R. 466

Czechoslovakia:
Committees for Local Government Functions 476
Czech Election Reforms Instituted 360
Czechs Hold Elections in Liberated Areas 100

D

Dade County, Florida:
- Consolidation under Manager Proposed for Miami-Dade County 256

Dallas, Texas:
- States and Cities Foster Urban Redevelopment 453

Dane County, Wisconsin:
- Madison-Dane County Personnel Office Proposed 200
- Postpones Action on Merit System 316

Darien, Connecticut:
- Charter Commission Files Report 34

Davidson County, Tennessee:
- County Legislation in Tennessee 257

Dayton, Ohio:
- Chamber of Commerce 247
- Governmental Research Department, Chamber of Commerce 37, 409
- Handbook Sells Citizenship 247
- Metropolitan Area Problems Studied 408
- Montgomery County and Dayton Plan Cooperatively 356
- Planning Needs 37

Debt: (See Finance—Bonds and Debt)

Decatur, Alabama:
- Interest in Manager Plan 84

Delaware City, Delaware:
- Interest in Manager Plan 84

Democracy, Preservation of: (See also Citizen Action and Organization)
- Democracy and Local Government 410
- Mayor's Message 187
- Teaching Democracy in the Schools 578
- Watching Democracy Operate ... 579

Denison, Texas:
- Chamber of Commerce 515

Des Moines, Iowa:
- Bureau of Municipal Research . 88, 512
- Checking the Budget 512
- Tax Fund Distribution 88

Detroit, Michigan:
- "Bed Sheet" Ballots 459
- Bureau of Governmental Research 245, 347, 411
- Cities Adopt Charter Amendments 568
- Citizenship Day in Transition? .. 348
- Citizens League 42, 192, 249, 350, 513
- Civic Searchlight 416
- 'Get Out the Vote' Campaigns Conducted 512
- Higher Pay for City Employees (Editorial) 111
- High School Pupils Plan Their Communities 301
- Metropolitan Planning Agency Recommended for 257
- One-Man Grand Jury 249
- Police 411
- Population 347
- States and Cities Foster Urban Redevelopment 453
- To Experiment in Citizenship Education 38
- Too Many Voters Pass the Buck 416
- Utility Tax Voided by Court 148
- Voting Dates 42

Dixon, California:
- Interest in Manager Plan 133

Dothan, Alabama:
- Candidates Run on Manager Platform 240
- Manager Proposal Rejected 455
- To Vote on Manager Plan ... 133, 405

Douglas County, Wisconsin:
- Wisconsin County to Experiment in Forestry 585

Drummondville, Quebec:
- Manager Plan Provided 406

Duluth, Minnesota:
- Governmental Research Bureau 411, 512
- Public Works 512
- Report 411

Dyer Creek, Maine:
- Added to Manager List 406

Dykstra, C. A. 162

E

Economics:
- An Economic Survey of the Los Angeles Area 510
- Rhode Island Surveys 411

Editorial Comment 3, 58, 110, 163 211, 271, 323, 374, 435, 482, 534

Education:
- *By Their Own Bootstraps, IV* .. 230
- Citizenship Contests ... 465
- Detroit to Experiment in Citizenship Education ... 38
- Education in England ... 361
- Fewer Wisconsin School Districts 136
- High School Civics Lessons on the Air ... 302
- High School Pupils Plan Their Communities ... 301
- Indian Education ... 314
- Maine Pupils Hold Town Meeting ... 415
- Metropolitan Area Problems Studied ... 408
- Nebraska Adopts Merit System, School Retirement ... 339
- A New Program for Kansas Elementary Schools ... 186
- One-teacher Schools in Kansas Drastically Reduced ... 135
- School Costs ... 246
- School Enrollment ... 139
- Schools Compared ... 187
- Schools Investigated by Kansas Council ... 86
- Schools, Press Linked in Education Program ... 248
- Springfield, Mass., Takes Lesson from Best Sellers ... 89
- State Aid for Massachusetts Schools Explained ... 244
- Teachers and Schools ... 512
- Teaching Democracy in the Schools 578
- Tennessee Legislature Passes 800 Bills, Most of Them Local 241
- Watching Democracy Operate ... 579
- Wilton Schools Studied by League of Women Voters ... 415

Eire:
- *Growth of Irish Manager Plan* .. 278

Elections and Voting: (See also Primaries, Proportional Representation and Registration)
- Appointment vs. Election ... 345
- Australian Municipal Elections .. 361
- "Bed Sheet" Ballots ... 459
- Boundary Changes in Two Canadian Provinces ... 429
- Brazilian Elections ... 314
- Brazil Plans First Elections in Sixteen Years ... 266
- Candidates Questioned ... 351
- Citizen Control ... 88
- Citizen Lethargy ... 303
- Civic Groups Question Local Candidates ... 464
- Civic Organizations Gird for Fall Elections ... 412
- Crooked Elections (Editorial) ... 535
- Czech Election Reforms Instituted 360
- Czechs Hold Elections in Liberated Areas ... 100
- Democratic Election Law Planned for Poland ... 104
- Elections Bill ... 264
- England Plans Local Elections .. 151
- English Bills' Progress ... 361
- France Holds Local Elections 475
- France Postpones Local Elections 101
- French Conducting Local Elections This Spring ... 266
- 'Get Out the Vote' Campaigns Conducted ... 512
- Indiana Considers Voting at Eighteen ... 404
- Kentucky Adopts Absentee Voting Amendment ... 571
- Local Government Elections Planned ... 590
- Mexico ... 476
- Middletown Women Voters Win Fight for Secret Ballot ... 190
- New York Voters Use Care on Amendments ... 571
- *Ohio's 'Fun' in the Voting Booth* 440
- School for Election Candidates 314
- *Secret Ballot and Soldier Vote* .. 381
- Sheriff ... 244
- Tales of Aladdin Smith and HIS Wonderful Lamp ... 462
- Tampa Changes Set-up for City Council ... 455
- Too Many Voters Pass the Buck 416
- Virginia Holds Limited Constitutional Convention ... 338

Voting Dates 42
What Government Is Doing in Australia 203
When Are We Old Enough? 193
Elizabethton, Tennessee:
Citizenship Contests 465
Civitan Club 465
El Paso, Texas:
Interest in Manager Plan 181
England: (See Great Britain)
Erie County, New York:
Buffalo Mayor Urges City-County Separation 200
County Government 88
Essex County, New Jersey:
Citizens Budget Committee 42
Eugene, Oregon:
By Their Own Bootstraps, IV 230
Europe:
Liberated Areas Restore Local Governments 100

Everson, A. R. 250

F

Fairbanks, Alaska:
Interest in Manager Plan 455
Fairfield, Maine:
Adopts Manager Plan 508
Legislature Approves Manager Charter 240
Manager Charter Proposed 84
Farmington, Michigan:
Interest in Manager Plan 342
Federal Government: (See also Federal-State-Local Relations)
City, State and Nation 30, 80, 130
179, 237, 290, 337, 401
453, 503, 567
Congress Takes Steps to Modernize Procedure 130
A Conversation with F. D. R. ... 304
Demobilization, Reorganization in Federal Civil Service 337
Federal Business Manager Idea Gains Support 337
Federal Security Agency 49, 104
More States Defeat Federal Tax Limit Proposal 298
New Spending Spree on the Way (Editorial) 323
P. R. Proposed Again for Presidential Elections 42
The Tax Limitation Delusion 64
War's End Spurs Reconversion Efforts 401
Federal-State-Local Relations (See also State-Local Relations)
All-out Planning for Britain 60
British Labor Victory and Local Government 427
British Outgoing Government Passes Local Legislation 428
Cities as War Casualties (Editorial) 3
Congressman Would Tax Interest on Local Revenue Bonds 147
Conversion to Peace Begins 470
Education in Brief 361
Federal Aid May Strengthen County Highway Department .. 519
Federal Government Active in Australian Housing Program .. 53
Federal-State-Local Cooperation for Texas Highways 456
Federal-State Tax Cooperation ... 21
Fire Service 265
Indian Education 314
Loans 266
Loans Bill 265
Local Units Mark Time on Public Works 521
Mayors to Discuss Federal-Local Relations 35
Michigan Study Covers State-Local Finance 87
National Health Program a Postwar Aim 104
Organized Neighborliness (Editorial) 482
Planning Needs 37
78th Congress Starts Postwar Highway Program 97
Tax Fund Distribution 88
Three Counties Selected for Experimental Program 420
Urbanism 87

  U. S. Provides Aid for Postwar Highways 146
  U. S. Supreme Court Upholds N. Y. Port Bond Tax Exemption 94
  Wanted: 12 Million New Houses 376

Fesler, Dean of Civic Leaders, Retires; Bebout Takes Over 247

Fesler, Mayo, Death of 317

Finance—General: (See also Taxation)
  Alabama Committee Proposes Many Reforms 237
  The Burden Grows Heavy (Editorial) 375
  Cambridge Makes Over-all Plan 523
  Chicago's Pocketbook 351
  Citizens Finance Committee 575
  City Finance 246
  City Finance Made Digestible 300
  City Subsidies to Industry Wane 112
  Connecticut Municipal Fiscal Officers Go to School 423
  Costs of Government 37
  Engineering Construction Plans Exceed Six-Billion Mark 195
  Finance 266
  Finance Officers Expand Committees 47
  Financing Postwar Works Arouses Controversy 308
  Fiscal Year 347
  Funds, Boards, Tort Liability, Auto Licenses Investigated 138
  Greater State Aid Urged for N. Y. Local Units 259
  Highway Finance 88
  Hunt for New Revenues 187
  Kansas Makes Statewide Hospital Survey 425
  Kentucky Amendment Restricts Revenue Use 589
  King County, Washington, Must Collect Rentals 98
  Letters to the Editor 28
  "Little Legislature" Plays Role in Louisiana Finance 422
  Loans 266
  Local Units Mark Time on Public Works 521
  Manager Plan Brings Surplus to Hamilton County, Tenn. 97
  Metropolitan Area Problems Studied 408
  MFOA Cautions Members on Special Assessments 472
  Michigan Cities Seek Share of State Surplus 262
  Michigan Study Covers State-Local Finance 87
  Missouri Counties Continue Self-Analysis 520
  Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada 47
  Municipal Postwar Reserves Authorized in 26 States 424
  New Sources of Revenue 193
  New Spending Spree on the Way (Editorial) 323
  New York Cities Consider Pay-as-you-go 426
  New York's Revised Local Finance Code Takes Effect 425
  1943 County Revenue and Debt Summary Issued 98
  Pennsylvania Analyzes Parking Meter Revenues 47
  Pennsylvania Commission Urges Restudy of Tax, Fiscal Systems 351
  Per Capita Costs 412
  Philadelphia Problems Studied .. 511
  'Plan E' Succeeds in Cambridge .. 450
  Public Works Plans Exceed Eight Billions 424
  Rhode Island Surveys 411
  R. I. Expenditure Council Studies Local Finance 136
  Sad Financial Picture 511
  School Costs 246
  States Cooperate on Tax Auditing 195
  States Profit in Liquor Trade .. 218
  State Surpluses 245
  Subway Riders Pay Dividends .. 511
  Suggestions on Reporting Local Finance 309

Taxation and Finance (Department) 46, 94, 146, 194, 259 308, 351, 422, 470, 521, 586
Those State Surpluses (Editorial) 163
Toledo and Its Big Tomorrow .. 493
U. S. Provides Aid for Postwar Highways 146
Victoria Suffers from District Phobia 592
What Price Stable? 576
Zanesville Worn Out and Broke Says Chamber of Commerce .. 299

Finance—Bonds and Debts:
Agriculture Department Studies Rural Debt 518
Baltimore Sells Bonds for Postwar Program 589
Borrowing Terms to Local Units More Favorable than Ever 196
Chicago Approves Postwar Projects 352
Congressman Would Tax Interest on Local Revenue Bonds 147
Georgia's New Constitution Draws Fire 522
Late Reports on November Elections 48
Loans Bill 265
Local Borrowing Costs Rise to January Level 472
Many Bond Issues Voted at November Elections 586
1943 County Revenue and Debt Summary Issued 98
North Carolina Applies Surplus to Sinking Funds 148
Prewar Local Borrowing Explored 95
Selling Municipal Bonds at Better Interest Rates 260
State-Local Borrowing After Two Decades 46
U. S. Supreme Court Upholds N. Y. Port Bond Tax Exemption .. 94

Finance—Budgets:
Budgeting in a Hurry 579
Budgets 37, 42, 188
Checking the Budget 512
County Budgeting Wins Commendation in Nebraska 315
Local Government Notes from Australia 54
Nebraska Adopts Merit System, School Retirement 339
Nebraska Legislature Repeals Budget Law 425
New Budgets 192
Research Bureaus—Watchdogs of the Treasury 574
Seattle Citizens Survey Budget Laws 353
Sixteen Cities Questioned on Budget Practices 300
State Budgets 245

Finland:
Holds Democratic Elections 251

Fire Prevention:
Council-Manager Plan News 341
Counties Cooperate on Local Needs 584
Employee Unions Add 51 Locals in 1944 182
Firemen's Pay Rates for Large Cities Reported 37
Fire Service 265
Forging Guns into Nightsticks .. 488
New Zealand Adjusts Local Government Functions 52
Pensions 346
Police and Firemen under Civil Service in Mississippi 297
Police and Fire Personnel 88

Florence, Alabama:
Civitan and Exchange Clubs 193
Clubs Study City Improvements 193

Florida:
Move for Home Rule Defeated .. 133

Forestry:
Wisconsin County to Experiment in Forestry 585

France:
French Conducting Local Elections This Spring 266
Holds Local Elections 475
Housing—Worldwide Problem ... 200
Many Countries Concerned with Housing and Planning 312
Plans Rebuilding of Cities 528
Postpones Local Elections 101

Uses P. R. in Paris and National Elections 516

Fulton County, Georgia:
Civic Leaders Work for Manager Plan 469
Manager Plan Recommended 422

G

Galveston County, Texas:
Texas Counties Centralize Road Administration 470

Garbage Collection:
How Washington Cities Collect Garbage 244

Gatlinburg, Tennessee:
Adopts Manager Plan 405

Genessee County, Michigan:
Late Reports on November Elections 48

Geneva, New York:
League of Women Voters 513

Georgia:
Commission Drafts New Constitution 80
Government of Counties Studied 255
Home Rule for Counties 420
New Constitution Approved by Legislature 238
New Constitution Draws Fire .. 522
Repeals Poll Tax 131
Steps Out in Front (Editorial) ... 374
Voters Adopt New Constitution 402
Voters to Pass on Constitution .. 338

Germany:
Big Three Recognize Value of Local Government 429
Local Government Elections Planned 590
Local Home Rule Ordered in 525

Gill, Norman N. 416

Glasgow, Scotland:
Industries 265
Scottish Planning 361

Governmental Research Association 343, 411, 509

Governors:
Alabama Committee Proposes Many Reforms 237
Coast States Try Cooperation .. 484
Constitution Changes Approved, Rejected in Idaho 81
A Conversation with F. D. R. 304
Georgia's Commission Drafts New Constitution 80
Governor Dewey Vetoes Curb on P. R. 354
New York Voters Use Care on Amendments 571
Ohio's 'Fun' in the Voting Booth 440

Grand Jury:
One-Man Grand Jury 249

Great Britain:
All-out Planning for Britain 60
Bold Action on a Tough Problem (Editorial) 59
British Elections Give Distorted Results 417
British Labor Victory and Local Government 427
British Liberals Ask P. R. for Local Elections 146
British Outgoing Government Passes Local Legislation 428
Citizen Education in Britain 172
Compulsory Arbitration Proposed for Five-Year Period 152
Education in Brief 361
England Makes Postwar Plans for Local Government 263
England Plans Area Changes 332
England Plans Local Elections .. 151
English Bills' Progress 361
English Committee Makes Valuation Proposals 313
English Housing 361
Equal Pay 314
Government by Secrecy 314
Greetings from Britain 354
Health Services Plan 593
Housing—Worldwide Problem ... 200
Local Government Elections Planned 590
Many Countries Concerned with Housing and Planning 312

NALGO Promotes Good Public Relations 475
NALGO Wins Major Objective .. 474
News from 264
P. R. Debated in the British House of Commons 43
References on English Local Government 54
School for Election Candidates ... 314
Security of Tenure 314

Greeley, Colorado:
Interest in Manager Plan 342, 405

Greenville, Texas:
Charter Commission at Work .. 508
Charter Commission Favors Manager Plan 568

Gulick, Luther, to Moscow 434

H

Haight, James A. 516

Hamden, Connecticut:
League of Women Voters 415
A Selectman's Advice Brings Results 415

Hamilton County, Ohio:
'Get Out the Vote' Campaigns Conducted 512
Good Government League 513

Hamilton County, Tennessee:
League of Women Voters 144
Manager Plan Brings Surplus to 97
With the Women Voters 144

Harford County, Maryland:
Maryland County Reduces Size of Board 45

Harriman, Tennessee:
Committee on Manager Plan 83

Harsen Island, Michigan:
Harsen Island-St. Clair Flats Association 516
Improvement Association 516

Hartford, Connecticut:
Baltimore and Hartford Deal with Employee Unions 84
Citizenship Day in Transition? .. 348
"Facts—Our Chief Business" 89
Governmental Research Association 89, 457
Interest in Manager Plan 84
Mayor Favors Manager Plan 132
Research Institute Analyzes Government 457

Hastings, Nebraska:
Discusses Manager Plan 295
Interest in Manager Plan 406

Hattiesburg, Mississippi:
Interest in Manager Plan 342

Haynes, John Randolph, and Dora Haynes Foundation 461, 510

Hearne Bags Japs, Wins Award ... 434

Heavenrich, Max P., Jr. 580

Hennepin County, Minnesota:
Government Handbooks 459

Henrico County, Virginia:
Off-Street Parking Space in Future Construction 470

Henry County, Indiana:
Three Counties Selected for Experimental Program 420

Herington, Kansas:
Investigates Manager Plan 295
Manager Petitions Circulated 181

Holland:
Local Government Elections Planned 590
Netherlands Elects Temporary Councils 476
Prepares Temporary Local Government Measures 104

Home Rule:
County Civic Groups Seek Home Rule Charter 513
County Home Rule in New Missouri Constitution 198
Home Rule Advocated for St. Louis County 355
Home Rule for Georgia Counties 420
Local Home Rule Ordered in Germany 525
March Toward Home Rule 168

Missouri Counties Consider Home Rule 315
Move for Home Rule Defeated in Florida 133
New Constitution Approved by Georgia Legislature 238
Seeks County Efficiency 575

Housing:
British Labor Victory and Local Government 427
British Outgoing Government Passes Local Legislation 428
City Seeks War-Housing Control 329
Conversion to Peace Begins 470
English Housing 361
Federal Government Active in Australian Housing Program .. 53
France Plans Rebuilding of Cities 528
Housing Problem in Reverse .. 89
Housing Up to Cities Says N. H. A. 587
Housing—World-wide Problem .. 200
Many Countries Concerned with Housing and Planning 312
Public Works 512
Wanted: 12 Million New Houses 376
What Government Is Doing in Australia 203
Woman's Foundation Holds First Workshop 188

Houston, Texas:
Citizens Charter Association 414
Civic Organizations Gird for Fall Elections 412
Manager Candidates Elected 35
Manager Plan Upheld 83

Howell, Michigan:
Defeats Manager Proposal 84
To Vote on Manager Plan 180

I

Idaho:
Constitutional Changes Approved, Rejected 81

Illinois:
Citizens' Civil Service Association 514
Civic Groups Campaign for New Illinois Constitution 246
Civil Service 514
Constitutional Convention 580
Constitutional Revision 93
Four States Reject, One Approves Federal Tax Limit 183
Funds, Boards, Tort Liability Auto Licenses Investigated 138
Joint Committee for Calling Constitutional Convention 246
League of Women Voters .. 40, 93, 247, 516, 580
Legislative Council 138, 186, 412
Legislative Council Publications 412
Legislature Blocks Constitutional Revision 290
More States Defeat Federal Tax Limit Proposal 298
Movement for Constitutional Convention Grows 239
Pensions 346
Permanent Registration 249
Reapportionment for Illinois Called an Urgent Need 186
Radio 40
Research Department of the Legislative Council 346
Watching the Legislatures 142

Independence, Kansas:
Adopts Manager Plan 83

India:
Indian Education 314
Many Countries Concerned with Housing and Planning 312

Indiana:
Legislative Research Bureau Created in 404
More State and City Employee Retirement Systems 294
Racial, Religious Discrimination Outlawed in Three States 340
State Laws to Help Cities Buy War Surpluses 406
Taxpayers Association 41, 142
Watching the Legislatures 142

Indianapolis, Indiana:
Chamber of Commerce 460
Looking Toward the Peace 460
Mayor's Postwar Planning Committee 460

Industry:
City Subsidies to Industry Wane 112

Group to Study Manufacturing Taxes ... 262
Industries ... 265
Toledo Mayor Appoints a Labor-Management Committee ... 408

Initiative, Referendum and Recall:
Georgia Voters to Pass on Constitution ... 338
Changing the Rules (Editorial) .. 436
Kentucky Amendment Restricts Revenue Use ... 589
Late Reports on November Elections ... 48
Local Government Notes from Australia ... 54
Many Bond Issues Voted at November Elections ... 586
New York Voters Use Care on Amendments ... 571
State Direct Legislation Holds to Average ... 341
Veterans' Assistance, Personnel Measures Voted ... 31
What's Wrong with Louisiana's Constitution? ... 243

Intergovernmental Cooperation:
Citizen Publications ... 464
Counties Cooperate on Local Needs ... 584
Device for Operating Utilities ... 283
Eight States Add Laws for Intergovernmental Cooperation ... 404
Extra-Municipal Activities in Minnesota ... 406
Federal-State Tax Cooperation .. 21
Intergovernmental Relations Facilitated on Pacific Coast ... 404
Massachusetts Provides for Intergovernmental Action ... 457
Salary Survey ... 139
Why Not Cooperation ... 510

International Relations:
American Committee of IULA Meets ... 360
Era of Cooperation for Cities ... 499
Headquarters of International Local Authorities Liberated ... 53
P. R. for the World Security Council? ... 305

Interstate Cooperation:
Coast States Try Cooperation ... 484
States Cooperate on Tax Auditing 195

Iowa:
More States Defeat Federal Tax Limit Proposal ... 298
Nine Statewide Retirement Systems Adopted in 1945 ... 407
State Laws to Help Cities Buy War Surpluses ... 405
Tax Fund Distribution ... 88

Ireland: (See Eire and Northern Ireland)

Italy:
AMG Takes Over War's Ruins .. 74
Housing—Worldwide Problem ... 200
Local Governments under Allied Commission ... 102
Perils of a Military Governor ... 325

J

Jamaica:
Gets Reform Program ... 116

Jasper County, Missouri:
Missouri Counties Continue Self-Analysis ... 520

Jefferson County, Alabama:
Consolidation Study Progresses .. 519
Jefferson County-Birmingham Consolidation Studied ... 421

Jefferson County, Colorado:
Tri-County Groups Plan Recreation ... 585

Johnson City, Tennessee:
Civitan Club ... 191
Citizen Groups Aid Youth Programs ... 191

Juries:
Women Jurors Permitted in 30 States ... 403

Justices of Peace:
Simplified Reporting for New York Justices of Peace ... 45
Wisconsin Considers Sheriffs and Justices of Peace ... 315

K

Kalamazoo, Michigan:
  Cities Seek Solutions for New Parking Problem 570
  Court Outlaws Lobbying by Michigan League 570
Kansas:
  Better Laws Through Research .. 544
  Counties Building Hospitals 45
  County Officials of Kansas Seek Improvement 99
  County Road Legislation Surveyed 520
  Government Journal 544
  Inaugurates State Internship Plan 34
  Legislative Council 86, 186
  Legislative Council Shows Good Results 341
  Makes Statewide Hospital Survey 425
  Municipal Electric Plants Serve Farms 509
  A New Program for Elementary Schools 186
  One-teacher Schools in Kansas Drastically Reduced 135
  Schools Investigated by Council 86
  Trend in Kansas to County Road Systems 421
Kansas City, Kansas:
  Interest in Manager Plan 180
Kansas City, Missouri:
  Guides for Citizens 248
  Veterans' Assistance, Personnel Measures Voted 31
Kawlins County, Kansas:
  Kansas Counties Building Hospitals 45
Kentucky:
  Adopts Absentee Voting Amendment 571
  Amendment Restricts Revenue Use 589
  Constitutional Revision at Issue in 183
  Constitutional Revision Discussed in 573
Key West, Florida:
  Campaign for Manager Plan 132
  Election under New Charter 455
  Elects Council under Manager Charter 567
  Interest in Manager Plan 83
  Legislature Passes Manager Act .. 341
King County, Washington:
  Centralized Purchasing Saves Money 421
  Competitive Bids on Ballot Printing Save Money 585
  County Manager Bill in Oregon Legislature 149
  Manager Plan Proposed 83
  More Counties Consider Manager Plan 199
  Must Collect Rentals 98
  Secures Central Purchasing 315
  Taxes 347
Kingston, North Carolina:
  Manager Bill Withdrawn 179
Knox County, Tennessee:
  County Legislation in Tennessee .. 257

L

Labor: (See also Municipal Employee Unions)
  Compulsory Arbitration Proposed for Five-Year Period 152
  P. A. C. Circulating Petitions in Toledo 252
  Toledo Mayor Appoints Labor-Management Committee 408
  Toledo Prefers a Mirror (Editorial) 534
La Junta, Colorado:
  Council Endorses Home Rule Bill 181
Lamesa, Texas:
  Adopts Manager Plan 405
Land Use and Subdivision:
  British Labor Victory and Local Government 427
Lane County, Oregon:
  By Their Own Bootstraps, IV ... 230
Leadership:
  Publication on Leadership 351
Lebanon, New Hampshire:
  Manager Committee Appointed .. 508

Legislative Bodies: (See also Proportional Representation and Reapportionment)
Alabama Legislative Committee Makes County Recommendations 257
Alabama Legislature Study Continues 36
Annual Legislative Sessions 510
Bay State Lobbyists Toe Mark .. 536
Boy-Legislature Plan Continues Growth 39
Changing the Rules (Editorial) .. 436
Commission Studies Tennessee Constitution 503
Congress Takes Steps to Modernize Procedure 130
County Government 88
Educating the Citizen on Governmental Procedure 409
Fourteen Legislatures Aid State and Local Planning 507
Help for Legislators 300
Help for the Legislator 346
How Can We Improve Legislative Committees? 344
Illinois Legislature Blocks Constitutional Revision 290
Interim Committee Studies Wisconsin Pension Plans 403
Legislative Committee 187
Legislative Records 579
Legislative Research Bureau Created in Indiana 404
Legislative Score 579
Legislators Listed 187
The Legislature 249
"Little Legislature" Plays Role in Louisiana Finance 422
A Logical Question (Editorial) 272
Maryland County Reduces Size of Board 45
Minnesota Interim Committee Urges Administrative Changes . 81
Minnesota Legislature Kills Administrative Management Aid .. 292
Minnesota Poll Favors Unicameral Legislature 82
More State Laws on Urban Development 507
Nebraska Legislature Repeals Budget Law 425
New Constitution Approved by Georgia Legislature 238
New York Legislature Pioneers in Slum Clearance 292
New York Senator for Unicameral Legislature 338
Ohio's 'Fun' in the Voting Booth 440
Opportunity Knocks for Michigan (Editorial) 212
Oregon Legislature Considers County Manager Plan 98
Orphaned Unicameral Move Nearly Wins in Missouri 33
Philadelphia Income Tax Saved .. 308
Portland, Maine, Revamps City Council Setup 569
Preview of the 1945 Legislatures 92
Reforms Urged in New York Legislative Practices 290
78th Congress Starts Postwar Highway Program 97
The Sick State Legislatures (Editorial) 271
A Small Legislature 111
Tampa Changes Set-up for City Council 455
Watching the Legislatures 142, 192

Legislative Councils:
Better Laws Through Research .. 544
Kansas Legislative Council Shows Good Results 341
Legislative Council Publications .. 412
Legislative Councils Report on Pensions, Schools 86
Schools Investigated by Kansas Council 86

Letters from Overseas 2

Letters to the Editor 28, 210

Lexington, Kentucky:
Citizenship Day in Transition? .. 348

Liberal, Kansas:
Adopts Manager Plan 241

Libraries:
- Joint Reference Library for City and County of San Diego 584
- Local Government Notes from Australia 54
- New Zealand Libraries 593
- Statewide Library Service Sought in Tennessee 150

Liquor Control:
- *States Profit in Liquor Trade* 218

Litchfield, Connecticut:
- Voters' Club 185
- Voters Make 'Self-Survey' 185

Lobbying: (See Pressure Groups)

Local Government: (See also County, Municipal, and Township and Village Government)
- Big Three Recognize Value of Local Government 429
- British Labor Victory and Local Government 427
- British Liberals Ask P. R. for Local Elections 146
- Compulsory Arbitration Proposed for Five-Year Period 152
- Czechoslovakia's Committees for Local Government Functions .. 476
- Czechs Hold Elections in Liberated Areas 100
- Democratic Election Law Planned for Poland 104
- Democracy and Local Government 410
- England Makes Postwar Plans for Local Government 263
- *England Plans Area Changes* 332
- England Plans Local Elections .. 151
- France Holds Local Elections 475
- France Postpones Local Elections 101
- French Conducting Local Elections This Spring 266
- Greater State Aid Urged for N. Y. Local Units 259
- Holland Prepares Temporary Local Government Measures 104
- Italy's Local Governments under Allied Commission 102
- *Jamaica Gets Reform Program* .. 116
- *Jap Influence Fades Quickly* 445
- Legislative Councils Report on Pensions, Schools 86
- Liberated Areas Restore Local Governments 100
- Local Affairs Abroad (Department) 52, 100, 151, 200, 263, 311, 357, 427, 474, 525, 590
- Local Government Affairs in New Zealand 359
- Local Government Elections Planned 590
- Local Government Notes from Australia 54
- Local Government Trends in Australia 357
- Local Home Rule Ordered in Germany 525
- Massachusetts Provides for Intergovernmental Action 457
- New Spending Spree on the Way (Editorial) 323
- New Zealand Adjusts Local Government Functions 52
- Norwegian Government Plans with Help of Underground 103
- Organized Neighborliness (Editorial) 482
- Philippines Look Forward to Reconstruction 103
- Planning for Russian Local Government 313
- Prewar Communal Councils Serve in Belgium 102
- Prewar Local Borrowing Explored 95
- References on English Local Government 54
- Victoria, Australia, Passes First Planning Act 476
- Victoria Suffers from District Phobia 592
- What Government is Doing in Australia 203

London, England:
- Greater London Plan 265
- Greater London Plan Praised, Criticised 526
- Planning 592

Long Beach, New York:
- A Chairman Reports 516

Citizens Union 464, 513, 516
Civic Groups Question Local Candidates 464
The First P. R. Election in 581
'Get Out the Vote' Campaigns Conducted 512
Governor Dewey Vetoes Curb on P. R. 354
Nine P. R. Elections and One Referendum 465

Los Angeles, California:
Bureau of Municipal Research 89, 245
Candidate Advocates Manager Plan 181
Citizens Finance Committee 575
City and County Create Civic Center Authority 585
An Economic Survey of the Los Angeles Area 510
Housing Problem in Reverse 89
Looking Toward the Peace 460
Municipal League 514
Town Hall Investigates Civil Service 184

Los Angeles County, California:
Committees Report on Community Problems 576
City and County Create Civic Center Authority 585
County Citizens Committee on Parks, Beaches and Recreation Facilities 577
Reapportionment Again 514

Louisiana:
Highway Finance 88
"Little Legislature" Plays Role in Finance 422
What's Wrong with Constitution? 243

Lowell, Massachusetts:
Manager Plan Evaluated 93
Taxpayer's Association 93

M

Madison, Florida:
Adopts Manager Plan 405

Madison, Wisconsin:
Madison-Dane County Personnel Office Proposed 200
New Sources of Revenue 193

Maine:
As Maine Goes So Goes Nation .. 287
Awards Given for Town Reports 135
Managers' Meeting 406
Pennsylvania Commission Urges Restudy of Tax, Fiscal Systems 351
Pupils Hold Town Meeting 415

Manchester, England:
Civic Film 265

Manitowoc County, Wisconsin:
Citizenship Day in Transition? . 348
Make Plans Now for Citizenship Day 139

Margetts, Walter T., Jr. 250

Maryland:
Budgets 188
County Road Legislation Surveyed 520
Four States Reject, One Approves Federal Tax Limit 183
League of Women Voters 40
Legislation 40
Legislative Council 86
Legislative Councils Report on Pensions, Schools 86
More State and City Employee Retirement Systems 294
Nine Statewide Retirement Systems Adopted in 1945 407
State Laws to Help Cities Buy War Surpluses 406
Veterans' Assistance, Personnel Measures Voted 31

Massachusetts:
Annual Meetings 580
Bay State Lobbyists Toe Mark .. 536
Civic League 579
Federation of Taxpayers Associations 92, 137, 244, 511, 578, 580
Legislative Score 579
Man Bites Dog (Editorial) 110
Pennsylvania Commission Urges Restudy of Tax, Fiscal Systems 351
"Plan E" Attacked 295
Provides for Intergovernmental Action 457
Regional Planning Conference to be Held at M. I. T. 456
Salaries 511

State Aid for Schools Explained .. 244
State-Collected Taxes Under the Microscope 137
Taxpayer Training School 578
Veterans' Assistance, Personnel Measures Voted 31

Massena, New York:
New York Village and Township May Consolidate 135

Mayors:
Buffalo Mayor Urges City-County Separation 200
Candidates Questioned 351
Cities Adopt Charter Amendments 568
The Fourth P. R. Election in Yonkers 582
Freeholders Commission Submits Seattle Charter 569
Hartford Mayor Favors Manager Plan 132
Housing Up to Cities Says N.H.A. 587
Jap Influence Fades Quickly 445
"Lame Duck" Appointments Continue in Boston 137
Mayor's Message 187
Mayors to Discuss Federal-Local Relations 35
San Francisco's Unique Charter .. 273
Toledo Mayor Appoints Labor-Management Committee 408
U. S. Mayors' Conference to Meet in New York 571

McAllen, Texas:
Adopts Manager Ordinance 342
Considers Manager Plan 296
Property Reassessment Urged by City Manager 523

Memphis, Tennessee:
States and Cities Foster Urban Redevelopment 453

Mercer, Maine:
As Maine Goes So Goes Nation .. 287

Metropolitan Areas: (See also City-County Consolidation, City-County Cooperation, and Intergovernmental Cooperation)
All-out Planning for Britain 60
"Better Chicago" Contest Spurs Metropolitan Planning 296
Bold Action on a Tough Problem (Editorial) 59
Chicago Adopts Publicly Owned Transit Plan 343
Chicago Transit Authority Gets Lower Court Approval 474
Cleveland Area Survey Begun ... 434
Cleveland Plans on Area Basis .. 223
Committees Report on Community Problems 576
An Economic Survey of the Los Angeles Area 510
Greater London Plan Praised, Criticised 526
Metropolitan Area Problems Probed 408
Metropolitan Authority for Chicago Transit Lines 296
Metropolitan Organization Stressed in Boston Contest 30
Metropolitan Planning Agency Recommended for Detroit 257
Population 347
P. R. in Prize-winning Plan for Greater Boston 145
Program for Citizen Training Part of "Boston Contest" Plan 141

Mexico:
Women's Suffrage 476

Miami, Florida:
Consolidation under Manager Proposed for Miami-Dade County 2

Michigan:
The Case for 'Foot-in-the-Door' 122
Cities Seek Share of State Surplus 262
Civil Service by Constitution 14
Court Outlaws Lobbying by Michigan League 570
Eight States Add Laws for Intergovernmental Cooperation 404
Institute Trains County Officials 45
Letter to the Editor 28
Managers Meet 241
Nine Statewide Retirement Systems Adopted in 1945 407
Opportunity Knocks for (Editorial) 212

The Sick State Legislatures (Editorial) 271
State Surpluses 245
Study Covers State-Local Finance 87
Support of State Leagues of Municipalities Debated 134
Tax Committee Makes Report ... 194
Veterans' Assistance, Personnel Measures Voted 31

Middletown, Connecticut:
- Women Voters Win Fight for Secret Ballot 190

Milledgeville, Georgia:
- Interest in Manager Plan 342

Milwaukee, Wisconsin:
- Citizens Bureau 139, 346, 411, 510, 574
- *County Reform Run-Around* 386
- Pensions 346
- Police 411
- Research Bureaus—Watchdogs of the Treasury 574
- Salary Survey 139
- Why Not Cooperation? 510
- Wisconsin Considers Sheriffs and Justices of Peace 315

Minneapolis, Minnesota:
- Candidates Questioned 351
- Civic Council 142, 193, 580
- Civic Fund Drive 193
- Civic Groups Together 580
- Considers City Income Tax 587
- Extra-Municipal Activities in 406
- Government Handbooks 459
- League of Women Voters 351
- New Charter Commission Appointed for 35
- Postwar Institute 459
- Postwar Plans 412
- Research Bureau 187, 412, 459
- States and Cities Foster Urban Redevelopment 453
- Taxpayers Association 350

Minnesota:
- Constitutional Convention Proposed in 239
- A Good Try at an Old Chestnut (Editorial) 483
- High Court Refuses Districting Aid 504
- Institute of Governmental Research 245
- Interim Committee Urges Administrative Changes 81
- League of Women Voters 579
- Legislative Records 579
- Legislators Listed 187
- Legislature Kills Administrative Management Aid 292
- A Logical Question (Editorial) .. 272
- Poll Favors Unicameral Legislature 82
- State Budgets 245
- Three State Leagues Foster Retirement Systems 84
- Watching the Legislatures 142

Mississippi:
- Police and Firemen under Civil Service in 297

Missouri:
- Committee for the New Constitution 94
- Constitutional Revision 93
- Counties Consider Home Rule .. 315
- Counties Continue Self-Analysis .. 520
- County Home Rule in New Constitution 198
- Georgia Steps Out in Front (Editorial) 374
- Jersey Plan Urged as Model 300
- New Constitution 37, 187
- *New Constitution for* 165
- Orphaned Unicameral Move Nearly Wins in 33
- Public Expenditure Survey 515
- Public Works 515
- Steps Ahead (Editorial) 164
- Taxing Intangibles 511

Monroe County, New York:
- Counties Cooperate on Local Needs 584

Montana:
- The Legislature 249
- More State and City Employee Retirement Systems 294

Montgomery County, Maryland:
- Charter Committee 413
- Civic Federation 143

Civic Organizations Gird for Fall Elections 412
The Evil of Forgiving (Editorial) 58
Metropolitan Area Problems Studied 408
Montgomery County and Dayton Plan Cooperatively 356
A New "Manager" Proposal for 199
Off-Street Parking Space in Future Construction 470
Postwar Program 143
Supervisor Appointed for 420

Moorhead, Minnesota:
Interest in Manager Plan 455

Morton Grove, Illinois:
Interest in Manager Plan 180

Morton, Stratford Lee 250

Mosher, William E., Dies Suddenly 322

Mt. Clemens, Michigan:
To Vote on Manager Plan 84
Votes Against Manager Plan 180

Moving Pictures:
Civic Film 265

Municipal Employees Unions:
Baltimore and Hartford Deal with Employee Unions 84
Employee Unions Add 51 Locals in 1944 182
NALGO Promotes Good Public Relations 475
NALGO Wins Major Objective 474
New Union Contract Made in Philadelphia 134
"Whitleyism" to the Fore in Scotland 592

Municipal Government: (See also City-County Consolidation, City-County Cooperation, Council-Manager Government, Federal-State-Local Relations, Intergovernmental Cooperation, Local Government, State-Local Relations, and names of Individual Cities)
All States Now Have Veterans' Affairs Offices 403
American Committee of IULA Meets 360
Australian Municipal Elections 361
Borrowing Terms to Local Units More Favorable than Ever 196
Can We Rebuild Our Cities? 5
Cities as War Casualties (Editorial) 3
Cities Seek Solutions for New Parking Problem 570
City Clerks Form National Organization 35
City, State and Nation 30, 80, 130, 179, 237, 290, 337, 401, 453, 503, 567
Communities Plan Living War Memorials 154
Connecticut Municipal Fiscal Officers Go to School 423
Educating the Citizen on Governmental Procedure 409
Era of Cooperation for Cities 499
France Plans Rebuilding of Cities 528
From War to Postwar in Community Planning 477
Half of Wisconsin's City Employees in Retirement Plan 183
Headquarters of International Local Authorities Liberated 53
Higher Pay for City Employees (Editorial) 111
Housing Up to Cities Says N.H.A. 587
How Washington Cities Collect Garbage 244
Kansas Municipal Electric Plants Serve Farms 509
Local Borrowing Costs Rise to January Level 472
Many Bond Issues Voted at November Elections 586
Mayors to Discuss Federal-Local Relations 35
MFOA Cautions Members on Special Assessments 472
Move for Home Rule Defeated in Florida 133
Municipal Postwar Reserves Authorized in 26 States 424
National Exhibit of Best Municipal Reports Planned 35

Netherlands Elects Temporary Councils 476
New Mexico Municipal League Reorganizes 182
New York Regional Institutes Break Records 36
'Non-Profit Inc.' in Public Power 393
The Postwar Problems Are Here (Editorial) 435
Property Taxation in New South Wales 311
Regional Institutes in New York 456
Rhode Island Surveys 411
R. I. Expenditure Council Studies Local Finance 136
Salaries 511
Selling Municipal Bonds at Better Interest Rates 260
Sixteen Cities Questioned on Budget Practices 300
South American Cities in the News 152
Soviet Planning 593
Suggestions on Reporting Local Finance 309
Support for State Leagues of Municipalities Debated 134
Tax Rates of American Cities .. 547
Urbanism 87
U. S. Mayors' Conference to Meet in New York 571
What Should a Municipal Pension System Provide? 244

Municipal Reports (See Reporting)

Municipal Subsidies:
City Subsidies to Industry Wane 112

Muskegon County, Michigan:
More Counties Consider Manager Plan 199

N

Napa County, California:
Cooperative Planning in 422

Nashville, Tennessee:
Citizens Protective Committee .. 414
Civic Organizations Gird for Fall Elections 412

National Bureau of Civic Research 351

National Civil Service League 85

National Institute of City Clerks .. 35

National League of Women Voters 190, 461

National Municipal League:
Augusta Survey Report Published 317
California Reclaims Dykstra 162
Charles P. Taft to State Department 317
Charter Guide Committee Meeting 322
Cleveland Area Survey Begun 434
Death of Alfred Bettman 162
Death of Mayo Fesler 317
Guide for Charter Commissions .. 162
Hearne Bags Japs, Wins Award 434
The League's Business 162, 270, 322, 434
League's Secretary in Berlin 434
Louis Brownlow Retires 270
Luther Gulick to Moscow 434
Manager System for Counties ... 449
Missouri Steps Ahead (Editorial) 164
New Honor for Murray Seasongood 317
Taft Returns to Cincinnati 434
Two New Publications 162
Upson Named Dean at Wayne ... 434
William E. Mosher Dies Suddenly 322

National Self-Government Committee 578

Nebraska:
Adopts Merit System, School Retirement Plan 339
County Budgeting Wins Commendation in 315
Eight States Add Laws for Intergovernmental Cooperation 404
Funds, Boards, Tort Liability, Auto Licenses Investigated 138
Legislative Council 138
Legislature Repeals Budget Law . 425
Nine Statewide Retirement Systems Adopted in 1945 407
Preview of the 1945 Legislatures 92
The Sick State Legislatures (Editorial) 271

Taxpayer 93
Negaunee, Michigan:
Defeats Manager Proposal 133, 241
Nevada:
Social Security 41
Taxpayers Association 41, 143
Watching the Legislatures 142
Nevada, Missouri:
Interest in Manager Plan 406
Manager Plan Discussed 508
Newark, New Jersey:
Housing Up to Cities Says N.H.A. 587

New England Town Planning Association 301

New Hampshire:
Four States Reject, One Approves Federal Tax Limit 183
New Haven, Connecticut:
Budgets 37
Pension Systems 88
School Enrollment 139
Taxpayers Research Council, Inc. 37, 88, 139
New Jersey:
Annual Meetings 580
Budgets 42
Citizen Publications 302
Constitutional Amendments Shelved in 338
Constitution Changes Sponsored by Solons 239
Efforts for New Constitution Continue in 33
Eight States Add Laws for Intergovernmental Cooperation 404
The Evil of Forgiving (Editorial) 58
Jersey Plan Urged as Model 300
Milk Regulation 593
Prizewinner 143
Racial, Religious Discrimination Outlawed in Three States 340
Self-destruction by the States 534
Taxes, Finance 465
Taxpayers Association 40, 42, 143, 302, 465, 580
New London, Connecticut:
Citizenship Day in Transition? .. 348
New Mexico:
Municipal League Reorganizes ... 182
New Orleans, Louisiana:
Bureau of Governmental Research 88, 243, 422, 512
Teachers and Schools 512
New Portland, Maine:
As Maine Goes So Goes Nation .. 287

News in Review ... 30, 80, 130, 179, 237 290, 337, 401, 453, 503, 567

New South Wales:
Local Government Trends in Australia 357
Property Taxation in 311
Revision of Local Boundaries Considered 590
What Government is Doing in Australia 203
New York City:
Bold Action on a Tough Problem (Editorial) 59
Budgeting in a Hurry 579
Can New York City Regain that "Home Town" Sense? 414
Can We Rebuild Our Cities? 5
Changing the Rules (Editorial) 436
Citizens Budget Commission 579
Citizenship Day in Transition? .. 348
Citizens Housing Council 41, 87
Citizens Union 41, 143, 303, 414 464, 513
Civic Groups Question Local Candidates 464
Council Term Extended 419
'Get Out the Vote' Campaigns Conducted 512
Greater New York Industrial Union Council, C. I. O. 41
Guides for Citizens 248
Housing Group Reports on Population Densities 87
Housing Up to Cities Says N.H.A. 587
League of Women Voters 248, 350, 464, 512
The Master Plan 303
Metropolitan Evening League of Women Voters 512

Nine P. R. Elections and One Referendum 465
States and Cities Foster Urban Redevelopment 453
United Neighborhood Houses 41
United Tenants Leagues 41
War's End Spurs Reconversion Efforts 401
What's in a Name? (Editorial) .. 59
Women's City Club 41

New York State:
Change in State Fealty Sought for Isolated Island 134
Citizens' Committee on Veterans' Preference 41
Considers Recodification of County Laws 45
A Conversation with F. D. R. ... 304
County Personnel Officers Organize 422
Digest of Local Laws Issued 422
Four States Reject, One Approves Federal Tax Limit 183
'Get Out the Vote' Campaigns Conducted 512
Governmental Research, Inc. 245
Governor Dewey Vetoes Curb on P. R. 354
Greater State Aid Urged for Local Units 259
League of Women Voters 192, 512, 578
Legislature Pioneers in Slum Clearance 292
March Toward Home Rule 168
Personnel Administration for Community Benefit 294
Racial, Religious Discrimination Outlawed in Three States 340
Reforms Urged in Legislative Practices 290
Regional Institutes Break Records 36
Regional Institutes in 456
Revised Local Finance Code Takes Effect 425
Senator for Unicameral Legislature 338
The Sick State Legislatures (Editorial) 271
Simplified Reporting for Justices of Peace 45
Speeds Local Audits 587
State Budgets 245
State-City 346
Studies Town Improvement Districts 99
To Vote on Drastic Veterans' Preference Law 242
U. S. Supreme Court Upholds Port Bond Tax Exemption 94
Veterans' Preference 41
Veterans Preferred, Unlimited ... 437
Voters Use Care on Amendments 571
War's End Spurs Reconversion Efforts 401
Watching the Legislatures ... 142, 192
Youth Conference 41

New Zealand:
Adjusts Local Government Functions 52
Discusses Administration of Utilities 475
Housing—Worldwide Problem ... 200
Libraries 593
Local Government Affairs in 359
Regional Planning Councils for .. 476

Norridgewock, Maine:
As Maine Goes So Goes Nation 287

Norris, Tennessee:
Holds Ninth P. R. Election 144

North Adams, Massachusetts:
Interest in Manager Plan 179

Northampton County, Pennsylvania:
Local Officials Organize in Pennsylvania Counties 316

North Carolina:
Applies Surplus to Sinking Funds 148

North Dakota:
Preview of the 1945 Legislatures 92
Taxpayer 93

Northern Ireland:
Housing—Worldwide Problem ... 200

North Vancouver, British Columbia:
To Vote on Manager Plan 568

Norwalk, Connecticut:
Charter Committee Appointed ... 34

Norway:
Local Elections Scheduled 476

Norwegian Government Plans with Help of Underground 103
A P. R. Election in 517
Nyssa, Oregon:
Adopts Manager Plan 84

O

Ohio:
Agriculture Department Studies Rural Debt 518
Enacts Mental Hygiene Program 459
Institute 459
Ohio's 'Fun' in the Voting Booth..440
Support for State Leagues of Municipalities Debated 134
Toledo Revives Discussion of County Reform 257
When Are We Old Enough? 193
Oklahoma:
Court Battle 88
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma:
Assessment 346
Research Institute 88, 346
Oklahoma County, Oklahoma:
Assessment 346
Citizens Re-Assessment Committee 346
Old-Age Security: (See Social Security)
Old Town, Maine:
Adopts Manager Charter 508
Asks Manager Act 133
Omaha, Nebraska:
'Non-Profit, Inc.' in Public Power 393
Oregon:
Adopts Comprehensive State Merit System 292
Coast States Try Cooperation 484
County Manager Bill in Legislature 149
County Manager Law Enacted in 254
Eight States Add Laws for Intergovernmental Cooperation 404
Intergovernmental Relations Facilitated on Pacific Coast 404
Late Reports on November Elections 48
Legislature Considers County Manager Plan 98
More State and City Employee Retirement Systems 294
The Oregon Voter 143
Tax Survey Ordered 426
Three State Leagues Foster Retirement Systems 84
Veterans' Assistance, Personnel Measures Voted 31
Orient, Maine:
Placed on Manager List 508
Osborn, Ohio:
Elects Charter Commission 568
To Vote on Manager Proposal ... 455
Ottawa, Kansas:
Civic Groups Favor Manager Plan 296
Outagamie County, Wisconsin:
Counties Continue Progress in Merit System 469
Two Wisconsin Counties Adopt Merit System 356

P

Panama:
Housing—Worldwide Problem ... 200
Paris, France:
France Uses P. R. in Paris and National Elections 516
Parkersburg, West Virginia:
Newspaper Advocates Manager .. 295
Parking:
Cities Seek Solutions for New Parking Problems 570
Off-Street Parking Space in Future Construction 470
Pennsylvania Analyzes Parking Meter Revenues 47
Parks:
Chicago Approves Postwar Projects 352
Parsons, Kansas:
Defeats Manager Proposal 181
Manager Plan on Ballot 83
Pennsylvania:
Analyzes Parking Meter Revenues 47
Bureau of Business Research of State College 511
Commission Urges Restudy of Tax, Fiscal Systems 351

Corporate Franchise Tax Held Valid 259
Device for Operating Utilities 283
Economy League 408, 512
Eight States Add Laws for Intergovernmental Cooperation 404
Grants-in-Aid 511
Lags in Reapportionment 299
Local Officials Organize in Counties 316
Stream Pollution 512
Watching the Legislatures 192

Pensions: (See Social Security)

Permanent Registration: (See Registration)

Personnel: (See also Salaries and Training for Public Service)
The Case for 'Foot-in-the-Door' 122
Cities Adopt Charter Amendments 568
Civil Service 514
Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada 35
Civil Service by Constitution 14
Counties Continue Progress in Merit System 469
County Personnel Officers Organize 422
Czechoslovakia's Committees for Local Government Functions .. 476
Dane County, Wis., Postpones Action on Merit System 316
Demobilization, Reorganization in Federal Civil Service 337
Employee Compensation 265
Employee Unions Add 51 Locals in 1944 182
Forging Guns into Nightsticks .. 488
Kansas Inaugurates State Internship Plan 34
"Lame Duck" Appointments Continue in Boston 137
Legislation Sought for City-County Consolidation 355
Los Angeles Town Hall Investigates Civil Service 184
Madison-Dane County Personnel Office Proposed 200
Merit Rating 514
NALGO Promotes Good Public Relations 475
NALGO Wins Major Objective .. 474
Nebraska Adopts Merit System, School Retirement Plan 339
New Constitution Approved by Georgia Legislature 238
New Spending Spree on the Way (Editorial) 323
New York to Vote on Drastic Veterans' Preference Law 242
Oregon Adopts Comprehensive State Merit System 292
Personnel Administration for Community Benefit 294
Police and Firemen under Civil Service in Mississippi 297
Public Employment Increase Challenges Statesmanship 297
Public Personnel Conference Considers Wartime Problems 35
Reorganization and Postwar Plans for South Carolina 504
San Diego Installs Cooperative In-Service Training Plan 181
Security of Tenure 314
State Employees at Five-Year Low 184
Study in Contrasts 576
Two Wisconsin Counties Adopt Merit System 356
Veterans' Assistance, Personnel Measures Voted 31
Veterans Preferred, Unlimited .. 437
"Whitleyism" to the Fore in Scotland 592

Peru:
Peru 153
Planning in Latin America 361

Petersburg, Virginia:
Virginia County Loses Territory by Annexation 151

Philadelphia:
Appointment vs. Election 345
The Burden Grows Heavy (Editorial) 375
Bureau Investigates Sanitation Pay 36
Bureau of Airports 575

Bureau of Municipal Research 188, 299, 345, 511, 575
Cities Collect Revenues from Airports 471
Citizens' Council on City Planning 575
City-County Consolidation Again Proposed 150
Civic Plan to Bridge 18-21 Gap .. 10
Committee of Seventy 93, 192, 302, 462
Electing the Sheriff 575
High School Civics Lessons on the Air 302
Imaginary Cities 188
Income Tax Saved 308
Learning by Doing (Editorial) .. 4
Legislation Sought for City-County Consolidation 355
New Charter for? 93
New Union Contract Made in ... 134
Problems Studied 511
States and Cities Foster Urban Redevelopment 453
Subway Riders Pay Dividends .. 511
Tales of Aladdin Smith and HIS Wonderful Lamp 462
Watching the Legislatures 192

The Philippines:
Jap Influence Fades Quickly 445
Philippines Look Forward to Reconstruction 103

Phoenix, Arizona:
Citizen Groups Aid Youth Programs 191
Citizens' Good Government Council 144, 191
Municipal League 191
Republic 449
War Memorials 143

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania:
Metropolitan Area Problems Probed 408

Pittsburg, Texas:
Campaigns for Manager Plan 508
Votes for City Manager 567

Pittsfield, Massachusetts:
New Publication 580
Taxpayers' Association 580

Planning: (See also Postwar Planning and Urban Redevelopment)
All-Out Planning for Britain 60
"Better Chicago" Contest Spurs Metropolitan Planning 296
Bold Action on a Tough Problem (Editorial) 59
By Their Own Bootstraps, IV 230
Can New York City Regain that "Home Town" Sense? 414
Central Planning Commission Provided in Victoria Bill 54
Cleveland Plans on Area Basis .. 223
Community Planning 40
Cooperative Planning in Napa County, California 422
Early Planning Pattern Found .. 176
Fourteen Legislatures Aid State and Local Planning 507
Greater London Plan 265
Greater London Plan Praised, Criticised 526
Letters to the Editor 210
Local Government Notes from Australia 54
Local Government Trends in Australia 357
London Planning 592
Many Countries Concerned with Housing and Planning 312
The Master Plan 303
Metropolitan Planning Agency Recommended for Detroit 257
Montgomery County and Dayton Plan Cooperatively 356
New York Housing Group Reports on Population Densities 87
Planning Bibliography 144
Planning by Citizens 579
Planning for Russian Local Government 313
Planning in Latin America 361
Planning Needs 37
Regional Planning Conference to be Held at M. I. T. 456
Regional Planning Councils for New Zealand 476
Scottish Planning 361
Soviet Planning 593

Tri-County Groups Plan Recreation ... 585
Victoria, Australia, Passes First Planning Act ... 476
Virginia Conducts Planning Institutes ... 421
What Government Is Doing in Australia ... 203

Poland:
Democratic Election Law Planned for ... 104

Police:
Employee Unions Add 51 Locals in 1944 ... 182
Forging Guns into Nightsticks ... 488
Freeholders Commission Submits Seattle Charter ... 569
Letter to the Editor ... 28
New Cleveland Bureau Makes Police Survey ... 298
Pensions ... 346
Police ... 266, 411
Police and Firemen under Civil Service in Mississippi ... 297
Police and Fire Personnel ... 88
Police Chiefs Fight Traffic Accident Increase ... 243
Police in Rhode Island ... 511
Salaries and Tenure of Police Investigated ... 458
Utah Institute on Law Enforcement ... 405
What Price Stable? ... 576

Political Parties and Politics: (See also Corruption and Elections and Voting)
Apprentices in Citizenship ... 213
British Labor Victory and Local Government ... 427
The Burden Grows Heavy (Editorial) ... 375
County Reform Run-Around ... 386
Defining 'Politician' ... 400
Government by Secrecy ... 314
Illinois Legislature Blocks Constitutional Revision ... 290
Ohio's 'Fun' in the Voting Booth 440

Poll Tax: (See Taxation—Poll)

Poplar Bluffs, Missouri:
Manager Plan Studied ... 342

Population Trends:
New York Housing Group Reports on Population Densities ... 87
Population ... 347
Postwar Population ... 88
Unemployment Insurance and Population Problems ... 49

Port Huron, Michigan:
Citizen Groups Aid Youth Programs ... 191
Citizen Lethargy ... 303
Citizens' League ... 191, 249, 303, 515
Guides for Citizens ... 248
Program for Action ... 515

Portland, Maine:
Revamps City Council Setup ... 569

Postwar Planning: (See also Planning)
Baltimore Sells Bonds for Postwar Program ... 589
California's Employment Problem 574
Cambridge Makes Over-all Plan .. 523
Chicago Approves Postwar Projects ... 352
Cincinnati Charter Committee Accepts Postwar Challenge ... 91
Cities as War Casualties (Editorial ... 3
Coast States Try Cooperation ... 484
Committees Report on Community Problems ... 576
Communities Plan Living War Memorials ... 154
Conversion to Peace Begins ... 470
Engineering Construction Plans Exceed Six-Billion Mark ... 195
England Makes Postwar Plans for Local Government ... 263
Financing Postwar Works Arouses Controversy ... 308
From War to Postwar in Community Planning ... 477
Housing Problem in Reverse ... 89
Local Postwar Problems ... 245
Looking Toward the Peace ... 460
Municipal Postwar Reserves Authorized in 26 States ... 424

National Health Program a Postwar Aim 104
Postwar Institute 459
Postwar Planning 94
Postwar Plans 300, 412
The Postwar Problems Are Here (Editorial) 435
Postwar Program 143
Public Employment Increase Challenges Statesmanship 297
Public Personnel Conference Considers Wartime Problems 35
Public Works Plans Exceed Eight Billions 424
Reorganization and Postwar Plans for South Carolina 504
Rochester Takes a Critical Look at Itself 141
Toledo and Its Big Tomorrow .. 493
Toledo Committee Reports on Postwar Planning 39
Wanted: 12 Million New Houses 376
War's End Spurs Reconversion Efforts 401
Wisconsin Counties Get Emergency Postwar Powers 468

Potter County, Texas:
Texas Counties Centralize Road Administration 470

President:
A Conversation with F. D. R. 304
Ohio's 'Fun' in the Voting Booth 440
P. R. Proposed Again for Presidential Elections 42

Press:
Coast States Try Cooperation 484
Schools, Press Linked in Education Program 248

Pressure Groups:
Bay State Lobbyists Toe Mark .. 536
Court Outlaws Lobbying by Michigan League 570
Toledo Prefers a Mirror (Editorial) 534

Primaries:
Double Filing in Primary Elections 458

Prince George County, Virginia:
Virginia County Loses Territory by Annexation 151

Prisons:
Constitutional Changes Approved, Rejected in Idaho 81
Jail Investigations in Rhode Island and Seattle 410
What Type City Jail for Baltimore? 345

Proportional Representation:
British Elections Give Distorted Results 417
British Liberals Ask P. R. for Local Elections 146
A Conversation with F. D. R. 304
Coos Bay, Oregon, to Hold First P. R. Election in 1946 145
Finland Holds Democratic Elections 251
The First P. R. Election in Long Beach, N. Y. 581
The Fourth P. R. Election in Yonkers 582
France Holds Local Elections 475
France Uses P. R. in Paris and National Elections 516
Governor Dewey Vetoes Curb on P. R. 354
Greetings from Britain 354
John R. Commons—P. R. Pioneer 419
Manager Plan Evaluated 93
New Supreme Court Justice and P. R. 466
New York Council Term Extended 419
Nine P. R. Elections and One Referendum 465
Norris, Tennessee, Holds Ninth P. R. Election 144
Other P. R. Elections 584
P. A. C. Circulating Petitions in Toledo 252
P. R. Debated in the British House of Commons 43
P. R. Election 303
A P. R. Election in Norway 517
P. R. for the World Security Council? 305

P. R. in Austria? 468
P. R. in Prize-winning Plan for Greater Boston 145
The P. R. Movement in Australia 466
Proportional Representation (Department 42, 144, 205, 251, 304, 354, 417, 465, 516, 581
Proportional Representation League, Inc. 44
P. R. Proposed Again in Presidential Elections 42
A Set-Back in Yonkers 253
Toledo Prefers a Mirror (Editorial) 534
Toledo Votes to Keep P. R. 581
Yonkers Progresses with P. R.-Manager Plan 205

Providence, Rhode Island:
City Finance 246
Consolidation 138
Governmental Research Bureau .. 37, 88, 138, 246, 411, 412, 576
Per Capita Costs 412
Police 411
Police and Fire Personnel 88
Study in Contrasts 576

Provo, Utah:
Studies Manager Plan 405

Public Administration:
Alabama State Reorganization .. 69
Cook County, Illinois, Makes Administrative Improvements 99
Federal Business Manager Idea Gains Support 337
Funds, Boards, Tort Liability, Auto Licenses Investigated 138
Louis Brownlow Retires 270
Minnesota Interim Committee Urges Administrative Changes . 81
Minnesota Legislature Kills Administrative Management Aid .. 292
Public Administration Fellowships Announced 343
Puerto Rico Holds Public Administration Conference 591
Reorganization and Postwar Plans for South Carolina 504
Seeks County Efficiency 575
State Administrative Agencies Listed in New Texas Guide 186
Tennessee Legislature Passes 800 Bills, Most of Them Local 241

Public Health:
British Labor Victory and Local Government 427
California City Serves Meals in Emergency 456
City-County Departments of Health Increase 315
Health Services Plan 593
Kansas Counties Building Hospitals 45
Kansas Makes Statewide Hospital Survey 425
Local Government in Scotland ... 314
Milk Regulation 593
Milk Supply 314
National Health Program a Postwar Aim 104
New Zealand Adjusts Local Government Functions 52
Ohio Enacts Mental Hygiene Program 459

Public Opinion:
Minnesota Poll Favors Unicameral Legislature 82
Seattle Plans "Gallup Poll" 39

Public Ownership: (See also Public Utilities)
Birmingham, England, in Banking Business 54
British Labor Victory and Local Government 427
Chicago Adopts Publicly Owned Transit Plan 343
Device for Operating Utilities 283
Kansas Municipal Electric Plants Serve Farms 509
Metropolitan Authority for Chicago Transit Lines 296
'Non-Profit Inc.' in Public Power 393
Transit Authority Gets Lower Court Approval 474

Public Relations:
Civic Film 265
NALGO Promotes Good Public Relations 475

Public Safety:
Police Chiefs Fight Traffic Accident Increase 243
Public Utilities:
Detroit Utility Tax Voided by Courts 148
Device for Operating Utilities 283
New Zealand Discusses Administration of Utilities 475
'Non-Profit Inc.' in Public Power 393
Public Utilities 512
Two New Publications 162
Public Welfare: (See also Social Security and Unemployment Relief)
Committees Report on Community Problems 576
Community Services (Department) 154
Community Welfare (Department) 49, 104
County Poor Farms Continue to Close 421
Jersey Plan Urged as Model 300
Woman's Foundation Holds First Workshop 188
Public Works: (See also Planning and Postwar Planning)
Chicago Approves Postwar Projects 352
Conversion to Peace Begins 470
Engineering Construction Plans Exceed Six-Billion Mark 195
Financing Postwar Works Arouses Controversy 308
Local Units Mark Time on Public Works 521
Public Works 512, 515
Public Works Plans Exceed Eight Billions 424
State-Local Borrowing After Two Decades 46
Pueblo, Colorado:
Manager Plan Investigated 241
Puerto Rico:
Holds Public Administration Conference 591
Planning in Latin America 361
Purchasing:
Centralized Purchasing Saves King County Money 421
Competitive Bids on Ballot Printing Save Money 585
Cooperative Inspection of Surplus War Property 404
King County, Washington, Secures Central Purchasing 315
Texas A and M College Studies County Purchasing 150

Q

Queensland, Australia:
Revision of Local Boundaries Considered 590

R

Racial Discrimination:
Philadelphia Problems Studied ... 511
Racial, Religious Discrimination Outlawed in Three States 340
Radio:
Looking Toward the Peace 460
Prizewinner 143
Radio 40
Raymondville, Texas:
Adopts Manager Ordinance 405
Reapportionment:
A Good Try at an Old Chestnut (Editorial) 483
Minnesota High Court Refuses Districting Aid 504
Pennsylvania Lags in Reapportionment 299
Reapportionment Again 514
Reapportionment for Illinois Called an Urgent Need 186
Self-destruction by the States (Editorial) 534
Texas Apportionment Problem .. 540
Recreation:
Committees Report on Community Problems 576
Cooperation 41
Tri-County Groups Plan Recreation 585
Redding, California:
Interest in Manager Plan 406
Red Oaks, Iowa:
Manager Plan Recommended 342
Reed Plantation, Maine:
Placed on Manager List 508

Regional Development: (See also City-County Consolidation, City-County Cooperation and Metropolitan Areas)
- Local Government Trends in Australia 357
- Regional Planning Councils for New Zealand 476
- What Government Is Doing in Australia 203

Registration:
- Auditoriums, Registration, Reporting Interest Seattle 87
- Georgia Repeals Poll Tax 131
- Permanent Registration 249

Relief: (See Unemployment Relief)

Reno, Nevada:
- Charter Amendments Propose Manager 181

Rennsselaer County, New York:
- League of Women Voters 513

Reporting:
- Auditorium, Registration, Reporting Interest Seattle 87
- Awards Given for Maine Town Reports 135
- City Finance Made Digestible 300
- Connecticut Contest for Municipal Reports 571
- Municipal Reports to Be Exhibited 408
- National Exhibit of Best Municipal Reports Planned 35
- Plans Advanced for Municipal Report Exhibit 135
- Selling Municipal Bonds at Better Interest Rates 260
- Simplified Reporting for New York Justices of Peace 45
- Springfield, Mass., Takes Lesson from Best Sellers 89
- Suggestions on Reporting Local Finance 309

Research:
- *Better Laws Through Research* 544
- Duluth Report 411
- "Facts—Our Chief Business" 89
- GRA Announces New Program .. 509
- GRA Asks Cooperation 411
- GRA to Open National Office 343
- Legislative Research Bureau Created in Indiana 404
- "Municipal Research Bureaus" Reviewed in This Issue 299
- Research Bureaus—Watchdogs of the Treasury 574
- Researcher's Digest (Department) 36, 86, 136, 184, 243, 298 343, 408, 457, 509, 574

Revere, Massachusetts:
- Civic Organizations Gird for Fall Elections 412
- Interest in "Plan E" 179
- Plan E Committee 414

Rhode Island:
- Expenditure Council Studies Local Finance 136
- Jail Investigations in Rhode Island and Seattle 410
- Police in 511
- Public Expenditure Council .. 136, 410 411, 511
- Surveys 411

Richmond, California:
- Cities as War Casualties (Editorial) 3

Riverside County, California:
- Counties Continue Progress in Merit System 469

Rochester, Michigan:
- Defeats Manager Proposal 342
- To Vote on Manager Plan 241

Rochester, New York:
- Bureau of Municipal Research 37, 139, 346
- Citizenship Day in Transition? .. 348
- School Enrollment 139
- State-City 346
- Takes a Critical Look at Itself .. 141

Rockland, Maine:
- Adopts Manager Plan 567
- Legislature Approves Manager Charter 240
- Manager Charter before Legislature 34

Rogers City, Michigan:
- Adopts Manager Plan 180

Rural Areas:
- Kansas Municipal Electric Plants Serve Farms 509

Russia:
- Housing—Worldwide Problem ... 200
- Planning for Local Governments 313
- Soviet Planning 593

Ryan, Monsignor John A. 518

S

St. Clair Flats, Michigan:
- St. Clair Flats Association 516

St. Joseph, Missouri:
- Citizens Good Government Association 513
- County Civic Groups Seek Home Rule Charter 513
- Interest in Manager Plan 342

St. Louis County, Missouri:
- Home Rule Advocated for 355
- Missouri Counties Continue Self-Analysis 520
- A New Civic Group? 192
- Seeks County Efficiency 575

St. Louis, Missouri:
- Costs of Government 37
- Fiscal Year 347
- Governmental Research Institute 37, 187, 244, 300, 347, 511, 575
- Self-destruction by the States 534
- Sheriff 244

St. Paul, Minnesota:
- Extra-Municipal Activities in Minnesota 406

Salaries:
- Equal Pay 314
- Firemen's Pay Rates for Large Cities Reported 37
- Freeholders Commission Submits Seattle Charter 569
- Higher Pay for City Employees (Editorial) 111
- Man Bites Dog (Editorial) 110
- Philadelphia Bureau Investigates Sanitation Pay 36
- Salaries 411, 511
- Salaries and Tenure of Police Investigated 458
- Salary Survey 139
- *Tax Rates of American Cities* ... 547
- Teachers and Schools 512
- Wyoming Removes County Salary Freeze 99

San Diego, California:
- Installs Cooperative In-Service Training Plan 181
- Joint Reference Library for City and County 584
- Manager Charter Amendments ... 83

San Francisco, California:
- Bureau of Governmental Research 187, 246
- Cities Adopt Charter Amendments 568
- Citizenship Day in Transition? ... 348
- Citizens' Postwar Planning Committee of the City and County of San Francisco 460
- Looking Toward the Peace 460
- Mayor's Message 187
- *San Francisco's Unique Charter* .. 273
- School Costs 246

Sanitation:
- Chicago Approves Postwar Projects 352
- Philadelphia Bureau Investigates Sanitation Pay 36

Santa Barbara, California:
- Manager Amendment Proposed .. 133

Santa Clara County, California:
- Manager Charter Sought for 255
- More Counties Consider Manager Plan 199

Santa Monica, California:
- Interest in Manager Plan 509

Sarasota, Florida:
- Adopts Manager Plan 567
- Citizens Manager Committee Meets 508
- Interest in Manager Plan 132
- Manager Amendments Recommended 240
- Manager Bill in Legislature 341

Saskatchewan, Canada:
- Boundary Changes in Two Canadian Provinces 429
- Local Government Elections Planned 590
- Local Reorganization in Canada . 203

Schenectady, New York:
- Anti-Manager Petitions Challenged 406

Anti-Manager Petitions Invalid 455, 508, 568
Bureau of Municipal Research .. 37, 88 139, 187, 245, 411
Charter League 413
Civic Organizations Gird for Fall Elections 412
Legislative Committee 187
Local Postwar Problems 245
Petitions Against Manager Plan .. 342
Postwar Population 88
Salaries 411
School Enrollment 139

Schools: (See Education)

Scotland:
Local Government in 314
Scottish Planning 361
"Whitleyism" to the Fore in 592

Seasongood, Murray 250, 317

Seattle, Washington:
Advocate Manager Plan 405
Auditoriums, Registration, Reporting Interest 87
Citizen Publications 302
Citizenship Day in Transition? .. 348
Citizens Survey Budget Laws 353
Creates Advisory Council 578
Elects Charter Revision Commission 241
Freeholders Commission Submits Charter 569
Jail Investigations in Rhode Island and Seattle 410
Municipal League .. 39, 87, 142, 187 192, 249, 300, 302, 303, 347, 350 353, 410, 411, 458, 512, 578
Plans "Gallup Poll" 39
Police 411
Postwar Plans 300
P. R. Election 303
Public Utilities 512
Salaries and Tenure of Police Investigated 458
Schools Compared 187
Self-destruction by the States (Editorial) 534
Sixteen Cities Questioned on Budget Practices 300
Taxes 347

Sewage Disposal:
Sewage 143

Sheffield, Alabama:
Commission Plan Retained 455

Sheridan, Wyoming:
Interest in Manager Plan 84

Sheriff:
Electing the Sheriff 575
Sheriff 244
Wisconsin Considers Sheriffs and Justices of Peace 315

Short Ballot:
"Bed Sheet" Ballots 459

Skowhegan, Maine:
As Maine Goes So Goes Nation .. 287

Smyrna, Delaware:
Adopts Manager Proposal 341

Social Security: (See also Unemployment Relief)
Demobilization, Reorganization in Federal Civil Service 337
Half of Wisconsin's City Employees in Retirement Plan 183
How Far Shall We Go in Pensioning Public Employees? 302
Interim Committee Studies Wisconsin Pension Plans 403
Legislative Councils Report on Pensions, Schools 86
More State and City Employee Retirement Systems 294
Nebraska Adopts Merit System, School Retirement Plan 339
Nine Statewide Retirement Systems Adopted in 1945 407
Pensions 346
Pension Systems 88
Social Security 41
Three State Leagues Foster Retirement Systems 84
Unemployment Insurance and Population Problems 49
Wayne County, Michigan, Adopts Retirement Plan 45
What Should a Municipal Pension System Provide? 244

Wisconsin Retirement Plan Includes County Employees 585

South Africa
Housing—Worldwide Problem ... 200

South America:
Cities in the News 152

South Carolina:
Nine Statewide Retirement Systems Adopted in 1945 407
Reorganization and Postwar Plans for 504

South Dakota:
Eight States Add Laws for Intergovernmental Cooperation 404
Governmental Research Bureau of the University of 137
Locating a State Capital—Tale of Pioneer Days 137

Spain:
Housing—Worldwide Problem ... 200

Spanish Fork, Utah:
Elects Charter Commission 568
To Vote on Charter Commission 508

Spartanburg, South Carolina:
Favors Manager Plan 296
Interest in Manager Plan 179
Manager Plan Urged 406
Plans for Manager Referendum .. 240

Sparta, Tennessee:
Citizen Groups Aid Youth Programs 191
Civitan Club 191

Springfield, Massachusetts:
Active for "Plan E" 179
Citizenship Contests 465
Civitan Club 465
Merit Rating 514
Supports "Plan E" 295
Takes Lesson from Best Sellers .. 89
Taxpayers Association 515

Springfield, Ohio:
Greater Springfield and Clark County Association 140
Group Tackles City Problems 140

State College, Pennsylvania:
Ordinance Creates Manager 241

State Government: (See also Federal-State-Local Relations, Interstate Cooperation, State-Local Relations, and Names of Individual States)
All States Now Have Veterans' Affairs Offices 403
Cigarette Taxes Saved for States 426
City, State and Nation (Department) .. 30, 80, 130, 179, 237, 290 337, 401, 453, 503, 567
Locating a State Capital—Tale of Pioneer Days 137
New Spending Spree on the Way (Editorial) 323
New State Zoning Laws Protect Airports 572
Prewar Local Borrowing Explored 95
Revenue from State Income Tax Rises 525
State Direct Legislation Holds to Average 341
State Employees at Five-Year Low 184
States Profit in Liquor Trade 218
State Tax Collections Rise 588
Uniform State Unemployment Compensation Maximum Urged 135
Veterans' Legislation Adopted in 46 States This Year 572
Women Jurors Permitted in 30 States 403

State-Local Relations:
Alabama Committee Proposes Many Reforms 237
Alabama Legislative Committee Makes County Recommendations 257
County Legislation in Tennessee .. 257
Digest of New York State Local Laws Issued 422
Fourteen Legislatures Aid State and Local Planning 507
A Good Try at an Old Chestnut (Editorial) 483
Grants-in-Aid 511
Greater State Aid Urged for N. Y. Local Units 259
Imaginary Cities 188
March Toward Home Rule 168

Massachusetts State-Collected Taxes under the Microscope 137
Michigan Cities Seek Share of State Surplus 262
Michigan Tax Committee Makes Report 194
More State and City Employee Retirement Systems 294
More State Laws on Urban Development 507
Nebraska Legislature Repeals Budget Laws 425
New York's Revised Local Finance Code Takes Effect 425
New York State Speeds Local Audits 587
Oregon Tax Survey Ordered 426
Pennsylvania Commission Urges Restudy of Tax, Fiscal Systems 351
Personnel Administration for Community Benefit 294
R. I. Expenditure Council Studies Local Finance 136
Self-destruction by the States (Editorial) 534
State Aid for Massachusetts Schools Explained 244
State-City 346
State Laws to Help Cities Buy War Surpluses 406
State-Local Borrowing After Two Decades 46
States and Cities Foster Urban Redevelopment 453
Tennessee Legislature Passes 800 Bills, Most of Them Local 241
Texas Apportionment Problem .. 540
Those State Surpluses (Editorial) 163
Washington Adopts Scientific Allocation of County Road Funds 356

Stream Control:
Stream Pollution 512
Tennessee Legislature Passes 800 Bills, Most of Them Local 241

Streets and Highways:
County Road Legislation Surveyed 520
Federal Aid May Strengthen County Highway Department 519
Federal-State-Local Cooperation for Texas Highways 456
Highway Finance 88
Local Government Trends in Australia 357
78th Congress Starts Postwar Highway Program 97
Texas Counties Centralize Road Administration 470
Trend in Kansas to County Road Systems 421
U. S. Provides Aid for Postwar Highways 146
Washington Adopts Scientific Allocation of County Road Funds 356
What Government Is Doing in Australia 203

Surplus Property:
Cooperative Inspection of Surplus War Property 404
State Laws to Help Cities Buy War Surpluses 406

Syracuse, New York:
New York Cities Consider Pay-as-you-go 426

T

Taft, Charles P., to State Department 317

Taft Returns to Cincinnati 434

Tampa, Florida:
Campaign for Manager Plan 133
Changes Set-up for City Council 455
Interest in Manager Plan 180
Manager Efforts Postponed 341
Manager Plan Endorsed 34
More Groups Favor Manager 295
Poll on Manager Plan 240

Tasmania:
What Government Is Doing in Australia 203

Taxation—General:
Cigarette Taxes Saved for States 426
Constitutional Changes Approved, Rejected in Idaho 81
Conversion to Peace Begins 470
Federal-State Tax Cooperation .. 21

- Group to Study Manufacturing Taxes 262
- Late Reports on November Elections 48
- Local Government Affairs in New Zealand 359
- Massachusetts State-Collected Taxes under the Microscope 137
- Michigan Tax Committee Makes Report 194
- New Baltimore Taxes Authorized 588
- Oregon Tax Survey Ordered 426
- Pennsylvania Commission Urges Restudy of Tax, Fiscal Systems 351
- Pennsylvania Corporate Franchise Tax Held Valid 259
- Preview of the 1945 Legislatures 92
- Reorganization and Postwar Plans for South Carolina 504
- State Tax Collections Rise 588
- Taxation and Finance (Department) ... 46, 94, 146, 194, 259, 308, 351, 422, 470, 521, 586
- Taxes 347
- Taxes, Finance 465
- Tax Fund Distribution 88
- Taxing Intangibles 511
- Toledo Citizens Urge Added Revenues 524
- Why Not Cooperation? 510

Taxation—Collection

- State Tax Collections Rise 588

Taxation—Exemption:

- Texas Defeats Homestead Exemption Bill 196
- U. S. Supreme Court Upholds N. Y. Port Bond Tax Exemption .. 94

Taxation—Gasoline:

- State Tax Collections Rise 588

Taxation—Income:

- Minneapolis Considers City Income Tax 587
- Philadelphia Income Tax Saved 308
- Revenue from State Income Tax Rises 525
- *The Tax Limitation Delusion* 64

Taxation—Limitation:

- Four States Reject, One Approves Federal Tax Limit 183
- More States Defeat Federal Tax Limit Proposal 298
- *The Tax Limitation Delusion* 64

Taxation—Liquor:

- *States Profit in Liquor Trade* .. 218

Taxation—Poll:

- Georgia Repeals Poll Tax 131
- New Constitution Approved by Georgia Legislature 238
- Tennessee Legislature Passes 800 Bills, Most of Them Local 241
- Virginia Holds Limited Constitutional Convention 338

Taxation—Property:

- English Committee Makes Valuation Proposals 313
- *'Plan E' Succeeds in Cambridge* .. 450
- Property Taxation in New South Wales 311
- Taxes 41
- *Tax Rates of American Cities* ... 547

Taxation—Sales:

- Detroit Utility Tax Voided by Court 148
- State Tax Collections Rise 588

Temple, Major Ralph R. 580

Tennessee:

- Commission Studies Tennessee Constitution 503
- County Legislation in Tennessee 257
- Eight States Add Laws for Intergovernmental Cooperation 404
- Legislature Passes 800 Bills, Most of Them Local 241
- Statewide Library Service Sought in Tennessee 150

Tenure of Office:

- Salaries and Tenure of Police Investigated 458

Terms of Office:

- Changing the Rules (Editorial) .. 436
- Cities Adopt Charter Amendments 568
- Commission Studies Tennessee Constitution 503
- Constitutional Changes Approved, Rejected in Idaho 81

Freeholders Commission Submits Seattle Charter 569
New York Council Term Extended 419
Portland, Maine, Revamps City Council Setup 569

Texas:
A and M College Studies County Purchasing 150
Apportionment Problem 540
Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of 87, 186, 409
Counties to Acquire Abandoned Army Airfields 519
Defeats Homestead Exemption Bill 196
Educating the Citizen on Governmental Procedure 409
Federal-State-Local Cooperation for Highways 456
State Administrative Agencies Listed in New Guide 186
Urbanism 87
Veterans' Assistance, Personnel Measures Voted 31

Tillamook, Oregon:
Interest in Manager Plan 342

Toledo, Ohio:
Chamber of Commerce 460
Citizens Urge Added Revenues .. 524
Committee Reports on Postwar Planning 39
Looking Toward the Peace 460
Mayor Appoints Labor-Management Committee 408
Municipal League 39, 94, 143
Nine P. R. Elections and One Referendum 465
P. A. C. Circulating Petitions in 252
Postwar Planning 94
Prefers a Mirror (Editorial) 534
Revives Discussion of County Reforms 257
Toledo and Its Big Tomorrow .. 493
Votes to Keep P. R. 581
War Memorials 143

Tolosa, Leyte:
Jap Influence Fades Quickly 445

Toronto, Ontario:
Bureau of Municipal Research 88, 410
Citizen Control 88

Tort Liability:
Funds, Boards, Tort Liability, Auto Licenses Investigated 138

Town Meeting: (See also Township and Village Government)
Maine Pupils Hold Town Meeting 415

Township and Village Government:
Awards Given for Maine Town Reports 135
County and Township (Department) ... 45, 97, 149, 198, 254, 315, 355, 420, 468, 518, 584
County Government 88
Digest of New York State Local Laws Issued 422
New York Studies Town Improvement Districts 99
New York Village and Township May Consolidate 135

Traffic:
Council-Manager Plan News 341

Training for Public Service:
Apprentices in Citizenship 213
Jamaica Gets Reform Program .. 116
Kansas Inaugurates State Internship Plan 34
Michigan Institute Trains County Officials 45
New York Regional Institutes Break Records 36
Public Administration Fellowships Announced 343
San Diego Installs Cooperative In-Service Training Plan 181
Taxpayer Training School 578
Utah Institute on Law Enforcement 405

Transit:
Chicago Adopts Publicly Owned Transit Plan 343
Chicago Transit Authority Gets Lower Court Approval 474
Metropolitan Authority for Chicago Transit Lines 296
Subway Riders Pay Dividends ... 511

Tucumcari, New Mexico:
Interest in Manager Plan 342

U

Unemployment Relief: (See also Social Security)
  California's Employment Problem ... 574
  Conversion to Peace Begins ... 470
  Finance ... 266
  Local Units Mark Time on Public Works ... 521
  Unemployment Insurance and Population Problems ... 49
  Uniform State Unemployment Compensation Maximum Urged 135

United States: (See Federal Government)

Upson Named Dean at Wayne ... 434

Urban Rehabilitation:
  All-out Planning for Britain ... 60
  Bold Action on a Tough Problem (Editorial) ... 59
  Can New York City Regain that "Home Town" Sense? ... 414
  Can We Rebuild Our Cities? ... 5
  Looking Toward the Peace ... 460
  More State Laws on Urban Development ... 507
  New York Legislature Pioneers in Slum Clearance ... 292
  States and Cities Foster Urban Redevelopment ... 453
  Toledo and Its Big Tomorrow ... 493

U. S. Chamber of Commerce ... 40, 515

U. S. Conference of Mayors ... 35

U. S. Mayors' Conference to Meet in New York ... 571

Utah:
  Institute on Law Enforcement .. 405

Utica, New York:
  Interest in Manager Plan ... 406

V

Vallejo, California:
  Studies Manager Plan ... 296

Vancouver, Washington:
  City Seeks War-Housing Control 329

Van Wert, Ohio:
  Interest in Manager Plan ... 295, 568

Vassar, Michigan:
  Added to Manager List ... 406

Veterans:
  All States Now Have Veterans' Affairs Offices ... 403
  Civil Service League Reports on Veterans ... 85
  English Bills' Progress ... 361
  Forging Guns into Nightsticks .. 488
  New Constitution Approved by Georgia Legislature ... 238
  New York to Vote on Drastic Veterans' Preference Law ... 242
  New York Voters Use Care on Amendments ... 571
  Public Personnel Conference Considers Wartime Problems ... 35
  Veterans' Assistance, Personnel Measures Voted ... 31
  Veterans' Legislation Adopted in 46 States This Year ... 572
  Veterans' Preference ... 41
  Veterans Preferred, Unlimited ... 437
  Veterans Service Officers Appointed ... 585
  Virginia Holds Limited Constitutional Convention ... 338
  Worth Fighting For (Editorial) .. 211

Victoria, Australia:
  Central Planning Commission Provided in Bill ... 54
  Milk Regulation ... 593
  Milk Supply ... 314
  Passes First Planning Act ... 476
  Suffers from District Phobia ... 592
  What Government Is Doing in Australia ... 203

Virginia:
  Conducts Planning Institutes ... 421
  Holds Limited Constitutional Convention ... 338

W

Wages: (See Salaries)

War:
- *AMG Takes Over War's Ruins* .. 74
- Big Three Recognize Value of Local Government 429
- British Outgoing Government Passes Local Legislation 428
- Cigarette Taxes Saved for States 426
- *City Seeks War-Housing Control* 329
- Czechs Hold Elections in Liberated Areas 100
- Democratic Election Law Planned for Poland 104
- France Postpones Local Elections 101
- From War to Peace 578
- Holland Prepares Temporary Local Government Measures 104
- Italy's Local Governments under Allied Commission 102
- *Jap Influence Fades Quickly* 445
- Liberated Areas Restore Local Governments 100
- New Zealand Adjusts Local Government Functions 52
- Norwegian Government Plans with Help of Underground 103
- *Perils of a Military Governor* .. 325
- Philippines Look Forward to Reconstruction 103
- Prewar Communal Councils Serve in Belgium 102
- Public Personnel Conference Considers Wartime Problems 35
- *Secret Ballot and Soldier Vote* .. 381
- War's End Spurs Reconversion Efforts 401

War Memorials:
- Communities Plan Living War Memorials 154
- War Memorials 143

Washington:
- Adopts Scientific Allocation of County Road Funds 356
- Association of Cities 244
- Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of 244
- *Coast States Try Cooperation* ... 484
- Eight States Add Laws for Intergovernmental Cooperation 404
- How Washington Cities Collect Garbage 244
- Intergovernmental Relations Facilitated on Pacific Coast 404
- Late Reports on November Elections 48
- The Legislature 249
- *'Non-Profit Inc.' in Public Power* 393
- State Laws to Help Cities Buy War Surpluses 406
- Three State Leagues Foster Retirement Systems 84
- Watching the Legislatures 142

Water:
- *Device for Operating Utilities*... 283
- Water Bill 265

Wayne County, Michigan:
- Adopts Retirement Plan 45
- Counties Continue Progress in Merit System 469

Whitechester, England:
- Recent Publications 361

Wilkes County, North Carolina:
- North Carolina County Fights Annexation 151

Wilmington, Delaware:
- Interest in Manager Plan 84

Wilmington, North Carolina:
- Extends City Limits 569

Wilton, Connecticut:
- Schools Studied by League of Women Voters 415

Wisconsin:
- Considers Sheriffs and Justices of Peace 315
- Counties Get Emergency Post-War Powers 468
- *The County Clerk as Manager* .. 125
- *County Reform Run-Around* ... 386
- Fewer School Districts 136
- Financing Postwar Works Arouses Controversy 308
- Four States Reject, One Approves Federal Tax Limit 183
- Half of City Employees in Retirement Plan 183

- Interim Committee on County Government ... 356
- Interim Committee Studies Pension Plans ... 403
- League of Women Voters ... 579
- Legislature Defeats County Government Amendment ... 256
- More States Defeat Federal Tax Limit Proposal ... 298
- New Budgets ... 192
- Retirement Plan Includes County Employees ... 585
- Study Government Setup ... 579
- Taxes, Finance ... 465
- Taxpayers Alliance ... 143, 193

Woman's Foundation, Inc. ... 188, 576

Wood County, Wisconsin:
- Two Wisconsin Counties Adopt Merit System ... 356

Wyoming:
- Removes County Salary Freeze .. 99

X

Y

Yakima, Washington:
- Cities Collect Revenues from Airports ... 471

Yonkers, New York:
- Changing the Rules (Editorial) .. 436
- City Manager League ... 192, 412
- Civic Organizations Gird for Fall Elections ... 412
- Committee of 100 ... 192, 249
- Community Forum ... 40
- Council of Parents and Teachers ... 40
- Crooked Elections (Editorial) ... 535
- Evening League of Women Voters 40
- The Fourth P. R. Election in ... 582
- Imitation Is the Greatest Flattery 303
- Municipal Forum ... 192
- Nine P. R. Elections and One Referendum ... 465
- 1945 Objectives ... 249
- Paper in a Paper ... 192
- Progresses with P. R.–Manager Plan ... 205
- A Set-Back in ... 253
- Teachers Association ... 40
- Those State Surpluses (Editorial) 163
- Worth Fighting For (Editorial) .. 211
- Young Men's Chamber of Commerce ... 192, 303

Youngstown, Ohio:
- Cities Adopt Charter Amendments ... 568

Youth:
- Boy-Legislature Plan Continues Growth ... 39
- Citizen Groups Aid Youth Programs ... 191
- *Civic Plan to Bridge 18-21 Gap* .. 10
- Indiana Considers Voting at Eighteen ... 404
- Learning by Doing (Editorial) .. 4
- When Are We Old Enough? ... 193
- Youth Conference ... 41

Ypsilanti, Michigan:
- Votes for Charter Revision ... 295

Z

Zanesville, Ohio:
- Chamber of Commerce ... 299
- Hunt for New Revenues ... 187
- Research Department of Chamber of Commerce ... 187
- Worn Out and Broke Says Chamber of Commerce ... 299

Zoning:
- Cooperation ... 41
- New State Zoning Laws Protect Airports ... 572

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

161 V.34

Cities as War Casualties
Editorial

Can We Rebuild Our Cities?
Joseph D. McGoldrick

Civic Plan to Bridge 18-21 Gap
Loring Dam

Civil Service by Constitution
Edward H. Litchfield and Robert G. McCloskey

Federal-State Tax Cooperation
James W. Martin

Letters from Overseas

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Contents for January 1945

Letters from Overseas .... *Howard P. Jones* 2

Editorial Comment .... *Alfred Willoughby* 3

Can We Rebuild Our Cities? .... *Joseph D. McGoldrick* 5

Civic Plan to Bridge 18-21 Gap .... *Loring Dam* 10

Civil Service by Constitution...... *Edward H. Litchfield and Robert G. McCloskey* 14

Federal-State Tax Cooperation........... *James W. Martin* 21

Letters to the Editor.................................. 28

Contributors in Review 29

News in Review

City, State and Nation.................... *H. M. Olmsted* 30

Researcher's Digest 36

Citizen Action .... *Elsie S. Parker* 38

Proportional Representation........ *George H. Hallett, Jr.* 42

County and Township .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 45

Taxation and Finance .... *Wade S. Smith* 46

Community Welfare .... *Federal Security Agency* 49

Local Affairs Abroad................ *Edward W. Weidner* 52

Books in Review 55

The contents of the National Municipal Review are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Letters from Overseas

League's secretary, now army officer in Europe as government expert, lugs cash around by the ton.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Following are parts of two recent letters from Major Howard P. Jones, secretary of the National Municipal League, who was given a leave of absence for the duration when he entered the military government branch of the Army.

Somewhere in Belgium

No mail from the states since August 31, but I suppose that is the penalty for being on a fascinating job in the combat zone. Although, speaking of the combat zone, I feel a little like the officer in London who said, "These buzz bombs are getting my goat. I'm off to the front to get a little rest!" Or the general who is reputed to have said in staff meeting, "I need a couple of volunteers to go to the front. I'll be glad to receive applications from any officers who have lost their nerve!"

I wish I could tell the full story of how I happen to be in Belgium and all the events connected with it. It's a regular "Scarlet Pimpernel" of a yarn. It's one of those experiences you wouldn't trade for anything. Suffice to say I was designated to bring a very important shipment across England, across the Channel and to an unnamed destination near the front. We trucked the stuff to the port, got a little 300-ton coastal vessel (which took two days and two nights to cross the Channel), ran the German blockade on a dark and stormy night (no kidding!), assembled a freight train on the other side which was finally a motley mixture of German cars, French cars, Belgian cars—most of them messed up by our bombing—and ultimately reached our destination with everything intact. On the way I had no chance to take my clothes off but did manage to remain reasonably presentable even on the rail trip by getting hot water from the locomotive to shave with! I was the only officer—a lone wolf assignment, I might add.

The journey across France and Belgium was one to wring the heart and put a lump in the throat. You've probably read so much about the welcome liberating troops received that it's an old story but it'll never be forgotten by anyone who went through it.

A Royal Welcome

Our train went through sections which had seen no, or at least very few, troops. Every time it stopped, people would come running from the fields, from the orchards, from their kitchens, cheering and waving and bringing whatever they could lay their hands on—a coffee pot full of steaming coffee (which sells for a fortune on the black market), a basketful of pears—apples—whatever they had—literally showering us with gifts. And they have so little themselves! I tried to give one woman with three cute kids clinging to her skirts a box of biscuits but she would have none of it. "Pour vous," she kept saying, "Tous pour vous!"

And the kids! They wouldn't go near the Germans but they clambered up the sides of our car wanting just to touch us, shouting and laughing. In one small village the Germans had shot 82 of the 500 inhabitants just two weeks before, they told us.

One Belgian told me with tears in his eyes, "In 1940 I said, the Americans will come, the Americans will save us! And I kept the faith in my heart. And it was true, true, true!" Jumping up and down and clapping me on the back in his excitement.

I could write for hours about this

(Continued on page 27)

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Cities as War Casualties

UNLESS steps are taken in advance to meet the situation, many cities are going to find themselves with swollen populations and idle factories when contracts for the materials of war are cancelled.

It won't solve the problem to say that the people who assembled at war production centers should go back where they came from. Many of them have burned their bridges behind them and others simply won't go.

Question: is it up to the federal government to provide a crutch for such communities?

So far as waging the war itself is concerned, the government recognized a common national responsibility for some situations by bolstering strained municipal facilities with Lanham Act funds. Whether the people, through their government, will feel a continuing responsibility to leave these communities in as good and normal order as they found them at the beginning of the war effort may be another matter.

In general, local self-reliance is a healthy thing. There are few local problems which cannot and should not be solved at home by the simple application of initiative, intelligence, honesty and determination. Such cities as Kalamazoo, Eugene (Oregon) and Milwaukee have provided wholesome examples of cutting their cloth to fit their patterns and, by bringing their debts under control, have put themselves in safe condition to meet future emergencies. Meanwhile, many other cities, unwilling to make similar efforts, are poised hat in hand for a descent on Washington when and if the old scramble begins again.

Nevertheless there are some instances in which the concentration of war industries has so completely upset normal conditions as to leave communities with postwar problems which will be difficult if not impossible for them to solve alone. Plans should be made now to give these places such help as they rightly deserve and the federal government should bear an appropriate share of the responsibility.

Richmond, California, is one of a considerable number of cities which, as a result of their war effort, stand on the brink of possible disaster unless positive and constructive action is taken. In 1940 Richmond had 23,000 people and no shipyards. In 1944 there were more than 100,000 people, 24,000 units of temporary war housing had been erected and four Kaiser shipyards were producing wartime shipping.

A recent survey by Richmond's city manager[1] says that if Richmond is to reestablish normal living conditions it will need about $9,000,000 worth of public works to serve and protect an estimated postwar population of about 50,000. Richmond argues that it does not have the capacity to pay for the schools, streets, fire equipment, sewers and other essentials for so many. It is claimed, with considerable logic, that such a community is, or eventually will be, a war casualty meriting rehabilitation just as clearly as the disabled man who returns from the front.

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[1] A summary of the report appears in *Richmond, California: A City Earns the Purple Heart,* California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission, 1944.

Specific measuring devices — or some agency with the wisdom of Solomon—will be needed. There are, after all, long-term benefits to be derived from population increases. Unless adequate standards and brakes are provided, we are likely to find too many places setting out to prove that the war has damaged them when it might be demonstrated that benefits have offset the handicaps.

Learning by Doing

AMONG the lessons to be learned from this war and from conditions in other countries which led to it is that we must find means of developing sounder citizens who are more concerned with their responsibilities in a self-governing democracy than with their "rights."

We solemnly announce the need to educate the youth of the enemy nations. Those who have already grown up under their systems have had their mentalities warped beyond repair, we say.

Well, the implied confidence in our own elders is comfortable, to say the least. It would have more substance if those who like to deal with statistics weren't forever pointing out that because so few people bother to vote in primaries we are practically forcing good or bad men to become party "bosses" and make our choices for us.

There is increasing awareness of the need to educate our own youth for citizenship, not, most certainly, in the manner it was done in the countries which began so long ago to prepare for this war, but along lines which will produce responsible, informed, participating citizens.

The best way to learn is by doing. There will be many bold experiments in citizen education during the next few years. They will be worth observing and helping. One such experiment is described in this issue of the REVIEW by Loring Dam, president of the Philadelphia Youth Civic Council.

POLITICS is a frontier and a wide one. J. S. Oliver called it the endless adventure of governing men and the finest occupation to which a man could devote his life. Politicians are the people who lead governments—local, state and national—and if you want to share in forming the future of this land of yours, or of your own town, politics is the way you do it. It can be a dirty game, I suppose, but I find dirty politics in a government department, in church organizations, or in local improvement associations. In dealing with people you find good and bad, and the science of working with them, and finding the best in them, is politics. Most everybody damns politicians but they are not only necessary but admirable. CHARLES P. TAFT in Radio Address to Hi-Y Clubs.

Can We Rebuild Our Cities?

New York's Comptroller suggests bold plan to eliminate slums by municipal condemnation of large areas, erasing street lines, replatting, reselling to private builders.

By **JOSEPH D. McGOLDRICK**
Comptroller, New York City

ONE of the biggest problems confronting our country as we look forward to final victory in the present war is that of providing full employment after hostilities cease. Whether, as many believe, the pent-up demand for consumer goods will provide such employment in the immediate postwar years or whether, as others fear, the very reconversion itself from a wartime to a peacetime economy will bring an immediate unemployment problem, the fact remains that sooner or later we will have a real problem in providing employment. One of our greatest opportunities will be that of rebuilding the vast obsolete sections of our older cities. Actually our cities cannot long delay facing this problem because these areas threaten them with financial strangulation.

Slums and dilapidated areas have too long been a familiar aspect of city life and require no description, but perhaps this very familiarity inclines us to take them for granted and assume that like the poor we will always have them with us. Too little effort has been made to penetrate the causes of this municipal disease and too little search has been made for a cure.

These blighted portions of our cities are at the root of a great many municipal difficulties. We have gradually come to realize what such conditions cost us in terms of crime and delinquency, impairment of public health and as fire hazards, but we perhaps overlook the fact that they are at the bottom of the ceaseless flight of people and buildings to the outskirts of the city and then beyond. These older areas have streets and sewers and schools, police and fire houses, and public facilities of every sort. In the case of New York City they are invariably well supplied with subway routes. All too frequently the public investment in these facilities is only partially amortized. Yet population pushes out into new areas and at once demands paved streets, sewers, new schools, police and fire protection and the extension of subway lines. The result is an impairment of values and hence of tax revenues from the older areas and a heavy burden of debt and increased budgetary costs for the new ones.

It is startling to consider that most of the residential building in New York in the last 25 years, not only of one-family houses but of apartment houses as well, has been on raw land. And most of the complaint about over-assessment has come from the interior sections. These facts are obviously related and they have serious implications for the city's financial future.

The New York City Planning Commission's "Downtown Brooklyn Plan," made public a short time ago, attempts to come to grips with this problem in a typical area. It is a major event in the field of city planning and something of more than local importance.

The area covered by this plan comprised the whole city of Brooklyn one hundred years ago and today is still the hub and heart of that great borough. It is approximately 730 acres. It includes the well known Columbia Heights residential district with its splendid view of the lower New York skyline and is one of the most popular and attractive residence districts in the city. Nearby are Brooklyn's own skyscrapers. A step beyond are the big department stores and shopping center along Fulton Street and the principal motion pictures theatres. All told there are $350,000,000 of assessed value in this portion of Brooklyn.

In the virtual center of all this is Brooklyn's Borough Hall, Municipal Building, three court houses, the headquarters of the Board of Eduation of the entire city of New York and numerous lesser public buildings.

Downtown Brooklyn Studied

Yet in the section northeast of Borough Hall is one of the most pathetic and utterly mongrel areas of the whole city. It is an area of obsolete buildings, most of which were built more than 75 years ago. It is not a teeming slum. Its population is in fact scanty. Dozens of buildings are boarded up. There are scores of vacant lots where buildings have been torn down to avoid taxes. The remainder have been put to such varied uses as to give the whole a completely conglomerate character.

The City Planning Commission initiated its study of the whole downtown Brooklyn region more than two years ago. Forty million dollars in public projects were scheduled for this area. Obviously the expenditure of such a considerable sum made a comprehensive study eminently desirable. The projected public improvements included the very essential interior link which would complete the Brooklyn-Queens Circumferential Express Highway system, two other badly needed traffic arteries through the downtown area and a dozen or more public buildings, including a Supreme Court House, a headquarters for the city subway system and a high school of specialty trades. It would have been folly to locate and design these various localities without at least examining the possibility of interrelating them.

The Downtown Brooklyn Plan now presented includes four important items:

> A system of major highways through and around the area,
>
> An expanded civic center which would provide sites for the various new public buildings,
>
> A proposed rezoning of the area,
>
> A suggested pattern of super-blocks in the area northeast of Borough Hall.

There is nothing startlingly original in this program. There is an interesting treatment of the difficult problem of bringing the highway system around the Heights without destroying its charm and quiet. This is to be a three-deck structure, the lower two of which will be the highway and the top a twenty-foot promenade affording a view of the

Manhattan skyline and lower bay. The widening of Adams Street will give a six-lane thoroughfare leading to and from Brooklyn Bridge. The enlarged civic center should provide a harmonious and convenient grouping not only of the public buildings presently needed but for future ones as they are required. The zoning and super-block proposals offer no novelty in modern city planning.

The problems which the planners faced were not unlike those which confront scores of American cities in their downtown districts. And the answers, mutatis mutandis, are what any city would like to achieve. The real problem was not *what* to do—the engineers and architects can give pretty good answers to that—but *how?*

Difficulties Faced

There is, of course, no insuperable obstacle to the public improvements. They must compete with the other needs of the whole community and their total cost, estimated at $50,000,000, must be related to such prosaic matters as the constitutional debt limit and the ability of tax revenues to sustain the debt. Such factors might have considerable to do with the time-program upon which these projects could be undertaken but given time all of them could be realized.

The proposed zone changes are not quite so easy a problem. Once adopted they are, of course, immediately operative. But they are not retroactive. The owner of a particular parcel or group of parcels who wished to build would thereafter have to conform to the new requirements as to use, height and land coverage. But until his neighbors were prepared to build he would be surrounded by an untidy mess of deterioration and mixed uses. Faced with this he would probably oppose these zone changes in the first instance and, if they were nevertheless adopted, he would have a case for upsetting them on the ground that no conforming use would yield him a fair return on his property investment.

But the crucial difficulty would be the creation of the proposed super-blocks, which is the very heart of the proposed plan. Unless these areas can be rebuilt with private capital and put on a self-sustaining, taxpaying basis, it is difficult to see how the city could really afford the highways and public improvements. To pour $50,000,000 in public improvements into this neighborhood and leave large parts of it deserts of blight and decay would be to miss a spectacular opportunity.

If the super-block is to be more than a pipe dream, the only ordinary means by which one could be created would be for some individual or group to acquire every single parcel in the entire super-block area and then negotiate with the city for the closing of the streets. The ownerships of these parcels are, however, numerous and widely scattered. The typical lot in the area is 25 x 100 feet but many are smaller and irregular. Many are tangled in estates, trust and other legal complications. Assemblage of an occasional building plot would not be impossible but the assemblage of the entire area within any of these super-blocks would be a formidable task—so formidable that it would be, realistically speaking, impossible.

Shall we then abandon these larger plans as unrealizable dreams that serve only to confuse the public by raising false hopes? Is there no way to accomplish these purposes? I think there is.

When the New York City Planning Commission was debating whether it should abandon the larger aspects of its plan and confine itself to the highway and public building projects, I wrote to the members suggesting that the only way to translate the super-block into reality is for the city to step in and, through condemnation, to acquire all the separate parcels within these proposed super-blocks. I would then propose that the city erase the interior streets, rezone the area and offer the entire block for sale at public auction.

Constitution Gives Authority

I am satisfied that the city has the power to do precisely this. The legal power to accomplish it is contained in Article XVIII, Section 1, of the constitution which gives the city authority to clear, replan, reconstruct and rehabilitate substandard and insanitary areas. At my request the Corporation Counsel and other attorneys have examined into the matter and are satisfied that this provision affords ample legal authority for this proposal.

The area of proposed super-blocks to which I wish to focus attention is the one northeast of Borough Hall. It is well situated. It is served by all four of the trunk lines of our city subway system and is five or ten minutes from lower Manhattan and fifteen or twenty from Times Square or Grand Central Station. It will be not only immediately adjacent to the Brooklyn - Queens highway system but crossing the Manhattan Bridge it has ready access to the East River Drive, the West Side Highway and the Holland Tunnel. It is an area perfectly capable of sustaining moderate priced apartments without tax subsidy of any sort.

As for the fiscal or economic aspects of such a venture I am convinced that if this is undertaken in conjunction with the improvements now proposed for this area, the city will recover the entire $20,000,000 which I estimate it would be required to advance for this additional land acquisition. The new super-blocks would have the advantages of (1) assemblage, (2) increased plottage by reason of the reduction of the area now devoted to streets, (3) the protection which the simultaneous development of adjacent blocks would afford, and (4) the benefit which the public buildings, parks and playgrounds would bring.

The combination of these with its inherent advantages of location and transportation would make the area so desirable for private development I am confident that the city would completely recover its outlay in acquiring this property. Over and above this, it would secure a very substantial enhancement in taxable values from the development which would take place in these two districts and an additional incalculable benefit in the stability which such a development would give to the Fulton Street shopping center and adjacent business districts.

The time has come to take a bold forward step. There will, of course, be criticism. There will be some who will want a more Utopian scheme for which we lack both the legal power and financial resources. Others will be too timid or hesitant about so forthright a venture. There will be those who will rail at the city's buying this property at a condemnation value which will in all likelihood be not much less than that at which we have taxed it for the past ten years; and there will be those who, having fulminated against over-assessment for the past ten years, will now claim values far in excess of our assessed valuations for properties in this area. And, of course, there will be some property owners who will howl because their particular parcel is included or excluded from the area to be taken. But I am confident that such a program as this will commend itself to all those genuinely and unselfishly interested in Brooklyn's future and indeed in New York City's future.

A Plan for All Areas

The importance of this plan and the particular technique which I propose lies not alone in its potentialities for downtown Brooklyn but in its possibilities of wider application. There are many areas of stagnation such as the one we find here. In them we have spent substantial sums on highways, parkways, playgrounds and public improvements of many sorts, but these improvements have had precious little effect in reviving such neighborhoods. Even our slum clearance housing projects have failed to stimulate the renovation of their environs. In the field of housing public funds are so obviously limited that they cannot take care of the needs of the lowest income group. If accommodations are to be provided for those at the next highest level it must be with private capital. But if this group is not to be pushed out to the furthest rim of the city a way must be found to make it possible to house them in areas of obsolete dwellings.

The problem, however, is even larger than this. A comprehensive city planning must provide space for industry and commerce and, ideally, these should have some integral relation to dwelling areas. Zoning changes that cannot be retroactive in their effect are too feeble and too negative an instrument to secure this kind of replanning. We must find a catalyst. The one which I have suggested may precipitate the regeneration of some of the neglected corners of our city. At the very least, it is worth a serious try.

— **Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps** —

Civic Plan to Bridge 18-21 Gap

Youth Council, formed by Philadelphia Committee of Seventy, uses elections as laboratory, studies non-voting causes, produces radio programs, forums; schools eager to cooperate.

By LORING DAM, *President*
Philadelphia Youth Civic Council

WHAT can be done to preserve the values of civics instruction for the years between graduation from high school and actual participation in the political life of the community? This question has been raised by a large number of social science instructors of the Philadelphia school system, the heads of various civic organizations and the young people themselves.

Civic leaders recognize the existence of a gap of three years between the time a student leaves high school and the time he can take constructive action in civic affairs by casting his ballot. It is during these years that disillusionment frequently sets in and youth becomes more or less cynical. It is during these years that he sees all about him a disregard for the things he has been taught in his civics classes in high school.

Just what can be done to bridge this gap? What means can be employed to keep alive the enthusiasm engendered in the youth who participate in the model elections in the schools in a study of the operation of political parties and the organization of their local government, in the election of class officers and in the administration of student affairs during high school years.

These questions arose in the minds of the members of The Philadelphia Committee of Seventy who have been cooperating with the public, Catholic and private school systems in making their courses in civics and social science more practical. Hundreds of young people were developing strong enthusiasms and sincere desires to be a more effective force for good in their community.

The Committee decided to establish an organization through which the boys and girls of high school age could continue their interest in civic affairs and prepare for effective citizenship. After more than a year's experience, it believes that the answer to hundreds of queries which have come to it from students and teachers has been found in the Youth Civic Council of Philadelphia, an organization whose aims are:

1. To foster and perpetuate representative government;
2. To cooperate with educational agencies in the teaching of the responsibilities of government;
3. To afford young people an opportunity for continued self-education in the practical application to local, state and national government of the principles upon which self-government is founded.

Membership in the Council is open to any American citizen who is in sympathy with the aims of the group and who is willing to devote part of his spare time to help accomplish these objectives. The minimum age is sixteen.

Plan of Organization

The affairs of the Council are managed by an executive board of from twelve to fifteen members and a planning committee consisting of the members of the executive board and the chairmen of the seven standing committees. A junior officer is elected from the Council to act as an assistant to each of the senior officers. This automatically places eleven of the young people in a position where they can actively participate in the affairs of the Council and on the planning committee.

Since it was felt that the Youth Civic Council and its parent organization, The Committee of Seventy, should be entirely separate groups, members of the Committee who decided to organize the Youth Council immediately resigned their officership in The Committee of Seventy. While the two groups work together, they are independent of each other.

The funds necessary for the operation of the Youth Civic Council are furnished by contributions from civic-minded citizens who are interested in the problems of youth and better government. Recently the Council received a grant from a foundation supported by one of the country's outstanding philanthropists. These funds have enabled the Council to greatly expand its work.

Since its organization in July 1943, the Youth Civic Council of Philadelphia has undertaken the following projects:

1. *Radio Broadcasts.* Ten weekly broadcasts for the purpose of informing the voters of the duties and responsibilities of the various offices to be voted upon in the primary election of September 15, 1943. Several prominent public officials, civic organizations and civic leaders cooperated with the members of the Youth Civic Council in preparing and presenting these programs. In addition the Junior Town Meeting of the Air invited the Council to supply the speakers' panel for its Thanksgiving Day Program.

Learning by Doing

2. *Polling Places.*[1] In order to learn at first-hand how self-government functions at the grass roots, members of the Council with 345 secondary school students, visited 800 polling places on Election Day, November 2, 1943. They talked with electors, political workers, members of the Election Board, and gained a first-hand knowledge of why people voted, how political workers control votes and other interesting information. Through one member of the group, a detailed report of their impressions and findings was presented. This material was not only useful to the Council but it was also used by the Committee of Seventy in some of its literature.

3. *Survey of Voters.* Curiosity as to why only 26 per cent of the electorate voted in the primary resulted in a survey of over 2,000 individuals by the membership of the Council. They found as a result of careful sampling that over 700,000 Philadelphians were too busy or too disinterested to use the tools of self-gov-

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[1] See also "Citizens, Schools Cooperate on Election Project," The REVIEW, January 1944, p. 37.

ernment which we are fighting to preserve.

4. *Voting and Registration Instruction.* In cooperation with The Committee of Seventy representatives from civics classes in the secondary schools attended classes in the Council's office and received instructions on the details of registration and voting, including the use of the voting machine. The selected pupils, upon returning to their schools, presented what they had learned to their schoolmates, and discussed it with them. It has been conservatively estimated that this program finally reached 80,000 pupils.

Members of the Youth Civic Council who had previous experience in visiting polling places during election days cooperated with the Committee of Seventy in helping to direct the efforts of more than 350 students from the public and private schools who toured polling places during the presidential election to acquaint themselves with the conduct of elections and voting procedure.

Public Affairs Discussed

5. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings are held at which topics of local and national interest are discussed. A number of speakers present various aspects of an issue before an audience of young people and adults after which the meeting is turned into a forum and questions are directed from the floor. This technique has been found to be the most practical method of self-education and training for the members of the Council and their friends, both youths and adults. Experience has shown that young people who come as guests of members tend to return, month after month, with increased interest and participation in the meetings, and ultimately request membership in the Council.

A number of requests have been received and arrangements have been completed to have members of the Council conduct similar forums for adult civic groups at their luncheon or evening meetings. Seventeen and eighteen-year-old boys and girls have astounded their teachers and adult friends by their intelligent discussion of many controversial subjects, such as:

Should G.I. Joe Vote?
The Primary Election vs. the Caucus
Careers in Government
Should high school courses in government be more practical?

Now that the Council has been in operation for a year and a half, members have come to these conclusions:

1. They are convinced of the eagerness of youth to take a far greater share of the burden of civic responsibility than has been evidenced generally by adults in the last two decades.

2. They are convinced of the ability of youth to utilize modern methods of education—speeches, discussions in classrooms and over the radio, forums and informal discussion groups—and with these tools to influence adults.

3. It is absolutely essential that the adult guidance and stimulation of youth be readily available and be nonpartisan and unselfish, that it

contain the maximum of political education, and that it be approached through honest discussion of political evils rather than "Pollyanna" civic information.

4. Since the inception of this work members have found that quality, not quantity, of membership is the keynote of a successful organization for two reasons: first, quality insures a maximum of leadership; second, if the numbers are small, the danger of interference by local political machines is eliminated. As the significance of the program becomes better known, it is anticipated that more and more of our youth will want to participate.

5. The teaching staffs of the school systems, contrary to our preliminary expectation, seem to welcome this plan. They are anxious to do a better job, provided it is undertaken honestly and with nonpartisan guidance.

6. To be of maximum effect, such a program as outlined here should be conducted in cooperation with schools—public, private and Catholic. This is essential to a fertilization of the soil of the youthful mind in practical political civics.

7. Through such an organization as the Youth Civic Council, carefully and slowly nurtured, any community can develop a fine type of youthful civic leadership for party and public office. Furthermore, through the spreading of its influence, there can be developed a respect for public office which is a primary essential to the betterment of the calibre of public officials.

8. To reiterate two factors of major importance, the integrity of the organization can be assured only if:

(a) adult guidance is constantly on the job, serving with absolute sincerity and

(b) the activities of each Council are restricted to a single community. While exchange of ideas and information on activities will always be of value, any attempt to create statewide or national groups, until more experience is gained in this work, can easily lead to absorption by "political control" with the ever-present threat of dealings in "armbands and emotionalism."

Plans for Present and Future

1. Steadily increase the responsibility of the young people in the origin, planning, and execution of activities.

2. Plan and conduct town meeting discussions in the smaller communities within the city, under the auspices of the Youth Civic Council, to render self-government more effective by making it more interesting and vital to the people of such communities.

3. Present demonstration discussions for any groups requesting them: churches, women's clubs, men's clubs, Rotary, Lions, etc., with participation by the audience.

4. Encourage the organization of Youth Civic Councils in other communities by furnishing information and material found to be of value in the development of the Youth Civic Council of Philadelphia.

Future plans include these:

1. The Council will effectively aid

(Continued on page 26)

Civil Service by Constitution

Michigan completes four years of experience under her self-executing merit system amendment which prescribes sweeping independent authority and adequate financing.

By **EDWARD H. LITCHFIELD**, *Michigan Civil Service Commission*
and
ROBERT G. McCLOSKEY, *Michigan Executive Office*

THERE are several reasons why Michigan's recent experience with civil service might interest students of government who live beyond her borders. Primary among them is the fact that her personnel system was established by a self-executing constitutional amendment which is unique in American civil service law. The story of the birth of that amendment has been told elsewhere.[1] It will suffice here to recall that it was drafted by reform groups in counteraction to the "ripper" legislation which was destroying Michigan's statutory merit system.

The constitutional amendment, adopted in November 1940,[2] was designed to stand without legislative support. It contained sweeping grants of authority which were not only specifically enumerated but further suggested in such provisions as "regulate all conditions of employment" and "make rules and regulations covering all personnel transactions." These broad terms of authority were granted for a classified service including 90 per cent of the state's then 18,739 employees. Adequate financing was assured by a provision which called for an appropriation of "not less than 1 per cent of the aggregate annual payroll." Administration was entrusted to a non-salaried commission functioning through a "state personnel director."

No one could deny—least of all the framers of the amendment—that this was to be a personnel agency endowed with as much authority, financial assistance, and structural independence as one might ever dare hope for in the American public service. Indeed, there were those both in and out of Michigan who considered the experiment ill-advised. Competent students of administration have condemned it both publicly and in private. Among personnel administrators it is probably still viewed as something of a curiosity.

The pros and cons of this type of constitutional venture are based upon conflicting theories of organization too fundamental to be evaluated seriously in this paper. Moreover, the agency is still too young to provide from its experience the data by which either of the opposing contentions might be verified. The authors can only record a few of the developments of the last four years so that they may be available when some subsequent evaluation is undertaken by one removed from the controversy both in point of time and personal interest. Meantime, they may provide sufficient short-run evidence to assist reformers and administrators elsewhere in the formulation of their own programs.

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[1] See "Another Chapter in Michigan Civil Service Reform," by Edward H. Litchfield, *American Political Science Review,* February 1941, pp. 76-82.

[2] The vote was clear but not particularly decisive. Final returns showed 766,764 in favor and 709,894 opposed. The vote is more significant when judged in terms of traditional voter disapproval of constitutional proposals. During the 29-year period 1910 to 1939, the electorate rejected 51 of the 84 proposals submitted to them. (*The Initiative and Referendum in Michigan,* by James K. Pollock, Bureau of Government, University of Michigan, 1940.)

Organization

Internal organization for personnel administration is a problem which has been given long and careful consideration in the Michigan agency. For reasons of both economy and efficiency the commission early in its history added to the conventional divisions of recruitment and classification, a third—administration. To this division were assigned the functions of office management, stenography, payroll checking and transactions.

But it was felt that further adjustment was necessary for maximum effectiveness. A fourth division of Research and Surveys was assigned the functions of compiling data on the multitude of subjects that concern an alert personnel agency and of conducting organization analyses of other state departments. Then, since the addition of the new divisions had somewhat overtaxed the director's span of control, recruiting, classification and research were consolidated into a single Technical Division.

The new division, to which were later added sections of training and graphics, and the administrative division were then each placed under the supervision of an assistant state personnel director. This organization pattern, it is felt, relieves the director of responsibility for administrative details and enables him to give his attention to broad questions of policy, particularly important in an agency with the independent authority possessed by the Michigan Civil Service Commission.

Classification

There are several things that seem worth noting about the Michigan classification process. In the first place, requests for reallocation studies are handled within a relatively short time after they are submitted. That is to say, desk audits are made, auditors' reports prepared, classification committee action taken and notices sent out in about ten days after receipt of the request. This maintains employee confidence in the classification system to an extent impossible in jurisdictions which process reallocations over a period of months or even years if legislative consent is required.

It might be expected that rapid service in allocation cases comes at the expense of volume in production. The fact is, however, that a second noteworthy aspect of Michigan classification practice is the number of positions which are audited each year. During the fiscal year 1942-1943, a total of 6,364 positions were reviewed for classification purposes. The majority of these were individually audited. Since this group constitutes 43 per cent of the classified service, it follows that the whole of that service would, at that rate, be reviewed within a period of two and a half years.

Again, it should be noted that during the latter part of this period specifications were being revised or prepared originally (in the case of new classes) at the rate of about 60 per month. Since the service contains something better than 1,200 classes, the whole group is revised at least once every twenty months. Nor is "revision" a perfunctory, rule-of-thumb matter. Each specification is backed by up-to-date position descriptions which are frequently supplemented by actual desk audits.

All position descriptions have been filed in organization sequence, and each file is regularly cleared of outdated material. This makes it possible to secure a current statement of precise duties for each position in the service. The important deviation from normal practice is that position description forms are filed by the position rather than by the name of the incumbent. Proper functioning of this file is dependent on detailed organization charts from the Research and Survey Section and up-to-date established positions lists from the Administrative Division. When thus maintained the file provides a basis for the distinction between position and class which classification theory holds to be fundamental but which classification filing practice seldom makes possible.

Compensation

Compensation problems are not handled by the classification staff as is the case in many jurisdictions, but have been accorded separate status in the Research Division. There are two reasons for this: In the first place, by segregating compensation and classification, compensation pressures are diverted from classification decisions. In the second place, it is the agency's conviction that the technical aspects of compensation have been neglected in the public service because they have been subordinated to the technical aspects of classification. In other words, only when given separate organization status do compensation problems get the independent consideration which their significance warrants.

A continuing field study of current prevailing rates in both private industry and public jurisdictions is conducted for the larger classes in the state service. In 1941 the Department assisted the Michigan Department of Labor and Industry in the establishment of regular cost-of-living surveys. Quarterly reports on changes of the cost-of-living index are reported in six representative Michigan cities.

At the time the Michigan constitutional amendment was prepared there was considerable discussion of the extensive grant of authority to determine pay scales. There was expectation of dissent between the legislature and the Commission on the subject of expenditures. In 1941 the legislature attempted to circumscribe the authority of the Commission to grant step-increases. The Auditor General chose to enforce the legislative act, and the Supreme Court was therefore called upon in the case of *Civil Service Commission* v. *Auditor General*.[3] In making its decision the Court said: "The . . . act by which the legislature sought to restrict the granting of increases in compensation to civil service employees receiving more than a specific amount constituted a usurpation of power vested in the Commission and is void."

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[3] 302 Mich. 273.

Recruitment

With the appointment of the new Commission in January 1941 came the usual problem of the method to be adopted in dealing with incumbent employees. The situation in Michigan, of course, was influenced by the fact that the new agency had been preceded by a statutory civil service commission. The new Commission discovered that all but about 2,700 of the classified 17,161 incumbents had held civil service status with the previous commission or were employed by departments which had merit systems of their own. It decided that the latter group was eligible for status without question, but that the 2,700 must establish their eligibility by open competitive examination. The rigidity of this program was somewhat modified by providing a system of credits for previous years of state service. The number of examinations called for was so large that it was some time before the whole group was examined.

When the last examination had been given and scored it was discovered that approximately 11 per cent of the incumbents who took the examinations failed to pass within certification range. It is interesting to compare this mortality rate with similar data from other jurisdictions. In Minnesota in 1939 the percentage of failures in a qualifying examination program was only 4.6 per cent, but in Rhode Island in 1940 and 1941 an open competitive examination program coupled with the "rule of one" rejected 43 per cent of the incumbents.[4] Considering the low percentage of failures in Michigan, it may occur to some observers to question the wisdom of the expenditures which the program required. Moreover, preoccupation with this program made it extremely difficult for the agency to satisfy the service's pressing recruitment needs during 1941 and 1942.

To the general public "merit system" is often synonymous with examination, a fact which makes the testing program one of the key tension points in any public personnel agency. Some of the more serious faults in examining technique are corrected in the Michigan agency by a process of "test item analysis." Questions are checked against results, and those which are found too hard, too easy, or non-discriminatory are either revised or eliminated. To the net saving in time and expense thus realized may be added an intangible but substantial increment of good will earned and complaints averted. Limited so far to examinations for the larger classes, test item analysis will eventually be extended to the bulk of the service.

From January 1941, when the constitutional civil service system was inaugurated, to July 1, 1944, 52,888 candidates were examined. Of these 40,258 took open competitive examinations, 9,646 took promotionals, and 2,039 took the "CAX" examinations for pre-1941 incumbents. During the same period 9,820 applications were rejected before examination.

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[4] See "Rhode Island Installs Civil Service," by Maxwell A. DeVoe and Edward H. Litchfield, *Public Personnel Review,* April 1941, p. 120.

While it is commonplace to hear it said that promotional practice is faulty in most state jurisdictions, use of a comprehensive promotional examination program remains the exception rather than the rule. Michigan has made wide use of promotional examinations, as the figure above suggests, and the task has been complicated by the refined character of the classification system. The large number of specialized classes makes centralized control of promotion a weighty problem but one which all the more imperatively calls for attention. In the war emergency the high labor turnover has multiplied these difficulties, and a large proportion of the recruiting division's time has been occupied by keeping abreast of promotional examinations.

The need for positive recruitment practices, while well recognized in the literature of public personnel administration for more than a decade, has been largely neglected and, in fact, has been brought forcibly to the attention of operating officers only by the war manpower shortage. While the wide possibilities in this field remain largely untried, Michigan has made certain advances beyond the usual application-examination formula.

For two years the service and its advantages have been the subject of a state-wide weekly radio program. Two publications, *Careers for College Graduates in the Michigan State Service* and *Careers for High School and Business School Graduates in the Michigan State Service*, have been widely distributed. Another, *Jobs in the State Service*, is aimed at a number of critical, hard-to-fill classes. By field trips to key areas, speeches by personnel officers to high school students and civic organizations, a system of on-the-spot examinations which shortens the certification process to 24 hours in some classes, Michigan has met and in part alleviated the manpower problem. Nevertheless, operating officers continue to find many of their own appointees; only a start has been made in the right direction. In Michigan, as elsewhere, recruitment practice still falls short of the positive ideal envisioned by public personnel technicians.

Organization Surveys

A novel, though not wholly unprecedented, activity of the Michigan Civil Service Commission has been the conduct of organization analysis surveys of state departments and institutions. While the Commission has legal authorization to perform such a function, the surveys have been based in general on cooperation rather than coercion.

Studies have been made of ten large departments employing 39 per cent of the state's personnel. The results have been: (1) a reduction of approximately 10 per cent in the total number of positions in the agencies surveyed at a time when a national manpower shortage was making staff reduction doubly imperative; (2) A payroll economy of at least a million dollars even after adjustments are made for salary increases during the same period; (3) In addition to such mensurable by-products there has been a less tangible but no less real improvement in the performance of the agencies involved, an improvement achieved through procedures analysis, establishment of training sections and similar administrative advances.[5]

While the administrative propriety of a personnel agency engaging in such an activity remains arguable, in this case the pudding seems to have passed the proverbial test. It is significant that departments are now requesting surveys, that in two cases departments already studied have asked for "refresher" surveys to bring their administrative structures up-to-date.

Training

The Commission has been concerned from the first with training programs in individual departments. It has set up training officers in several and helped to organize an apprentice program in one of the state's mental hospitals. The special class, "student personnel assistant," has been established to develop promotional material in the Commission itself.

In cooperation with the Department of Corrections the Commission proposed and helped inaugurate a special curriculum in penology at the University of Michigan. A training officer has been installed in the Department of Social Welfare and a special training program for child welfare workers is now in operation. The class, "student psychiatric social worker," constitutes a post-entry training pool for future promotions in the State Hospital Commission.

While all these were moves in the right direction, the problem of integrating training activities remained unsolved. Consequently a training section, under a training officer, has been established within the Commission itself. This section will in part be concerned with helping state institutions and departments in setting pre-entry training programs for prospective state employees. More important, however, are its activities in connection with in-service training in such fields as office machines operations, public accounting, state administrative organization and management, institutional cooking, elementary psychiatry, statistics, institutional farm records and similarly practical and important courses.

The whole training program is conducted under the auspices of an In-Service Training Institute of which the University of Michigan, Michigan State College, Wayne University, the Lansing School Board, the State Department of Public Instruction and the State Civil Service Commission are all members.

Retirement Insurance

One of the specific aims with which the Civil Service Department has concerned itself was that essential concomitant of a career system, an effective retirement insurance plan. Although few jurisdictions have put administration of retirement in the hands of the personnel agency, the stake of the civil service department in the formulation of such a plan is obvious. It is almost indispensable to the recruitment process; it materially retards employee turnover; the gain in terms of morale is considerable.

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[5] Cf. "Organization Analysis Surveys in a Personnel Agency Program," by Edward H. Litchfield, *Public Personnel Review,* October 1943.

Aided by the cooperation of employee groups, the Michigan Civil Service Commission proposed and saw enacted by the legislature in January 1943 the framework of an up-to-date actuarial insurance system.[6] By its terms each employee contributes 5 per cent of his salary on a maximum of $3,600 a year, and the employee contribution is matched by the state. Besides superannuation allowances the plan provides benefits for service-connected death or disability and for non-duty disability, if the beneficiary has been a state employee for at least fifteen years. The system is administered by a board of seven members: the insurance commissioner, attorney general, state treasurer, auditor general and three state employees appointed by the governor.

Payroll Checking

Among the broad powers granted the Commission by the constitutional amendment was that of "approving all disbursements for personal services." This control, with its concurrent authority to withhold salary payment, places the Michigan Department in a unique position among public personnel agencies. In most jurisdictions, where this function is performed by the auditor or comptroller, the civil service department must resort to more devious means to support its orders. In Michigan all payrolls for the state service are reviewed monthly by the administrative staff, the information for each employee being coded on International Business Machine cards. Irregularities, usually minor, cause deletions of from thirty to forty names from each monthly payroll. Although every effort is made to avoid high-handedness, the payroll check, constituting as it does the teeth of the whole program, is a carefully guarded and scrupulously administered prerogative of the commission.

Position Establishment List

It is axiomatic in public personnel administration that the position is thought of as separate from the incumbent, but comparatively little consideration has ever been given to the technique of implementing this important distinction. In most jurisdictions a position is still identified as "the one Mary Smith held" when the question of refilling it or abolishing it is under discussion, and detailed position descriptions are laborious to use and difficult to keep up-to-date, besides giving little clue to the place a position occupies in the administrative hierarchy of its department. The Established Positions List now nearing completion codifies each of the state's present 14,000-odd positions, assigning each a number which positively identifies it and places it in the organizational structure of the agency. The positions are recorded by a system of visible files so that they can be identified at any time either by department or by incumbent.

Conclusion

The foregoing catalogue of functions performed, of tasks projected

(Continued on page 56)

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[6] Michigan P.A. 240, 1943.

Federal-State Tax Cooperation

Two levels of government are finding it feasible to eliminate duplication in handling of tax matters and to make information collected available to each other.

By JAMES W. MARTIN, Director
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INDIVIDUALS who are inclined to be critical of government can find much to condemn. One of the favorite targets in recent years has been duplicate sets—sometimes several sets—of tax administration officers. The federal individual and corporation income tax administrative staff, for example, duplicates that of most states—as does personnel for handling numerous other overlapping revenue measures.

The aggregate cost to all governments of enforcing tax laws probably exceeds a quarter of a billion dollars. In addition, there is a large but unknown amount spent by taxpayers in order to comply with revenue requirements. Moreover, there is taxpayer irritation and dissatisfaction which cannot be expressed in terms of money. In any event, even though the dislike of taxpayers for the double headache could be forgotten—not, of course, that it should be forgotten—the total cost of collecting and of paying taxes is so great that anything looking toward elimination of unnecessary expenditures must be given careful attention.

It is not a fact, as is so often assumed, that federal and state administration of the most important overlapping taxes are completely duplicating. The federal government helps the states at certain points, and the states aid the central administrative agency in other matters. In some directions much of the administrative job is done jointly.

Without trying to be exhaustive, it is worth while to illustrate concretely some of the things which are being done along these lines. Administration of (a) income taxes, (b) death taxes and (c) alcoholic beverage taxes exemplifies the mutual assistance which has been suggested. Examination of these cases will show that a good deal has already been accomplished, and it may also suggest still other areas for saving costs and taxpayers' sensibilities.

Uncle Sam Helps on Income Taxes

For more than a quarter of a century federal income tax statutes have authorized the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to make individual returns of corporate taxpayers available to state officials for tax administration purposes. In early day practice the use of tax returns by state officers was restricted to those states which themselves had income taxes. As early as 1924, however, this restriction was removed; but until 1935 the privilege was confined to corporation returns. In 1935 the statute made personal income tax data available to the states. For several years the Treasury authorized state officials to use the duplicate returns which each taxpayer was required to file. This plan was superseded by one under which original returns are made accessible to appropriate state officials.

These facts are well known among tax students. Seemingly, the fact that most states actually take advantage of the plan is overlooked by many persons who, without qualification, talk of duplicating administration. From 1935 to 1939, when taxpayers filed second copies, well over a majority of the states made some use of the "green duplicates." Many of the states which lacked income taxes and nearly all the income tax states used these returns incident to the administration of their property and income taxes.

Since discontinuance of duplicate copies, the Bureau of Internal Revenue has attempted to make original returns available with as much satisfaction to state officials as under the former arrangement. The success in providing an accurate copy conveniently arranged for use is much greater than under the older plan, although copies are not ready as early as formerly. In fact, state and local use of returns incident to property tax assessment has been definitely impeded by inaccessibility at a time when they could be helpful. Most states find the service more useful than formerly in income tax administration.

Ordinarily, state examinations can be made only after returns are filed in the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. As a consequence, only individual returns filed by the larger income receivers and the corporate, fiduciary and partnership returns are conveniently available, as returns by individuals having low incomes are filed in the offices of collectors of internal revenue and not forwarded to the commissioner's office. The states, however, do not seem interested in frequent examination of the reports filed by small individual income receivers.

Examinations by state tax officials take several forms. In cases requiring the use of returns and other documents associated with the record of a particular taxpayer whose liability is in question, transcripts can be secured for the cost of copying. If the tax administrator wants to examine a return incident to making an audit of the taxpayer's account, the document can be made available in Washington for personal inspection. Frequently inspections involve photostating all returns of a particular class or classes. In such instances the Bureau makes all reasonable adjustments for the state workers' convenience in making copies. There was a case, for example, during a visit by this writer to the Bureau in 1942, in which arrangements were effected for 24-hour photostating by one state, thereby cutting the cost to the state administrator of doing the work.

The arrangements which have been described are largely required by statute, though the Bureau of Internal Revenue has gone to considerable lengths to make it convenient for states to take advantage of their legal rights. The Bureau established without statutory requirement a unique cooperative device known as the "transcript service," which is supplementary to the inspection privilege. Under this plan, any state may secure at nominal cost a transcript or abstract of each return audited by the Bureau together with an explanation of the additional assessment or refund resulting from the examination.

This plan makes it possible for a state to have the advantage of the Treasury agents' findings at almost no cost. In 1942, for example, Kentucky got the equivalent of about twenty auditors' work for the cost of one for one month, although the state was then using an abbreviated form of the service.

The evidence shows that comprehensive service costs little more than limited service. For example, the difference between the cost to Utah for complete transcripts in 1941-42 and the cost to Kentucky for a mere explanation of audit findings was about one cent for each transcript. Some states have changed to the comprehensive form of service since it has become apparent that the difference in expense is nominal. Moreover, wartime labor difficulties of the states have made full information more essential than when each had fairly generous auditing facilities of its own.

Over two-thirds of the states having income taxes get the transcript service. In addition, or alternatively, some states after the federal audit get photostats of all returns which can be useful, and so have for their purposes much the same quality of service. In neither case does the Bureau make available documents and reports tending to prove taxpayer fraud or other criminal offense.

States Aid Federal Agents

In the case of death and gift taxes the Bureau of Internal Revenue gives little assistance to the states. Although the Bureau makes available copies of returns and of related documents, as in the case of income taxes, these documents afford most states little aid; and in consequence the Bureau is, only occasionally, called on for such information. One reason for this restricted usefulness is the limited coverage of federal gift and estate tax statutes as compared with the total number of estates or gifts to be handled by most state governments. The prominent element of cooperation in this instance is unilateral and involves state assistance to the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

In the Treasury approach to its own administrative problems there is, generally, little formal provision for using state cooperation. In the case of death taxation, Bureau machinery takes no account of the need for or the utilization of any service state tax departments can offer. However, state tax departments which have full administrative control of death and sometimes of gift tax administration provide a good deal of aid to federal agents, who take advantage of the opportunities. The assistance obtained from states is not a matter of record; and, although some of the Bureau officials know about and approve the use of state resources, the Bureau does not make formal provision for the practice.

One specific reference to the service of state administrative agencies will illustrate the situation. Each decedent's property must, of course, be valued for both state and federal death tax purposes. As far as real estate appraisals are concerned, federal agents in many cases use the records of the state tax administration office in those states which have state departments exclusively responsible. In other instances, especially in the case of large estates, the state and federal representatives are paired to value the property. Some mutual assistance through the interchange of views on the value of personal property is usual. In both real estate and security valuation, cooperation is impeded to some extent by the inability of the federal agents to make available to state appraisers information as to their actual reports. This interference would be even greater but for the fact that state men can usually find out from the taxpayers what the Bureau does. As to cases in which the state agents' finding may not be revealed to Bureau agents, the same impediment to effective interchange exists in reverse.

Cooperation on Liquor Taxes

The most far-reaching arrangement for state-federal cooperation in tax administration is found in the informal handling of alcoholic beverage taxes. Ever since the repeal of prohibition the federal government has followed a policy of full cooperation with state and local officials. The plan in one state has not always been the same as that in another, and even from city to city there may be variations of policy in matters involving police action. The differences are explained by the character of individual problems confronted and by the willingness and ability of state and local officials to work with the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Precisely because different states take different attitudes and provide workers of varying caliber, the alcohol tax unit follows the plan of leaving the degree and form of the cooperative arrangement to be followed wholly in the hands of local representatives. There is no central specification as to the limitations upon the agent's discretion in such matters. The official attitude, on the contrary, is that the unit is willing to cooperate and that its representatives may go as far in working with state officers in any particular case as seems fruitful in achieving the government's purpose and in aiding the states.

One of the most important and most usual specific illustrations of joint state-federal activity concerns the detection and elimination of illicit distilling projects. Often the state and federal officers are paired, that is, a state and a federal officer together will seek out the "moonshiner." In many cases a group of men representing each jurisdiction will join forces for a "raid." The same cooperative arrangement is invoked in the prosecution of offenders, licensed or unlicensed. If the local situation is favorable, state and federal agents join in prosecution in the state courts; if the federal courts offer better prospects, they prosecute the case there.

In direct handling of tax work the degree of cooperation is less, but it is far from lacking. Information is exchanged freely. In many cases, if federal agents find state stamps are lacking, the fact is reported to appropriate state men. If an alcohol vendor lacks a federal stamp, the state men report to Bureau officers. Other sorts of irregularities are found and made known from time to time without regard to whether the particular law infringed is federal or state.

To overcome the Bureau of Internal Revenue prohibition against state examination except through formal channels of original official reports to the Bureau, it has proved possible for state field representatives—often accompanied by Bureau agents—to secure access to the taxpayers' file copies at the latter's place of business.

Unlike the restrictions incident to the administration of other branches of the Bureau, there is no prohibition against alcohol tax unit men's appearing and testifying either before state administrative agencies or in state courts. By the same token, of course, state field representatives freely appear in behalf of the unit when the federal agents are prosecuting violations of United States statutes.

Verbally and in writing numerous responsible officials of both federal and state governments express the unanimous view that the amount and diversity of state and Bureau cooperation incident to alcoholic beverage tax administration is gradually increasing, that the joint administrative effort is practically without elements of friction and that the plan of cooperation followed is distinctly to be commended. Undoubtedly intergovernmental cooperation serves materially to reduce the total cost of handling alcoholic beverage taxes and, in some cases, also contributes heavily to policing aspects of alcohol control.

In one respect the collaboration between state and federal personnel in liquor tax administration is particularly impressive. Although the general attitude of the Bureau with respect to activities other than alcohol tax administration is that investigations of possible criminal offenses incident to tax administration cannot be done jointly with state or local officials, the work of the alcohol tax unit is a continuing demonstration that in alcoholic beverage tax enforcement joint work is not only feasible but also fruitful, even though the investigations be directed explicitly toward finding whether or not taxpayers are guilty of fraud or other criminal offenses. It is conceivable that this experience could be interpreted to mean that cooperation between federal and state agencies is feasible generally in criminal cases.

Enlarged Cooperation Possible

From what has been said, it is apparent that, through cooperation between the states and the Bureau of Internal Revenue, governmental agencies concerned can save considerable taxpayers' money. There is, of course, no suggestion that the total cost of administering two separate taxes can be cut to the level which would be possible if only one revenue measure were imposed. It is apparent that, even if the expense to the public cannot be so much reduced, it can nevertheless be cut materially. It is also obvious that joint activity tends to improve the attitude of the taxpayers. For instance, in certain cases it may virtually have the effect of halving the amount of audit work needed at a place of business.

The examples cited are not the only ones that might be noted. They are cases, however, in which the results achieved are probably greatest. In some instances in which states and the United States use the same revenue measure the large use of joint activity would not be particularly helpful because the taxes are imposed at different stages in the distributive process. The cigarette tax imposed by the federal government is collected from manufacturers, and the number of tax accounts is consequently at a minimum. The states, on the other hand, must collect from jobbers or even retailers because in most cases the manufacturers are situated in other states. Under such conditions the methods of administration employed and the identity of the taxpayers concerned are so diverse that joint administrative activity would contribute little.

Despite this limitation there is doubtless room for marked extension of state and Bureau joint action and for increased mutual aid in areas where joint administration is impractical. Moreover, the experience of the states in working with the federal Bureau of Internal Revenue in tax administration strongly suggests that the states may cooperate with federal agencies without any surrender of sovereignty.

CIVIC PLAN TO BRIDGE 18-21 GAP

(Conitnued from page 13)

young, enthusiastic and ambitious men and women, who are inspired to prepare themselves for a career in government. Particular emphasis is being placed upon the development of avocational interest in governmental affairs. The Council will not in any way participate in political campaigns; its efforts will be confined to encouraging better qualified men and women to run for party and public office.

2. It will conduct educational "youth vs. adult" discussion forums throughout the community on any questions of local or national interest, including debates by opposing candidates during campaign periods.

3. By 1946 the Council hopes to establish such a sound organization that the younger men and women now in the armed services can, upon their return to civilian life, find in their own neighborhoods means through which they can take an active part in the civic betterment of the democracy for which they have been fighting.

Members of the Council are representative of a cross-section of the citizenry of metropolitan Philadelphia. Some are in high school and colleges; others are employed during the day and attend night school, and practically every member is participating as a volunteer in some phase of our war activity. While spare time is an important factor to both the youth and adults interested in the work of the Council, they are making enough spare time to further the work of the Council and to plan for its future.

LETTERS FROM OVERSEAS

(Continued from page 2)

experience of liberation, yet I couldn't tell the full story of the warmth it puts inside you, a warmth that nothing will ever quite wipe out though there will inevitably be some disillusionment.

Brussels, by the way, is one of the loveliest cities I have ever been in. And it takes your breath away to come into a city almost untouched by bombing after having been in England for so long. The Germans were chased out so fast they didn't even have time to set booby traps!

When I reached Brussels everything was still in a gay and excited state, people insisting on opening champagne bottles they had hidden from the Germans for four years, flags flying everywhere and people had heaped great piles of gorgeous flowers all along the walls in front of the palace in token—a beautiful voluntary token —of their feeling.

I cannot talk about my work, of course (except that I'm a member of the SHAEF mission to Belgium), but at the moment it would be difficult for me to have picked anything I could have liked better. And being in this part of the world is like being in a laboratory of public finance and government at the critical moment when an experiment may succeed or fail.

Well it's time for me to get back on the job. As often as possible, I'll try to give some of the flavor of this thing though moments have to be snatched here and there—and if I sound as if I were speaking broken English at times, put it down to the fact that I'm actually speaking French—a sort of pigeon French!—most of the time here. But so far, at least, I do business, get around—even in the blackout —and seem somehow to make myself understood.

Mail ought to get through soon so do write and bring me up to date. We get no news here, the Belgian papers being very insular. I've at last got a radio but even BBC has had little or nothing about American domestic affairs.

* * *

Hq., Ninth Army, APO 339,
Care Postmaster, New York

Somewhere in Holland

As the address tells you, I've moved on from my post as a member of the SHAEF mission to Belgium to this headquarters. The Belgian assignment so far as my job was concerned was completed successfully: it was a fascinating spot to be in and I wouldn't have missed it. This new job, however, promises to be just as interesting in an entirely different way.

The ack-ack is raising cain over a couple of planes droning overhead which are probably Jerry reconnaissance —and about every five seconds a sergeant or somebody breaks in with a problem. But it's been some time since I wrote, so I'll take a few moments. At last I've begun getting mail again—until three days ago I hadn't had a letter from anybody or anywhere since August. It really was tough. But now I'm back in an American area and mail comes through, though slowly.

You've probably read in the papers of the currency conversion program in Belgium. It was tremendously interesting—still is—and it was a real privilege to have the opportunity to watch it from a vantage point. I wrote you about my trip across the Channel. It can now be told that the cargo I had charge of consisted of 80 tons of currency and bullion! We unloaded on the dock in the middle of the night and maybe you don't think I watched those boxes!

I've got to turn in. Another day but not another dollar—just some funny looking cigar store coupons they call guilders!

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

I am writing to you, in which I believe is righteous indignation, of an editorial in the September issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW entitled "Pitfalls of Earmarking Public Funds" and with particular emphasis to the fifth paragraph which reads:

"Just why policemen deserve more consideration than street cleaners, teachers, clerical workers, water department or other public employees, is a mystery."

I am submitting a printed copy of the "status of a police officer" by two former Massachusetts governors for your consideration. Their viewpoints are diametrically opposite to the viewpoint of the author of this editorial. As a police officer, I am surprised and shocked that such a paragraph passed with the editor's approval.

You no doubt are aware of the impending increase in crimes of violence which shall commence immediately upon the cessation of hostilities. There have been many articles in various publications and newspapers warning the public of these impending conditions. In order to combat these conditions it is necessary that the morale of a police department must be excellent. Police officers must be proud of their profession and they must be contented with working conditions. With these conditions in mind, do you think you are cooperating with the police by publishing such a highly explosive paragraph as mentioned in this letter?

I think it would be a good suggestion for the author of this article to "pound a beat" in one of our large cities and then render an opinion as to whether police officers should have more consideration than street cleaners, etc. I do not intend to cast reflection on street cleaners, etc. I am endeavoring to bring out the fact that civilian employees can never be classified with the same status as police officers, no more than soldiers, sailors and marines can be classified with the same status as civilian employees of the federal government. Police departments are quasi-military organizations.

I would like to call to your attention a statement in Mr. Coolidge's article in which he mentions "the police are the outposts of civilization." I wonder if the other occupations mentioned in your editorial can have similar recognition.

THOMAS A. LOUGHLIN, *President*
Metropolitan District Police Branch
Massachusetts Police Association

To the Editor:

Your editorial in the September REVIEW about earmarking public funds should be widely circulated. I intend to make use of it by way of comment as soon as possible. But you still have left the fascinating problem of the reasons why Americans today insist on writing legislation into constitutions, etc., etc. Do they not illustrate conditions and trends which go back to the heart of our so-called "democracy"?

Michigan has proved that the incompetence of elected legislators, city councilmen, and congressmen is due in great part to the inroads on legislative responsibility made by direct primary, direct legislative devices, the recall, and a score of similar procedures which, in the name of democracy, have taken the responsibility back to the masses of people and correspondingly reduced the responsibility of elected or appointed public officials.

The whole story of earmarking in Michigan, including constitutional amendments like that which you mention in Maine, is a demonstration to me that we have gone too far in imitation of the California radicals.

WILLIAM P. LOVETT,
Executive Secretary
Detroit Citizens League

Contributors in Review

A MEMBER of its executive board for the last six years, **Loring Dam** (*Civic Plan to Bridge 18-21 Gap*) has been interested in the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy for over a decade. In his work with the Committee Mr. Dam became aware of the basic need for realistic civic training for youth as a means of building for government careers and a more vital interest on the part of the electorate. He conceived and was instrumental in starting the Junior Town Meeting of the Air, which led to the formation of the Philadelphia Youth Civic Council of which he is president. Mr. Dam is a graduate of Haverford College. In World War I he was a lieutenant (junior grade) with the U. S. Naval Reserve Air Force. Since then he has been identified with manufacturing and investment banking.

A PROFESSOR in government who followed his own advice and "got into politics" **Joseph D. McGoldrick** (*Can We Rebuild Our Cities?*) has been comptroller of the largest city in the country since 1938. Dr. McGoldrick, formerly associate professor of government at Columbia University, has made various studies of New York City, including one on rapid transit finances for the Real Estate Board and another on city finance for the New York State Economy Council; he made a report for the New York State Legislative Committee investigating the government of New York City (better known as the Seabury Committee) in 1932 and was a member of the New York City Charter Commission which grew out of the findings of that committee. He is author of *The Law and Practice of Municipal Home Rule 1916-1930, Government in Action* (with others), and of numerous articles and reports.

FORMERLY executive secretary of the Michigan Merit System Association, **Edward H. Litchfield** (*Civil Service by Constitution*) is now assistant state personnel director of the Michigan Civil Service Commission and lecturer in public administration at the University of Michigan, where he had received his Ph.D. degree. Dr. Litchfield was formerly instructor in government at Brown University in Providence. He is author of articles on the merit system and related subjects. **Robert G. McCloskey,** co-author with Dr. Litchfield, was formerly research analyst with the Michigan Civil Service Commission. He is now on the staff of Governor Kelly of Michigan as administrative assistant. Mr. McCloskey received his A.B. degree from the University of Wisconsin and his A.M. from the University of Michigan.

BORN in what was then known as Indian Territory, **James W. Martin** (*Federal-State Tax Cooperation*) has devoted most of his maturer years to the state of Kentucky. Dr. Martin has been with the University of Kentucky as director of the Bureau of Business Research and professor of economics since 1928. He has been consultant on financial support of the Kentucky Educational Commission, chief of staff of the Kentucky Reorganization Commission (1935-36), chairman of the Tax Commission of Kentucky (1936) and commissioner of revenue of Kentucky (1936-39). Dr. Martin was also research director of the Interstate Commission on Conflicting Taxation (1934-35) and a member of President Roosevelt's Committee on Fiscal Relations Between the United States and the District of Columbia (1936-37). He is author of numerous reports and government publications on taxation as well as editor of the Tax Research Foundation's Comparative Tax Tables and of the publications of the University of Kentucky's Bureau of Business Research.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Metropolitan Organization Stressed in Boston Contest

Prize - Winning Suggestions Urge Regional Cooperation

AWARDS to prize winners were made on December 6 in the "Boston Contest." This contest was inaugurated last January under the sponsorship of the Boston Society of Architects, Boston University, Boston Chamber of Commerce, Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to stimulate intelligent and competent plans for the civic well-being and coordinated development of the Boston metropolitan area.[1]

The judges of the contest, as previously announced, were Charles Francis Adams, Harold S. Buttenheim, William Roger Greeley, Joseph Hudnut, Daniel L. Marsh, Lewis Mumford and Henry J. Nichols.

Ninety contestants participated, of whom twelve were awarded cash prizes ranging from $5,000 down to $100. Virtually all of the prize winners decided that some form of metropolitan district government was necessary, under various designations.

The first prize winners called it a "Metropolitan Authority"; the second prize winners a "Metropolitan District Council"; and the third prize winners a "Boston Regional Administration." Certain minor prize winners referred to "Regional Economic Development Councils" and "Regional Planning Boards." There was general agreement, however, that the continuance of local governments, much as at present, was desirable, and would not impair the metropolitan organization. A frequent proposal was a representative legislative council that would appoint a business manager much along the lines of city managership.

The first prize, $5,000, went to a group of six men headed by Carl J. Friedrich, professor of government, Harvard University; three other members were also Harvard professors, in economics, sociology and architecture. The second prize, $2,000, was won by a group of seven business men headed by Henry J. Harriman, vice-chairman of the New England Power Association and former president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. A special third prize rating was awarded to a group of eleven Boston University faculty members. Winners of nine minor prizes of $100 each included eminent city planners as well as several business men, architects, etc.

66 Towns and Cities Involved

The winners of the first prize proposed a federation of all 66 town and city governments in the general area for purposes of centralizing controls over wasteful, overlapping metropolitan services. It would take over the present functions of all district commissions under a standard city management form of municipal corporation, and would thus control in effect the regional aspects of fire, police, health, welfare, recreation, transit, industrial and commercial development, with separate tax resources of its own. In addition to a representative council, possibly chosen on the basis of proportional representation from all communities, the plan suggests numerous assisting committees, some official and some advisory, drawn from civic, business and educational groups active in local communities.

Among the outstanding features of the plan is exemption of all buildings and improvements from realty taxation. Land values would be the main base for taxes, with an upper limit, plus a so-called service charge based on incomes derived from the use of buildings. Industries and services as to which the region has natural advantages must be encouraged and developed; transportation must be improved to meet the problems of decentralization; higher buildings are advocated so as to allow for demolition of obsolete structures, more green spaces, and more outdoor automobile parking, and the urban center must be made more attractive to halt the flight of population. Limitation of residential buildings to 30 per cent coverage of the available land was proposed, and plans for rehousing and local improvements would be aimed at recapturing blighted areas.

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[1] See the REVIEW, April 1944, p. 197.

The second prize winning plan would group 62 towns and cities under a Metropolitan District Council, with an assembly of 65 members and an executive council of seven. Transit unification is greatly emphasized, likewise an extensive highway development program.

The plan winning the third award urged that Boston's history and traditions be utilized and vitalized, including restoration of the Faneuil Hall district's early status as a community center of social, cultural and educational activities. Metropolitan organization of progressively more comprehensive scope, remedies for traffic congestion, and sliding-scale tax rates related to property income were among other recommendations.

Mr. Greeley, contest chairman, referring to bombed cities such as London, remarked: "While they cannot choose but rebuild, we will unhappily have to make up our minds whether on the one hand to remain a decaying center; on the other hand, to destroy our own diseased tissues and by heroic will power rebuild our community as a worthy competitor of the newer type of city." He insisted that monetary cost should not be controlling, but the supply of human energy, and urged the formation of an initial organization of business, labor, professional and other interests in the metropolitan area, to work toward such rebuilding and coordinated development and the creation of an official framework for those purposes.

Veterans' Assistance, Personnel Measures Voted

Voters on November 7 approved various constitutional and charter amendments and direct legislation in addition to what was reported herein last month. Prominent in the results were various provisions for veterans and for the civil service.

Veterans were exempted from the poll tax by constitutional amendments in Alabama and Arkansas. California approved a $30,000,000 bond issue to finance loans for homes and farms for veterans of the present war, granted veterans certain property tax exemptions and provided for the reinstatement of state and other public officials and employees upon return from service with the armed forces. Colorado adopted a measure giving veterans or their widows preferential points above passing grades in civil service examinations. An Oregon amendment setting up an educational aid program for veterans was approved; $220,000, expected to be obtained annually by a levy of one-fifth of a mill per dollar of property value, would finance a system of educational grants of from $35 to $75 per month for periods up to four years.

Personnel Measures

Kansas City, Missouri, amended its charter to provide that wounded or disabled veterans of any war have a right to an additional five-point advantage in grade after qualifying for city employment—this being in addition to five points already given to honorably discharged war veterans. The new method also requires that the appointing authority in all cases other than promotion shall appoint a war veteran if his name is among the top five on the eligible list.

Texas voters gave cities or the state legislature authority to set up retirement systems for local governments and South Carolina approved a constitutional amendment providing pensions for state, county and local employees. Louisiana rejected a one-mill tax for New Orleans fire and police pension funds.

Four California cities and three counties voted to participate in the state employees' retirement system, another rejected such a proposal; Marysville and Contra Costa County adopted civil service for their employees while San Francisco amended its police pension plan to reduce the retirement age. Pension or retirement plans for city employees were adopted by four Michigan cities.

Michigan voters defeated a proposal to raise the pay of state legislators from $3 to $5 a day. Dearborn, Michigan, rejected proposed charter amendments which would have increased salaries of councilmen and of the city clerk and treasurer, placed fire and police chiefs under civil service and provided pay for members of the Civil Service Commission. Kansas City, Missouri, by charter amendment, increased salaries of city councilmen from $2,400 to $3,600 a year. Glendale, California, voted down salary increases for members of the city council, as did Burbank.

California rejected annual legislative sessions, while Massachusetts adopted them. Arkansas voted against extending the term of governor from two to four years, while Idaho appears to have approved such a change.

Women were granted the right to serve on juries in Colorado—the 29th state to do so.

Florida repealed a 1934 amendment that gave the legislature the right to prescribe uniform charters for cities in certain population groups.

An amendment adopted in Maryland reorganizes the Court of Appeals, reducing the number of judges from eight to five from various districts, and restricting them to appeal work, instead of their also sitting as Circuit Court judges. The authority of the chief judge is increased, the judges are placed under closer supervision and the state judiciary enabled to be more flexible and efficient. Present judges remain until their elective terms expire.

Urban Redevelopment

Action by Maryland voters in approving creation of a Baltimore Redevelopment Commission, and by Kansas City, Missouri, voters in giving the City Council wide powers for slum and blighted area clearance purposes were of great interest to local planning officials throughout the nation. The Kansas City charter amendment, approved three to one, is intended to encourage slum clearance and redevelopment by private capital; it gives the City Council authority to provide for the clearance and redevelopment of blighted, substandard or insanitary areas and to condemn property for such purposes. The city may own, sell or otherwise dispose of such property under the amendment.

Kansas City voters also provided that whenever the city has acquired private property for public use other than parks and boulevards, the Council may use the property for other public purposes or dispose of it if the Council finds it is not suited for the original purpose. The voters also favored annexation of three square miles of territory with a population of 5,000.

The six East San Francisco Bay cities, Oakland, Alameda, Albany, Berkeley, Emeryville and Piedmont, approved a measure authorizing a sewage disposal district to take care of sewage disposal problems of the cities; it is to be operated by the East Bay municipal utility district, which furnishes and distributes water to the cities. In Oregon, Marshfield and North Bend voted to operate jointly a water district to serve both cities.

Orphaned Unicameral Move Nearly Wins in Missouri

The proposed constitutional amendment for a unicameral legislature in Missouri lost at the November 7 election by less than 5 per cent margin in a total vote of 766,324. The result was not definitely known until the official figures were published on December 8; these showed 401,716 against the amendment and 364,608 for it. St. Louis was strongly in favor of it, but the rest of the state was not. In St. Louis city the vote was 147,348 to 87,556; St. Louis County was also for the amendment, 55,589 to 34,097. It almost carried in Jackson County (including Kansas City), which voted 39,274 yes and 39,332 no.

On the last day of the Constitutional Convention in September 1944, Delegate Stratford Lee Morton tried to get the unicameral in as an alternative proposal but he was defeated. Then the Crusaders, backers of the unicameral legislature, petitioned to take their unicameral proposal off the ballot. It was too late. They sent out 5,000 letters trying to beat their own proposal.

With the exception of the *St. Louis Star-Times,* which had a weak but honest suggestion that the unicameral be voted for, there was not even a letter in the newspapers favoring it. There was no evidence of public support. Three days before the election the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* said that a vote for the proposition would be "meaningless." The *Globe Democrat* took the same tack.

However, on Thursday, November 9, when the amendment seemed to be winning, the *Star-Times,* in its major editorial said:

"The voters of Missouri certainly put the reformers of the state constitution behind the eight ball. This is beyond all question the greatest single political reform in the history of Missouri. . . . And its adoption is all the more significant because it came without the fanfare of an organized campaign. Far from pleading for the reform its supporters actually sought to have it stricken from the ballot. But the voters refused to allow it to go by default. . . . And they may also have indicated indignation over the refusal of the recent constitutional convention to give them a voice on this fundamental reform."

EDWARD DOWLING, S.J.
The Queen's Work, St. Louis.

Efforts for New Constitution Continue in New Jersey

Although the proposed new constitution for the state of New Jersey was defeated in the November 7 election, the New Jersey Constitution Foundation, which was active in its support, is planning to continue and even expand its activities in the belief that constitutional revision can and will be secured in the not too distant future.

Several encouraging features of the situation have been noted, particularly the facts that the number of votes for revision in 1944—over 660,000—was larger than the entire number cast for and against revision in the preceding year, and that since the election nearly all groups that opposed adoption of the new constitution have declared themselves to be favorable to some kind of revision. The majority against revision was about 115,000 (instead of 160,000 as previously reported), or about 8 per cent of the total vote on the constitution. Analysis of the vote shows that it was not as much a political party matter as first indicated.

The Foundation hails the increased interest in revision brought about by the campaign and the election, and intends to take advantage of it in continuing the work of civic education. It has proposed an expanded program which it hopes to finance for the next five years by contributions from public-spirited citizens, in addition to membership fees, subscriptions to a projected magazine and advertising therein. While constitutional revision will continue as the paramount objective, the program will include research and publicity for education of the public on legislative, administrative and judicial functions, and reports on qualifications and records of candidates and officeholders from a nonpartisan viewpoint, and would seek to develop civic leadership. Besides a monthly magazine it contemplates special bulletins, radio programs, forums, discussion meetings and special surveys and services.

Kansas Inaugurates State Internship Plan

The Kansas State Department of Civil Service and the University of Kansas are cooperating in an internship program in that department, offering practical experience through contacts with operating governmental agencies. Senior university students spend four days each week for six weeks in the offices of the Civil Service Department.

Council-Manager Plan News

The Rockland Citizens' Charter Adoption Committee (formerly the Citizens Committee on Municipal Research) will offer a special council-manager charter for **Rockland, Maine,** to the legislature this month. If passed, the charter will probably be brought to a vote in September.

The **Darien, Connecticut,** charter commission has filed its report, in which nine of the eleven members recomment the town manager plan, with the selectmen. The charter commission was created by the legislature two years ago and was appointed by a town meeting called by the selectmen.

Mayor Oliver of the city of **Norwalk, Connecticut,** has appointed a charter revision committee of ten members. The Norwalk League of Women Voters is advocating the city manager plan, which is under consideration by the committee. Dr. Thomas H. Reed, consultant for the National Municipal League and now with the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, has conferred with the committee.

A committee of five business men is sponsoring petitions now being circulated in **Asbury Park, New Jersey,** to supplant the city's council-manager government with the commission form.

The **Tampa, Florida,** Chamber of Commerce has voted 447 to 26 for changing the form of the city's government. The council-manager plan was favored by 361, while 79 voted only for a reduction of the present Board of Representatives to seven or five members representing districts but elected by city-wide vote. The *Tampa Morning Tribune* has carried a series of articles on the model city charter of the National Municipal League. The Chamber also voted last fall 387 to 88 for annexation of the city's suburbs.

In **Houston, Texas,** where there is a movement to abolish the manager plan, Mayor Otis Massey, advocate of the manager plan, was re-elected on November 7 by a majority of about 4,000 in a total vote of 70,000; likewise all candidates for councilmen running on the council-manager ticket were given majorities.

New Charter Commission Appointed for Minneapolis

The judges of the Hennepin County (Minnesota), district court have named a new charter commission for the county's dominant city, Minneapolis, as is required every four years. The *Minneapolis Star Journal* comments: "The job of a charter commission is to keep the city charter up to date and abreast of the city's needs. The late commission abdicated this responsibility. . . . It is to be hoped that the new commission will take itself seriously. . . . It has a lot of representative and alert citizens in its membership—such a seasoned and enlightened legislator as Mabeth Hurd Paige, one of the country's real experts on municipal government in Dr. William Anderson." Other members are described as solid, fair-minded labor representatives and progressive, reasonable businessmen.

National Exhibit of Best Municipal Reports Planned

The American Institute of Graphic Arts has announced that it will conduct a national exhibit of the best annual reports of cities and towns in April 1945. A representative national committee will have charge. This project has aroused interest and enthusiasm among pioneers in the growing movement for more attractive, readable, intelligent and informative reports of municipalities to citizens.

City Clerks Form National Organization

An organizing committee of city clerks of 30 municipalities in various parts of the country has announced the formation of the National Institute of City Clerks, with functions that include the effective interchange of information on problems confronting the office of city clerk in the larger municipalities, according to the *United States Municipal News*. Organizations of city clerks in several states have proved to be helpful and it is believed that the national body will be able to make a definite contribution toward improved municipal administration.

Mayors to Discuss Federal-Local Relations

The annual meeting of the United States Conference of Mayors takes place in Washington, at the Hotel Statler, January 25, 26 and 27. It will consider the major municipal problems involving federal legislation and many members of Congress will participate.

Public Personnel Conference Considers Wartime Problems

More than 500 persons representing governmental personnel agencies—local, state and federal—devoted their attention to wartime personnel problems and anticipated postwar readjustments at the 36th Annual Conference on Public Personnel Administration held in Chicago in November by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

Problems concerned with the reinstatement of veterans were taken up during the first morning, followed by a luncheon talk by Herbert Emmerich, associate director of Public Administration Clearing House, calling for increased training of operating officials and closer coordination of operating agencies and merit systems, and warning against too mechanistic attitudes in the latter. Later discussions dealt with departmental personnel programs, war-duration appointees, employee counselling, record-keeping methods, employee relations, health safeguards, test procedures, in-service training, work with civic groups, classification and pay problems, effects of the war on personnel administration in private industry, etc.

Speaking at the final luncheon, Archibald MacLeish told of the harm done to governmental service by the current attacks on "bureaucracy" despite achievements of the great body of public employees and the future need of talent in governmental duties for relatively meager financial rewards.

At the concluding general session it was pointed out that ingenious recruiting methods and intensive utilization of personnel will have to be continued in 1945, that veterans' preference laws will create further needs for adequate staffs, and that the public service must be made more attractive.

New York Regional Institutes Break Records

Total attendance and number of municipalities represented at the ten regional institutes held in 1944, under the auspices of the New York State Conference of Mayors and the Municipal Training Institute of New York State, exceeded previous records despite traveling restrictions and manpower shortage. Attendance ranged from 20 to 92 at the meetings in the ten regional centers, with a total attendance of 408, representing 120 municipalities. In 1943 the attendance was 388 and the number of municipalities represented was 111.

On November 29 and 30 a training school for members and employees of housing authorities was held in Utica with an attendance of 89.

Researcher's Digest

Alabama Legislature Study Continues

Local and Private Laws Investigated by Bureau

THE most recent publication of the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama,** *Local and Private Legislation,* by Hallie Farmer, continues the high standard of its previous studies. This is the second of a series on the legislative process in Alabama.

The suggestions for improvement of the situation are especially interesting even though most of the pamphlet is devoted to an examination of the evils of undesirable legislative practices. First of all, it is suggested, the legislature might transfer to local governing bodies more responsibility for local government. Second, if control of county and municipal taxes and debts is not to be given to those units, tax and debt limits might be raised by a general constitutional amendment applying to all counties and municipalities. Third, the legislature might consider the advantages in a general classification of all Alabama counties and municipalities.

Finally, as to private legislation, the author says the study indicates that Alabama needs a court of claims to protect the public funds from unwarranted expenditures and "to mete out even-handed justice to the less enterprising (or less fortunate) claimants."

Philadelphia Bureau Investigates Sanitation Pay

The **Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia** has issued a short statistical summary of its questionnaires on rates of pay and conditions of employment of sanitation laborers in seventeen cities in the United States in 1944. Included are most of the large cities in the country. Tables include rates of pay, rates of pay adjusted for intercity differences in the cost of living, hours of work and leave with pay for vacation, holidays and sickness and pension and disability provisions.

Firemen's Pay Rates for Large Cities Reported

"Data Relating to Fire Department Salaries in Baltimore and in Other Cities of 500,000 or More Population" is the title of a factual report issued by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.** In addition to showing the salaries of representative fire department positions, the report presents data which tend to affect pay levels and comparisons of pay levels in different cities—cost-of-living indexes, wage levels, etc. While figures on seventeen cities are included in the comparisons, the average of the five cities in Baltimore's more immediate population group of 500,000 to 1,000,000—Cleveland, St. Louis, Boston, Pittsburgh and Washington—is emphasized.

* * *

Potpourri

Planning Needs

An examination of Dayton's planning needs and deeds is set forth in *Putting Punch in Planning,* published by the **Department of Governmental Research of the Dayton Chamber of Commerce.** Nation, state, county, city and school district are considered. The result is a well-rounded picture of some of the problems confronting Dayton and possible means of solving them.

* * *

Budgets

Budgets are uppermost in the minds of many local bureaus at this time of year. Space in bureau publications is devoted to the subject by the **Buffalo, Schenectady** and **Rochester Municipal Research Bureaus,** all in New York State, as well as by the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** and the **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council, Inc.**

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New Constitution

The **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute** is devoting its *Dollars and Sense in Government* to a discussion of important provisions of the proposed new constitution for Missouri. Subjects covered include the state executive branch, state legislature, the court system, state finance, taxation, local government and local finance.

* * *

Costs of Government

The **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute** is concerned with the fact that "Increasing Cost of St. Louis Government Poses Serious Postwar Problem." Its *Mind Your Business* for November 14 cites costs for the city's operation from 1939-40 to 1944-45. "The current budget of the St. Louis city government for operation and maintenance," says the bulletin, "is at an all-time high. . . . It represents an increase of 30 per cent over the 1939-40 expenditures." In its closing statement the Bureau warns that "it is time for public officials and citizens of St. Louis to prepare a financial plan for their city government."

* * *

Personal

Howard Ennor, acting assistant director of the Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon, who has had charge of the Portland office of the Bureau during the past year, has resigned to accept a position as administrative analyst in the controller's office of the Bonneville Administration.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Detroit to Experiment in Citizenship Education

Grant from Volker Fund Finances New Program

A GRANT of $425,000 from the William Volker Charities Fund, Inc., of Kansas City, Missouri, has been accepted by the Detroit Board of Education for a five-year experiment in education for citizenship. The experiment, hailed as a significant educational program, will be conducted by Wayne University and the Detroit Public Schools. It contemplates "a study of ways of increasing the interest, competence and participation of boys and girls in the activities of the good citizen and to develop them eventually into good adult citizens."

An outline of the project, drawn up by staff members of the University and the public schools, indicates that the study was prompted by the existence of "a great need for raising the level of civic life in America." It further states that "the techniques of citizenship training which have been evolving have never been adequately evaluated nor the development of new techniques sufficiently attempted or stimulated."

Preliminary plans call for an initial inventory of the present interest of boys and girls in citizenship activities "to get as complete a picture of the schools and communities as is possible in order to understand thoroughly the environment in which the pupils live and against which changes will be measured later." This will be followed by controlled experimentation with old and new citizenship training techniques.

A five-man Board of Trustees will be named by Dr. Warren E. Bow, superintendent of schools and president of Wayne University, and Harold W. Luhnow, president of the Volker Fund. It was pointed out that the Trustees will have nothing to do with conducting the experiment but will act as an "appraisal body" to advise both the donor and Dr. Bow of the progress of the study. The actual experimental work will be guided in part by an advisory committee to be appointed by Dr. Bow from interested groups in the community.

The investigation will be carried out by a special staff which will operate in six city schools, including two elementary, two intermediate, and two high schools.

Top officials of the Board of Education were enthusiastic in their approval of the projected study. Said Dr. Bow: "This is one of the most significant experiments and appraisals that has ever been made of an important function of the educational system. Democratic government rests on an understanding body of citizens and the development of such citizens is one of the prime objectives of the schools. In the past, we have endeavored in numerous ways to instill in children an understanding of and a respect for democracy. However, funds have never been available to test the results of our activities on a large scale. From this extraordinary contribution should come not only distinct benefit to Detroit but results which should be equally useful in each of the 100,000 school systems in America."

The Committee developing the program includes Dr. Bow; Dr. Earl C. Kelley, supervisor in secondary education, Detroit Public Schools, and professor of education at Wayne; Dr. Lent D. Upson, director of the School of Public Affairs and Social Work at

Wayne; and Loren B. Miller, director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.

Seattle Plans "Gallup Poll"

Utilizing the services of the University of Washington for gauging public opinion, the **Seattle Municipal League** is planning a "Gallup Poll" of Seattle citizens on certain matters relating to local government. Suggested questions include: What type of postwar projects should Seattle plan? Should we spend money for a new city hall? What about revising the city charter? Are the citizens satisfied with their present services from the city government—the county?

The University's psychology department will undertake the poll. Specially trained students will ring doorbells and do the questioning. The work will be directed by Dr. Edwin D. Guthrie, dean of the University Graduate School and an authority on public opinion polls, who says that scientifically tested methods will be used. It is expected that with these methods as few as two hundred interviews will give accurate results on most questions.

President Frank Laube of the Seattle City Council states, "We'd be delighted to have some reliable method of finding out how the public feels on many of these problems. At times we feel as if we were working in a vacuum without any means of knowing whether we are satisfying the real wishes of the citizens."

Because of the accuracy and speed of the new polling techniques Dr. Guthrie believes public opinion tests will become more and more important in American political life. "The day will come when every governor and every mayor of a large city will have his own polling department," said Dr. Guthrie. "Scientific opinion polls will prove of great aid in giving the people truly democratic government."

Boy-Legislature Plan Continues Growth

The model boy-legislature program of the Hi-Ys in six eastern seaboard states continues to show vigor.[1] During the weekend of December 8-9 the model legislatures of New York and Connecticut, both of which include girls in the program, held their annual sessions.

Plans for holding their boy-legislatures next spring are well advanced in New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland. Maine also has an active "Youth and Government" program, as it is called.

In the last six months nation-wide interest has been shown in the idea. Plans are especially advanced for adopting the boy legislature program in the states of Ohio, Michigan and Massachusetts.

E. W. W.

Toledo Committee Reports on Postwar Planning

The special committee on postwar planning, appointed by President Howard A. Mikesell of the **Toledo Municipal League**, has reported on its preliminary survey. Some of its conclusions are: That Toledo, as a community, should systematically integrate its public works program into its economic life; that there is a definite need for the Toledo Municipal League in the preparation of postwar and long range plans for Toledo. In this latter connection the special committee stated that the job outlined for the Municipal League is not a duplication of any activity yet undertaken. The League's tasks will be to coordinate citizen planning efforts, to expe-

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[1] See "Boy Legislature Plan Spreading," by Edward W. Weidner, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1944, pp. 283-286.

dite the completion of local public planning and to assist in setting up the program for the immediate postwar period. In its conclusions the committee stated: "Toledo is certainly faced with a period of economic readjustment. Every practical effort that is possible should be extended to know the problems in advance and to prepare to meet them systematically and with a minimum of distress. The degree of success is probably dependent upon the degree of understanding and trust and the willingness of the various segments of the public to plan and work together."

Here and There

Council-Manager Survey

In a recent survey conducted by the **Chamber of Commerce of the United States** of cities which have had the council-manager form of government for twenty years or longer, it was found that "the majority of business men are favorable" to this form of government and "the method is preferred to any other yet devised."

The report describes briefly the several forms of municipal government in use in the United States, quotes from uniformly favorable reports of Chambers of Commerce in 65 cities which have had the manager plan for twenty years or more and includes a directory of approved council-manager cities.

* * *

Radio

The **Illinois League of Women Voters** is conducting a series of ten weekly radio broadcasts dealing with the need for revision of Illinois' obsolete state constitution. Subject of the first broadcast was "The Citizen's Stake in His State Constitution." Among the speakers are State Senator Richard J. Daley, Walter Blucher of the American Association of Planning Officials, Frank Bane of the Council of State Governments, Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago.

A one-hundred-dollar war bond is the prize offered in a contest for a slogan to be used regularly as part of the Taxpayers Meeting of the Air of the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association.**

* * *

Community Planning

The **American Association of University Women** (national headquarters, Washington, D. C.), has published a guide to *Community Planning*. It is not intended "as a guide for technically-equipped surveyors engaged in making professional evaluations," says the Fall *Journal* of the Association. "It outlines, rather, the type of information that should be assembled and studied by intelligent citizens in order to have a background from which to attack the problem of supplying community lacks, removing community handicaps and improving community services."

* * *

Community Forum

Three organizations in Yonkers—the **Teachers Association, Council of Parents and Teachers** and the **Evening League of Women Voters**—are sponsoring a People's Forum of Yonkers. Subjects to be discussed include: (1) Giving an understanding welcome home to the men and women in the armed services; (2) following through by establishing a just and enduring global peace; and (3) making democracy work better at home while achieving the first and second propositions. Dr. Ignatius D. Taubneck, conductor of the Bronxville Community Forum, will conduct the sessions.

* * *

Legislation

Preparing for the opening of the Maryland legislature in January, the **Maryland League of Women Voters** held a legislative conference November 27 to discuss what legislative proposals the League will support.

* * *

Cooperation

The **Chicago City Club** is one of the 150 civic groups joining with the Chicago Recreation Commission in sponsoring the tenth annual Chicago Recreation Conference.

The Club is cooperating with the **Chicago Woman's City Club** in a joint effort to enlarge their respective memberships.

Seven organizations of New York City, whose views on height and area zoning regulations are in agreement, have banded together as a Civic Committee for Interim Zoning. They are: **Brooklyn Committee for Better Housing, Citizens Housing Council, Citizens Union, Greater New York Industrial Union Council C.I.O., United Neighborhood Houses, United Tenants Leagues,** and the **Women's City Club.** Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Citizens Union of New York, is acting chairman. The Committee has urged the New York City Board of Estimate to approve immediately, as an interim stop gap proposal, the changes in the height and area restrictions of the Zoning Resolution which have already been approved by the City Planning Commission.

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Youth Conference

"Youth Response to a Universal Challenge—What are the Implications of International Citizenship to Young Adults in our Democracy?" This was the ambitious title of the Third Annual State Conference of Young Adults on Citizenship and Public Affairs of the New York State Community Service Council held at Cornell University in November under the auspices of the New York State Education Department. Speakers and consultants included George H. Hallett, Jr., of the New York City Citizens' Union; Harry W. Laidler, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy; Dr. William E. Mosher, dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, and others.

* * *

Social Security

The **Nevada Taxpayers Association** devotes most of a recent issue of the *Nevada Tax Review* to social security, describing the provisions of the federal social security act, how it works, what its benefits are. Much of the information is presented in tabular form for easy assimilation.

* * *

Taxes

The **Indiana Taxpayers Association** has published a comparison of property taxes levied in Indiana for 1944 and 1945. The information is set forth by counties.

* * *

Veterans' Preference

Sixteen civic, welfare and public employees' organizations of New York State have united to form a **Citizens' Committee on Veterans' Preference,** to "fight writing into the state constitution sweeping and undiscriminating preferences for war veterans in civil service appointment, promotion and retention." Special target of the new Committee is the Hampton-Devany amendment which was passed by the 1944 legislature. If approved by the 1945 legislature it will be submitted to the voters of the state next fall. The bill, states the Committee, is "a dangerous proposal which would discriminate unjustly among veterans, wreck the civil service in New York, and lower the standards of vital public services on which all citizens—including the hundreds of thousands of returning veterans—depend." The Committee has made specific suggestions for the bill which it believes would be fairer to veterans and non-veterans and less harmful to the civil service.

* * *

Budgets

Speaking at the weekly session of the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association's** "Taxpayers Meeting of the Air," Thomas W. Sweeney, chairman of the **Essex County Citizens Budget Committee,** commented on the value of citizen cooperation with public officials on budget affairs. Mr. Sweeney said that his Committee is nonpartisan and that it functions on the conference method by studying departmental requests with the Essex Freeholders during the preparation of the budget. "The close relationship between the citizens and the Essex County governing body is unique among the counties of the nation," he announced.

The **Civic Federation of Chicago,** in a recent *Bulletin,* compliments citizen organizations throughout Chicago for their increasing interest in governmental affairs, particularly through attendance at budget hearings.

* * *

Voting Dates

Living up to its motto, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," the **Detroit Citizens League** in its *Civic Searchlight* leaps from the November election to an announcement of the spring primary on February 19 and the spring election—for state and local officers—on April 2. In the same issue the League announces its conviction that work for a state constitutional amendment for home rule for Wayne County (Detroit) must be continued. "One fact," says the *Searchlight,* "is that the long struggle for a modern system of county government has justified itself in the field of civic education. The League stands ready to try again."

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Proposed Again for Presidential Elections

Electors Would be Abolished Electoral Votes Substituted

AFTER the presidential election, in which 53 per cent of the popular vote elected 81 per cent of the Electoral College, Congressman Clarence F. Lea of Santa Rosa, California, chairman of the House Committee on Interstate Commerce, has introduced again his proposed constitutional amendment to apply the principle of proportional representation to the presidential electoral votes of each state (H. J. 313).

This time the same proposal in substance has been introduced also by Senator Joseph F. Guffey of Pennsylvania (S. J. Res. 143) and Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York (H. J. Res. 297).

These resolutions would abolish personal electors, keep the present basis of electoral votes and divide the electoral votes of each state among the candidates for president and vice-president in exact proportion to the popular votes cast for them within the state.

The reason given for keeping the electoral vote device at all, instead of changing to a direct nation-wide popular vote as proposed by Senator William Langer of North Dakota (S. J. Res. 107[1]), is a practical one. The southern states and all the smaller states would lose in influence under a direct nation-wide vote, as compared to their representation in the Electoral College, and might refuse to ratify the necessary constitutional amendment for that reason. An amendment initiated in Congress would require the concurrence of the legislatures of three-fourths of all the states and the states which would surely lose influence under it would have enough votes to block it. Therefore it is proposed to approximate the popular vote as closely as possible without disturbing the relative influence of the states by dividing each state's electoral votes in proportion to its popular votes instead of letting them all go in a block to the leading candidate.

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[1] Senator Langer's amendment also proposes nation-wide primaries for the selection of candidates for president and vice-president and a prohibition of more than two terms for a president.

Mr. Lea's amendment was reported favorably near the end of the 1933-34 session and received the approval of President Roosevelt at that time, but never came to a vote. In succeeding sessions the Congress has been even more preoccupied with matters which it considered of more immediate urgency.

Important Advantages

The great and permanent advantages of the Lea amendment may be summarized as follows:

1. It would make much less likely the election of a president with less popular support than his principal rival, which has happened three times already.

2. It would make votes count for president wherever they are cast. At present a vote at the polls has no effect on the electoral vote unless cast for the plurality candidate within the state.

3. It would thus arouse interest even in the "sure" states and make candidates from such states available for nomination.

4. It would remove the tremendous incentives to corruption and the concentration of legitimate efforts in the few large doubtful states which now usually determine the issue.

5. It would remove the dangers inherent in the system of personal electors, who may die, be prevented from voting, or precipitate a crisis by changing their minds.

P. R. Debated in the British House of Commons

Members of all parties convinced of the urgent necessity of more complete and accurate representation in the British House of Commons took advantage of the recent consideration of the Government's Redistribution of Seats Bill, now enacted into law, to secure public discussion of the subject.

T. Edmund Harvey, independent member for the Combined English Universities and chairman of the executive committee of the Proportional Representation Society, one of the few members of Parliament elected by P. R., moved on October 10 and ably supported an amendment that the bill "gives no assurance of securing the fair representation in the House of the electorate in proportion to the votes cast."

He was followed in support of the amendment by Miss Megan Lloyd-George (Liberal), Commander Stephen King-Hall (Independent Nationalist), Sir Robert Young (Labour) and Mr. D. N. Pritt (Labour), who replied point by point to the principal opposing argument, made by Rt. Hon. F. W. Pethick-Lawrence, vice-chairman of the Labour party. Other speakers in opposition were Rt. Hon. O. Peake (Conservative), under-secretary of the Home Office, and Mr. T. Magnay (National Liberal).

The amendment was defeated by 204 votes to 20, most of the Conservative and Labour members voting in the negative. No speaker challenged the truth of the assertion made in the proposed amendment, however, and probably many of those who thought the Redistribution Bill should be passed without change would be prepared to support a P. R. proposal for the larger centers of population, such as Prime Minister Winston Churchill has often advocated in the past, if such a proposal were brought forward under government auspices.

The P. R. movement in Great Britain has gained impetus since the debate.

Proportional Representation League, Inc.

The Proportional Representation League, which dates back to 1893 as the organized expression of the P. R. movement in the United States, has been operating since 1932 as a department of the National Municipal League. It still maintains its separate corporate existence, however. Any member of the National Municipal League in full standing may become a voting member of the P. R. League simply by sending in his application to the assistant secretary and treasurer, Miss Elsie S. Parker, at the National Municipal League office, 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.

The present officers of the P. R. League are as follows:

President: A. R. Hatton, Dripping Springs, Texas

Vice-Presidents:
Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia
John R. Commons, Madison, Wis.
Mrs. Alice Thacher Post, Washington, D. C.

Honorary Secretary: C. G. Hoag, Haverford, Penna.

Executive Secretary: George H. Hallett, Jr., New York City

Field Secretary: Walter J. Millard, Cincinnati, Ohio

Treasurer and Assistant Secretary: Elsie S. Parker, New York City

Honorary Vice-President: John H. Humphreys, London, Secretary of the P. R. Society of Great Britain

ADVISORY COUNCIL
(Trustees indicated by asterisks)

Albert S. Bard, New York City
Ex-Governor Robert P. Bass, Peterboro, N. H.
William E. Boynton, Ashtabula, Ohio
Harold S. Buttenheim, New York City
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, New Rochelle, N. Y.
*Richard S. Childs, New York City
*Paul H. Douglas, Chicago, Ill.
Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis, Mo.
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
*C. A. Dykstra, Madison, Wis.
Ex-Governor Charles Edison, Trenton, N. J.
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Charles G. Fenwick, Bryn Mawr, Penna.
Cyrus J. Fitton, Hamilton, Ohio
Christopher M. Gallup, North Stonington, Conn.
Mrs. George Gellhorn, St. Louis, Mo.
*A. R. Hatton, Dripping Springs, Texas
Julian G. Hearne, Jr., Wheeling, W. Va.
*C. G. Hoag, Haverford, Penna.
William Hoag, Boston, Mass.
A. N. Holcombe, Cambridge, Mass.
Lewis C. Hunter, San Francisco, Calif.
Lewis Jerome Johnson, Cambridge, Mass.
William C. Keough, Cleveland, Ohio
Cameron H. King, San Francisco, Calif.
Congressman Clarence F. Lea, Santa Rosa, Calif.
Samuel McCune Lindsay, New York City
Ex-Senator Robert L. Owen, Washington, D. C.
Ex-Senator George Wharton Pepper, Philadelphia
Charles H. Porter, Cambridge, Mass.
Jackson H. Ralston, Palo Alto, Calif.
Philip Randolph, New York City
Thomas H. Reed, Hartford, Conn.
Mrs. Raymond Robins, Washington, D. C.
Monsignor John A. Ryan, Washington, D. C.
Wm. Jay Schieffelin, New York City
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati, Ohio
Samuel Seabury, New York City
*J. Henry Scattergood, Villa Nova, Penna.
Henry L. Shattuck, Boston, Mass.
Miss Belle Sherwin, Willoughby, Ohio
Charles P. Taft, Cincinnati, Ohio
Carl D. Thompson, Chicago, Ill.
Lent D. Upson, Detroit, Mich.
Senator David I. Walsh, Clinton, Mass.
*Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia
Charles H. Woodward, Philadelphia

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Simplified Reporting for New York Justices of Peace

State Commission Considers County Law Recodification.

AFTER being recommended for two consecutive years by the Association of Towns at its annual meetings, the New York State legislature enacted into law a simplified reporting plan for justices of peace and village police justices. The new plan of reporting to the State Comptroller became effective January 1, 1945. The purposes of the plan include: (1) to avoid the variety of reports formerly used, (2) to provide more adequate information on the work performed by the justices, (3) to secure more effective supervision and (4) to enable the State Comptroller currently to audit all the dockets. By requiring use of receipts and the filing of a report irrespective of whether any business has been performed, the law will reveal for the first time the actual volume of such business in all the justice courts of the state.

New York Considers Recodification of County Law

The Uniform County Laws Commission, created by the New York State legislature in 1944, has begun a series of hearings on the subject of recodification of the county law, which has developed into a maze of inconsistencies since it was last recodified in 1909. The Commission is composed of three senators, three assemblymen and four appointees of the governor.

Subjects that have been discussed in the hearings held in various cities include broader legislative power for county boards, a uniform budget system, elimination of the fee system, a uniform fiscal year, classification of counties and the county manager or executive plan.

Wayne County, Michigan, Adopts Retirement Plan

Wayne County, Michigan, recently adopted a retirement plan for its employees. The plan covers all employees of county offices, boards and departments excepting those whose pay averages less than $600 per year.

Maryland County Reduces Size of Board

The voters of Harford County, Maryland, in the November 7 election, approved a proposal to reduce the size of the Board of County Commissioners from five members to three. The proposal also provided for an increase in salary for the commissioners. In Ann Arundel County, Maryland, a similar proposal whereby the Board of eight members would have been reduced to three was rejected by the electorate.

Kansas Counties Building Hospitals

Kawlins County, Kansas, at a special election, has approved of the proposition to build a county hospital. Similar proposals are in the discussion stage in other Kansas counties, with considerable progress reported in Norton, Washington, Riley and Meade.

Michigan Institute Trains County Officials

The Michigan Institute of Local Government, which for years has been training newly-elected sheriffs in the duties of their office, is extending the course to include county treasurers, county clerks and other elective officials.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

State-Local Borrowing After Two Decades

Comparison Throws Light on Postwar Financing

THE urgencies of the military situation this third winter of the war have somewhat dampened the over-optimism with which some of us were preparing for the immediate appearance of postwar problems as recently as last summer. They have not dimmed the fact, however, that postwar adjustments still loom as a major municipal problem even though the day of reckoning may be farther off than we had liked to hope.

Furthermore, the prospective use of large-scale, locally-financed, public works to provide a bridge easing the transition from war to peace appears to become daily more firmly entrenched. The November election saw voters approve nearly a quarter of a billion dollars of new state and local bonds, mainly for postwar use, and the evidence continues that more and more projects are being planned.

In view of the emphasis being placed on state and local public works projects, and the fact that to date the plans for financing such works have revolved almost exclusively around the localities providing the funds, it is not inappropriate to examine the potential ability of the localities to do so.

Probably the most widely discussed goal for public works is that set by the American Society of Civil Engineers, through its committee on postwar construction.[1] This goal was set at $5,000,000,000 of public works construction, a goal lacking less than $600,000,000 of fulfillment at the end of October although most of the plans had not progressed to the stage where immediate construction could be undertaken. Using the goal as a criterion, without special examination of its adequacy to accomplish the ends sought, it may well be asked, what are the prospects of the localities borrowing $5,000,000,000 in the postwar years?

The historical record of municipal borrowing suggests that the prospects are excellent, considering the program in its entirety. Much will depend, however, on the period over which the borrowing is spread, and if the program is compressed into as short a period as three years it will entail the creation of new municipal debt at a faster rate than ever before in our history. If the period is longer than three years it will not be without precedent, for in the four years 1924-27, inclusive, something over $5,500,000,000 in new debt was created by the state and local governments, as indicated by the borrowing record.

The record of long-term borrowing by the states and local governments for the past twenty years is summarized in the table below. The data are based on published records of *The Daily Bond Buyer,* a New York financial journal specializing in municipal borrowing. The data as compiled include refunding bonds, and in recent years local housing authority bonds, but segregated figures for these items are also compiled and in the table they have been excluded from the annual totals. The totals as shown include, however, long-term borrowing for relief and welfare purposes, since much relief borrowing was used directly or indirectly for work relief and so was reflected in public works.

It is to be noted that in twelve of the

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[1] See the REVIEW for September 1944, p. 429, and November 1944, p. 565.

LONG-TERM BORROWING
By State and Local Governments[a]
(Amounts in millions of dollars)

1924	$1,436	1931	$1,190	1938	$1,119
1925	1,365	1932	849	1939	856
1926	1,343	1933	1,083	1940	1,048
1927	1,444	1934	1,030	1941	658
1928	1,351	1935	792	1942	311
1929	1,418	1936	728	1943	95
1930	1,281	1937	790	1944	Est. 200

[a] After compilations by *The Daily Bond Buyer,* New York. Excludes, however, refunding bonds and bonds of local housing agencies. Estimate for 1944 is the author's, based on *The Bond Buyer's* report of sale of $185,000,000 new issues through November.

last twenty completed years annual borrowing has exceeded a billion dollars exclusive of refunding and housing agency borrowing. In the last ten completed years alone, however, the billion-dollar mark has been exceeded only three times—in 1934, 1938 and 1940. The slump in annual borrowing since 1940 is most notable, and illustrates the extent to which the war has forced an abnormal situation on state and municipal units.

The table amply suggests that issuance of $5,000,000,000 of new state and local obligations for public works in a three- or four-year period will not be as formidable an undertaking as the vast amount involved would indicate on its face. There are other factors involved, however, and the implications of a few of them will be considered here next month.

Pennsylvania Analyzes Parking Meter Revenues

Parking meters are more widely used in Pennsylvania than in any other state, according to a recent study which attempted a statistical measure of their fiscal importance.[1] According to the study the revenues in 1943 ranged from just under $10 per meter to $95, and amounted in a number of instances to more than the total of police department expenditures.

The study showed that total parking meter receipts increased from $140,439 in 1940 to $452,263 in 1943. In general, the more populous a community the higher the receipts per meter. Boroughs in the 5,000 to 10,000 population group averaged, in 1943, $39.77 per meter, those between 10,000 and 25,000 population averaged $45.63 per meter, and those with over 25,000 averaged $48.93.

About 440 communities over the country use parking meters, and of these 84 or 19 per cent are in Pennsylvania.

Finance Officers Expand Committees

In November the Municipal Finance Officers Association implemented its program by expanding its standing committees, discontinuing two and adding three new ones to bring the total to fourteen.

As announced by Joseph M. Cunningham, president of the Association and deputy comptroller of New York City, the committees and their chairmen for the year will be as follows: Accounting, Mr. Cunningham; Cost Accounting, Joseph M. Lowery, auditor, Los Angeles County; Accounting Equip-

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[1] *Parking Meters in Pennsylvania Municipalities,* Institute of Local Government, The Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.

ment, Frank Bittner, auditor, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin; Finance Department Organization, George P. Ellis, Chicago; Local Government Financial Policies, M. P. Jones, director of finance, Wichita; Local Government Revenues, Charles J. Fox, city auditor, Boston;

Also, Public Budget Procedure, David V. Addy, city budget director, Detroit; Functions and Salaries of Finance Officers, R. F. Agard, director of finance, Kansas City, Missouri; Preservation of Public Records, Otto K. Jensen, state examiner, State Board of Accounts, Indiana; Federal Fiscal Relations, D. C. Miller, commissioner of finance and institutions, Memphis; Special Assessments, William J. Johnson, village controller, Grosse Pointe Park, Michigan; State Legislation for Local Government Finance, Howard E. Munroe, town treasurer, Barrington, Rhode Island; Public Employee Retirement Administration, A. A. Weinberg, managing actuary, employees annuity and benefit fund, Chicago Park District; and Public Housing Finance, George W. Wanamaker, deputy city comptroller, Buffalo.

Late Reports on November Elections

At the time of going to press last month, the most recent reports showed $221,270,000 of state and local bond issues approved November 7 out of $251,102,564 submitted. The final figure for the entire month, as compiled by *The Daily Bond Buyer*, was $235,814,700, compared with $4,700,000 in November 1943.

In addition to bond authorizations, there were several instances where special tax levies for construction were authorized, to enable completion of postwar projects on a pay-as-you-go basis without recourse to borrowing. In Seattle voters approved a special four-mill levy for the school district. In this it followed the example of neighboring Tacoma, where earlier in the year a series of special levies to raise $5,000,000 for postwar construction and rehabilitation of the school district had been voted.

In Oregon, Portland voters approved a special levy for a city jail and police headquarters, while special levies for various improvement purposes were authorized elsewhere in the state by Eugene, Klamath Falls, Lebanon, Marshfield and Oswego. The Dalles approved a three-mill levy for three years and the addition of 25 cents to water bills to pay for a sewerage system.

In Michigan, Genesee County (Flint) voted an extra mill outside the fifteen-mill tax rate limit for three years to build a tuberculosis hospital, but in Ohio Cleveland voters refused to approve special levies for schools and welfare. A one-mill tax for the New Orleans fire and police pension funds was also defeated.

In California a number of city charter amendments affecting finances were voted on. Redondo Beach and San Bernardino approved amusement taxes of one cent and three cents respectively, but Richmond voters turned thumbs down on a proposed two-cent tax. In Glendale, where the city presently takes 12 per cent of gross revenues of the municipal public service enterprises for general fund purposes, a proposal to increase the tax to 20 per cent was rejected. Glendale voters also turned down a proposal to join the state retirement system, but approval to participation was given by voters of Bell, Burbank, Huntington Park and Inglewood and by Contra Costa County, Orange County, and Tulare County. Glendale and Burbank both voted down proposals for salary increases for city councilmen.

Community Welfare

Prepared by Federal Security Agency

Unemployment Insurance and Population Problems

Benefit Payments Will Help Cushion Reconversion Shock

WHEN the United States converted its civilian industries to full war production there was unavoidable but temporary unemployment in many plants, especially automotive plants, while retooling was in process. When our industrial conversion is reversed it is quite likely that a similar situation may prevail, for no matter how smoothly the reconversion program is managed there will be layoffs.

When that time comes many communities and many workers will be faced with the problem of bridging the gap between jobs. Added to this will be the question of where to look for jobs—whether to stay in the war boom town, to return to the old home town, or to migrate to some new locality.

How can communities prepare to meet these situations? One significant safeguard in the transition period will be the federal-state unemployment insurance system, operating in the 48 states, the District of Columbia, Alaska and Hawaii. Trust funds for these 51 systems total nearly six billion dollars—a substantial cushion to help absorb the shock of reconversion.

A pattern for the operation of these funds during temporary lay-offs may be found in a detailed examination of the way it works in a typical war community such as Hartford, Connecticut. This city has large aviation and munitions plants and some of them have already received production cutbacks. Approximately 133,500 workers in the Hartford area hold jobs protected by unemployment insurance. They earn about $358,900,000 a year, or $6,900,000 a week. If 20 per cent were laid off, and not absorbed by the production of goods and services for civilians the wage loss would come to more than $1,380,000 a week. This wage loss would soon begin to shrink the city's economy. The butcher, the grocer, the landlord, and all others who supply the basic needs of life would be the first to feel any marked decrease in the city's payroll.

Unemployment insurance payments to jobless workers, however, could help to counteract a downward trend. For example, if 20 per cent of the workers in the Hartford area were temporarily out of work and were eligible to receive unemployment insurance, their weekly payments would total $560,700, or 40.4 per cent of the weekly wages. This would provide a substantial layer of income for them and for their community as well.

The machinery for unemployment insurance operates simply. State laws provide for weekly cash payments to jobless workers, provided they have worked for firms in business or industry employing eight or more persons. In many states, protection has been extended to workers in firms with less than eight employees. However, about three million workers in small firms still have no protection. Also without protection are agricultural and domestic workers, employees of nonprofit organizations, and government employees including thousands of workers in army arsenals and navy yards as well as many merchant seamen.

The amount of the weekly benefit payment a worker may receive while unemployed differs in the various states. Usually it comes less than half the worker's full-time weekly pay —except that there is a top and a bottom limit. The maximum ranges from $15 to $22 a week, but in over half the states $15 or $16 a week is the top. Minimum benefit payments range from $2 to $10 a week, but in most states the lowest payment is $5 or more. For partial unemployment most states provide partial benefits. The length of time during which a worker may receive benefits—provided he is still out of work—is variable, depending on his previous earnings. In some states the period is as short as two weeks, in some as long as 23. But in seventeen states the period does not depend on previous earnings; all eligible persons may receive benefits for the same length of time. This uniform period differs from state to state, being fourteen, sixteen, eighteen or twenty weeks.

War and Postwar Migration

Besides aiding workers and local communities, unemployment insurance has a nation-wide function. In the last few years there has been a war migration on a vast scale, with concentrations of workers along the coasts and the Great Lakes. As peacetime industries expand and war industries decline, renewed impetus will be given to migration. There will come a shuffling of workers between plants, between industries, between communities, between sections of the country.

An important area for postwar planning lies here. Shall we make an effort to direct wartime migrants back to their former places of residence? Or shall we try to achieve permanent settlement of these people? Many states whose labor force was increased during the war realize all the advantages they would have in keeping people in their boundaries. But in order to achieve this they would have to see that the new workers are provided with proper housing conditions and with attractive postwar jobs. Other states whose working population was reduced during the war may feel that they will be unable to expand their civilian goods production unless they get back at least a part of the workers who left their home communities for war jobs. These workers will not return, however, unless they are sure to find proper jobs, fair wages and good living conditions.

Not to be left out of the population picture are the eleven million men and women in the armed forces. Where will they go when they are released from military duty? Will they return to their home towns or will they decide to go elsewhere to seek their fortunes in the postwar world? Much will depend on the opportunities that their home towns can provide.

Progressive businessmen in many cities already are planning postwar jobs, according to a survey by the Committee for Economic Development. San Diego, California, expects 125 per cent more jobs after the war than it had in 1940; Mobile, Alabama, expects an increase of 87.5 per cent. The average expected job increase for eighteen selected cities came to 31.5 per cent. More significant, however, were comparisons of war jobs with prospective jobs after the war. Fourteen of the cities did not expect to hold their war job increases; only three of them expected more jobs under peace production. San Diego, for instance, had 12,000 jobs in 1940, has 70,000 now, expects 27,000 in 194x. Mobile had 40,000 jobs in 1940, has 110,000 now, expects 75,000 in 194x. But Syracuse, New York, had 71,353 in 1940, has 60,500 now, expects up to 78,000 after the war. Middletown, Ohio, had 14,403 in 1940, has 15,885 now, expects 17,000 after the war.

All these factors point to the value and need for planning by city and state governments, but the federal government, through its liquidation of war enterprises, its action on controls of materials, prices, manpower, and its tax policy, will also inevitably be a large factor in these postwar developments. Government at every level, in close collaboration with management and labor, must pool all knowledge and resources toward the attainment of the common objective—the smoothest possible transition from war to peace, and jobs for all thereafter.

Insurance Will Help

Unemployment insurance can play an important role in the transition. But it can prove effective for the community and for workers only if it is administered to serve fully the purposes for which it is intended. Every state law rightly has safeguards to prevent abuse of the system. Benefits are denied or postponed for any applicant who refuses suitable work, who is not available for work, or who leaves a job without good cause. But restrictive interpretations, which have increased greatly in recent years, might disqualify millions of workers for benefits and jeopardize the whole system. The state's determination of what is "suitable employment," when an applicant is "not available for work," and what constitutes "good cause" for quitting a job, will determine in large measure the effectiveness of the system in stabilizing the economy, and in preventing the spread of a "fear psychology."

The state agencies must make decisions such as these: Will the mechanic who earned $1.80 an hour during the war be required to accept a job at 40 cents an hour? If he refuses will he be denied benefits on the ground that he has refused "suitable employment"? Or will he be allowed four or five weeks to look around and try to find some job of equal skill?

What will be the decision in the case of a man who refuses the offer of a job 50 miles from his home because he cannot arrange transportation? Will he be allowed some time to look around for a job nearer home, or will he be denied his unemployment insurance benefits?

And what will be done in the case of the woman worker who quits her job to join her veteran husband when he decides to settle in another state? Will she be denied benefits because her reason for quitting may not be considered "good cause" attributable to the employer? Twenty states recognize no "good cause" unless it is attributable to the employer or connected with the work.

Finally, though the great majority of war workers will be entitled to unemployment insurance payments, these may not be as large or last as long as will be required to tide the workers through their individual transition periods. Perhaps the states will do more to improve their unemployment insurance programs before the war is over. Even as they are, however, these insurance benefits will help to protect the workers and will undoubtedly carry many of them through the reconversion period.

Besides helping workers these benefits will go far to prevent needless and panicky migration in the first shock of postwar lay-offs. They will enable workers to explore job possibilities at hand rather than shifting restlessly from place to place. In this period of transition unemployment insurance payments will greatly ease the burdens on city and state governments, curtailing the need for relief measures. Finally, since unemployment insurance payments can be made across state lines, they can help workers move themselves and their families from a place that offers them little hope of employment to areas where jobs are more plentiful.

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

New Zealand Adjusts Local Government Functions

Recent Legislation Affects Soil, Hospital, Fire Boards

A READJUSTMENT of functions between multi-purpose and ad hoc units of local government, an increase in local government functions, and conflicting trends toward the establishment and abolishment of special local units are evidenced by recent developments in New Zealand.

Over three years have now elapsed since the passage of the Soil Conservation and River Controls Act and the results are becoming increasingly evident. The act provided for a central council composed of three members of the central government, two representatives of local authorities, and one of agricultural interests to supervise and control local catchment boards. The Council can form new catchment districts and define their boundaries. It controls central government grants for soil conservation.[1]

Several catchment districts have been formed during the three-year period and others are in the process of formation. They are ad hoc local governments with independent rating powers for soil conservation and river control purposes. They have up to ten locally elected members and five centrally appointed members on their boards. Their jurisdiction is usually over the entire watershed of a river or group of rivers.

Hospital boards have been in the news because of the great increase in their expenses since 1939 when social security provisions came into effect providing for hospital insurance. The number of hospital beds occupied per 1,000 population has increased from 4.3 to 6.3. Social security funds, however, do not provide all the necessary expenses for hospital support and the local governments must levy a rate to make up the balance. Hospital boards, which number 47 and are popularly elected, do not have independent rating powers. They must ask the local governments which comprise the hospital districts for the necessary rates. If a local authority fails to pay the required contribution to a hospital board, however, the board may apply to the Minister of Finance, who may deduct a sum equal to the contribution plus interest from any central government grants payable to the locality.

This is exactly what has happened in one case recently. Many councils have protested the yearly increases in hospital rates since 1939. But only one has so far taken the extreme step of refusing to levy a rate and had its grants reduced.

The central government has approved that the local Emergency Precautions Services, established because of the war emergency, be organized on a peace-time basis for service during non-war emergencies. Only small grants will be given the localities to maintain such organizations, so it will be up to the localities to provide most of the funds. It is entirely optional with the local authorities whether they wish to retain the service. Some have already indicated such a desire.

For some 36 years now municipal fire departments have been controlled by special fire boards which include representatives of fire underwriters.

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[1] See *Board and Council,* October 4, 1944, p. 8.

Insurance companies and the central government contribute to the expense of these departments to an important degree. Recently the Minister of Internal Affairs proposed that the fire services be put under the control of municipalities and town boards. A central fire council would be established consisting of five representatives of insurance companies, one of the Municipal Association, two of the Fire Brigades Association, one of the union, and the minister as chairman to assist local authorities. The executive committee of the Municipal Association has approved the proposal while most fire boards are naturally against it. Even among municipalities there has been considerable opposition, however, on the grounds that the change would necessitate an increase in rates.

Federal Government Active in Australian Housing Program

Greater commonwealth-state cooperation and activity in the housing field is foreshadowed by recent developments in Australia.[1] The federal government does not have power to build houses, except for purposes of defense and rehabilitation of those in the armed services, but it does have power to give advice and financial assistance. Up to now local governments have seldom exercised their frequently-conferred right of building houses. As a result, the states have accomplished most in the housing field.

It is estimated that between 50,000 and 80,000 houses a year will be needed in the first three postwar years. In order to meet the need the federal government has proposed rental subsidies to low-income families; it would pay the states three-fifths of the difference between the cost of such low-cost housing and the expected or actual income derived from its sale or rent. Housing standards would be established by the commonwealth.

A state premiers' conference at Canberra recently agreed to this program.

Meanwhile the federal government has been criticized by certain local governments for building and planning to build houses without consulting the local governments concerned and without any assurance that municipal rates would be paid.

Headquarters of International Local Authorities Liberated

Suggestions for the reorganization and revitalization of the International Union of Local Authorities, now that its national headquarters at Brussels have been liberated, were made at the American Committee's meeting in Chicago last October 27. Temporary headquarters of IULA were set up in Havana last August by the American Committee with Mr. L. C. Hill as acting director.

It was suggested that in the future the IULA be organized on a hemispherical basis, with hemisphere headquarters at Havana and Brussels and possibly in one other area. Each country would be invited to become a member of the respective hemispheric group and would then automatically become a member in the international organization. It was felt that individual municipal memberships should be continued.

The furniture and files of the international headquarters in Brussels were not materially damaged during the German occupation.

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[1] See *Housing:* 1. The Problem, 2. Technical Answers, 3. Administration, 4. The Social Answer, and *We Can Do Better* (The Commonwealth Plans for homes); all leaflets, issued by the Department of Postwar Reconstruction, Canberra, 1944.

Central Planning Commission Provided in Victoria Bill

A bill providing for the appointment of a central Town and Country Planning Commission of three has been introduced in the Victoria Parliament. Under it municipalities may voluntarily draw up extensive planning schemes for new building or future subdivisions and for the alteration or purchase of existing land or buildings. The commission may require a local authority to develop a plan, and if the latter refuses may draw one up itself at the expense of the municipality.

The bill provides also that all such plans must be submitted to the Governor-in-Council, and if approved must then be laid before the state parliament where a resolution passed by either house within 24 days may revoke the plan.

References on English Local Government

Several excellent articles on English local government have been published this year in *Public Administration,* the quarterly journal of the Institute of Public Administration of England. The spring number contained two articles on recent proposals for the reform of the structure of local government. The first analyzes and summarizes concisely the plans put forth for extensive change by the Association of Municipal Corporations, the Labour party, and a committee of the National Association of Local Government Officers. It also discusses the milder recommendations of other local authority associations.

Two articles on "The Expert in the Local Government Service" are also to be found in the same issue.

The summer number has an article discussing the new White Paper on the National Health Service. Entitled "The Proposed Joint Health Authorities," the article discusses the jurisdiction of such joint authorities and their relation to existing local governments.

Birmingham, England, in Banking Business

There have been few cases in which a municipality has gone into the banking business, but Birmingham, England, is one of these—the only such municipality in that country. In September 1944 it celebrated its silver jubilee. According to the *Municipal Review* the bank was established by the corporation's act of 1919 as the successor of the Birmingham Corporation Savings Bank set up during the last war on a temporary basis. Today the bank has 67 branches. It has been a pronounced success from the start. The late Neville Chamberlain, who was prime mover in the establishment of the original bank, attributed this success to the fact that it enjoyed the confidence of the citizens.

Local Government Notes from Australia

Late last summer the voters of Australia rejected a series of seventeen constitutional amendments which would have given the national government greater power over many problems which are likely to arise after the war—unemployment, trusts, prevention of depressions, etc. . . . The *Australian Municipal Journal* states that it believes Victoria should require more strict adherence to the principles of the budget system on the part of local governments. . . . A shire council in Victoria has established an "Art Advisory Committee" to advise the council on the design of public buildings, memorials, landscaping. . . . One Australian municipality has agreed to let the residents of another use its public library on payment by the other government of a small fee.

Books in Review

Proceedings of the Thirty-sixth Annual Conference on Taxation under the auspices of the National Tax Association, held at Chicago, November 20-22, 1943. Edited by Raymond E. Manning. Washington, D. C., National Tax Association, 1944. xxvi, 542 pp. $3.

This well-edited annual volume of proceedings is most helpful to those interested in tax problems or research. The 1943 volume contains discussions of such matters as postwar problems of state and local governments, taxation of federally-owned real estate, taxation of railroads and public utilities, intergovernmental fiscal relations, management of postwar debt, problems of war and postwar federal finance, taxation of trusts and estates, and a federal tax program.

A Dictionary of American Politics. Edited by Edward Conrad Smith and Arnold John Zurcher. New York City, Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1944. vii, 358 pp. $3.

This is the third volume to appear under this title, previous ones being issued in 1888 and 1924. It contains about 3,000 entries with definitions and explanations by some twelve qualified men. Almost all phases of American political science are covered: national, state and local government, constitutional law, political parties, international relations, and a limited amount of data on foreign institutions and ideas. Maps and illustrations are included.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accounting

Institutional Cost Accounting As Exemplified by the System Installed at the Eloise Hospital and Infirmary, Wayne County (Detroit, Michigan). By Walter O. Harris. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1944. xi, 153 pp.

Education

Proposals for Public Education in Postwar America. Washington 6, D. C., Research Division of the National Education Association, 1944. 40 pp. 25 cents.

Elections

Elections Data in State Documents. By Dorothy W. Kaufman. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1944. 36 pp.

Estates

Administration of Small Estates. By Carl N. Everstine. Baltimore 2, Research Division, Legislative Council of Maryland, 1944. iv, 23 pp.

Judiciary

Judicial Reapportionment and Salaries and Retirement of Judges. Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, 1944. 34 pp.

Map Symbols

Handbook of Map Symbols. Albany, New York Department of Commerce, 1944. viii, 36 pp.

Planning

Patrick Geddes, Maker of the Future. By Philip Boardman. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1944. xix, 504 pp. $5.

The Planning of Public Buildings and Grounds, Including Civic Centers: A Selected List. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, 1944. 5 pp.

Study of Decentralizing Influences in the Downtown District of Louisville, Kentucky. New York, Roy Wenzlick & Co., 1944. 58 pp.

Postwar Planning

America's New Opportunities in World Trade. Report of The Committee on International Policy. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1944. iv, 79 pp. 50 cents.

Salaries

1944 Salary Survey. Parts I to VI. Minneapolis 14, Municipal Reference Bureau and League of Minnesota Municipalities, 1944. 5 pp. each.

Taxation and Finance

Accounting and Financial Procedures of Local and State Governments. A description of the publications of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada. Chicago 37, The Association, 1944. 8 pp.

City Finances 1942. (Cities Having Populations Over 25,000) Volume 3: Statistical Compendium. By Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944. ix, 224 pp. 55 cents.

Collection, Appropriation, and Administration of Cash Funds in Nebraska. Lincoln, Research Department, Nebraska Legislative Council, 1944. 46 pp.

Inheritance Tax Refunds, with Special Reference to Interest Paid on Such Refunds. Springfield, Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council, 1944. 35 pp.

Local Government Fiscal Policies. A statement approved by the executive board of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada. Chicago, The Association, 1944. 4 pp. 10 cents.

Pivotal Points in Postwar Fiscal Policy. By Mabel L. Walker. New York 10, Tax Institute, 1944. 15 pp. 25 cents.

Outline Maps Showing Increase or Decrease of Sales Tax Collections in the Various Counties of the State of Oklahoma for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1944. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commisson, 1944. Maps, tables.

State Tax Legislation 1944. Chicago 37, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1944. 23 pp.

CIVIL SERVICE BY CONSTITUTION

(Continued from page 20)

and completed, in one sense speaks for itself, but it becomes vastly more meaningful when it is tied in with the question of overall cost. What is the cost of maintaining a personnel service on this scale? Or, conversely, what can be accomplished by a personnel agency whose appropriation amounts to one per cent of the total jurisdictional payroll? To those questions this paper sets forth a tentative and partial answer. A personnel agency can do what Michigan has done on an annual cost of about $22 per employee. Whether it can do more after initial problems of installation and administrative routine have been conquered is a question which awaits the conclusions that may be drawn from further experience.

There is a second and even more fundamental consideration on which the facts set forth here may shed light. These facts provide the first evidence—whether for the prosecution or the defense—on the question of civil service by constitutional amendment. By the same token they provide evidence which will either support or refute the argument for granting such independence and powers as the Michigan agency enjoys. Innovations like the "one per cent clause" and payroll auditing are being submitted to the pragmatic tests as tools of public personnel administration. It must remain for others to record the final results of the experiment.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

161

The Evil of Forgiving
Editorial

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Contents for February 1945

EDITORIAL COMMENT .... *Alfred Willoughby* 58

ALL-OUT PLANNING FOR BRITAIN .... *F. J. Osborn* 60

THE TAX LIMITATION DELUSION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 64

ALABAMA STATE REORGANIZATION .... *Lane W. Lancaster* 69

AMG TAKES OVER WAR'S RUINS ... *Lieutenant Jesse L. Walden* 74

CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW 79

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 80

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST 86

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 89

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 94

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 97

LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROAD .... *Edward W. Weidner* 100

COMMUNITY WELFARE .... *Federal Security Agency* 104

BOOKS IN REVIEW 106

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service,* the *Index to Legal Periodicals,* the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

The Evil of Forgiving

THE quaint old American custom of forgiving and forgetting, the moment the votes are counted, all the deceit and outright fraud of political campaigns is an insidious thing which tends to produce a cynical people.

Symptoms of the affliction which festers on our democratic system are such typical statements as these:

"You can never believe anything a politician says. . . . It makes no difference how I vote or whether I vote, one politician or another still gets what he's after. . . . Politics is just rotten; I want no son of mine going into it."

Our judgment seems clearer when we consider the far off mountain of international affairs than it does when we are contemplating the dangerous evils in our own backyards. We assure ourselves today that we must stand firm against any postwar forgiveness of the current and past wrongdoing of the nations with which we are at war. Yet we seldom call our own corrupt politicians to book. Certainly the methods are similar.

Sufficient time has elapsed to permit a calm examination of the objectionable features of some of last fall's campaigns.

In New Jersey, in at least one New York community and elsewhere, public money was openly spent for advertising and other campaign expenses. In many, many places people on the public payroll spent much of their time campaigning for political parties or causes. During the campaign these actions were attacked as constituting the misuse of public funds. Were they? If so, should the culprits not be punished and forced to repay? Will not "forgiveness" now prompt them and others to use public money in the future?

Then there are the numerous instances of deliberate falsehood. In Montgomery County, Maryland, for example, a home rule charter was narrowly defeated. Few charters have had the benefit of as much attention by outstanding authorities. Not only was it drafted by persons of recognized competence but experts throughout the country were consulted. In addition to criticisms too ridiculous to mention, its opponents charged that the charter would provide a dictatorship which, once approved, could never be unseated, that the council-manager plan is an untried experiment, that it always increases taxes. Advocates of the charter argued that the charter would tend to insure decent, honest, efficient, non-political, democratic government and that a generation of experience proves the manager plan sound and preferred. One set of claims must be false. Which?

These are only a few typical examples. Everyone knows there are many others. But if the side which uses lies and misuses public funds loses, it is pitied and forgiven. If it wins, it is seldom that anyone dares to attempt to punish it.

Just what is it about the "game" of politics which causes apparently honest, high-minded people to take the "anything goes" attitude?

To create conditions which will make it possible for people to vote their intelligent convictions and to encourage our ablest people to be willing instead of ashamed to participate in public affairs, we must expose, condemn and thus prevent these orgies of falsehood and fraud.

Unless we do, we will have more self-delusion than self-government.

What's in a Name?

A GROUP of district leaders in New York recently revolted against the current leadership of Tammany Hall and sent a telegram to Washington in which they announced they would establish a new organization "to which decent citizens may turn in place of Tammany Hall, which has fallen into public disrepute and opprobrium." The telegram asked the national administration not to appoint to federal office any persons recommended by Tammany leaders.

People residing elsewhere will be a bit puzzled that the revolting leaders are discovering only now that Tammany has fallen into disrepute. Not always with complete justice, Tammany has been synonymous with rotten politics for many, many years. And it will hit "the Hall" where it hurts most if it is cut off from federal patronage.

Whether or not the present leadership of the organization is as culpable as the rebels allege, perhaps this is one more indication that spoils politics continues to decline, however slowly and painfully.

Bold Action on a Tough Problem

THOSE who timidly nibble around the edges of our so-called metropolitan areas problem will be stirred by the boldness with which Britain is tackling it.

The power of local authorities, provided in the new Town and Country Planning Act,[1] to purchase considerable areas and to retain them in public ownership apparently indefinitely, is red meat indeed compared with the gentle method proposed by the comptroller of New York[2] of assembling property in a blighted area, re-platting, then auctioning it to private developers.

Inability to assemble land in the blighted core areas of large cities in sufficiently large quantities to permit rearrangement of streets is one of the major handicaps to the restoration of neighborhoods which have been largely abandoned. Many ambitious programs have fallen because a few greedy owners have attempted to hold up private developers for high prices. Until this barrier can be overcome, housing projects will continue to be built on the outskirts instead of where they are more acutely needed and where they will eliminate slums by replacing them.

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[1] See "All-Out Planning for Britain," by F. J. Osborn, p. 60, this issue.

[2] See "Can We Rebuild Our Cities?" by Joseph D. McGoldrick, the REVIEW, January 1945, p. 5.

All-out Planning for Britain

New act gives local governments broadest control over devastated areas and others which need comprehensive treatment; may buy land and lease for 99-year terms.

By F. J. OSBORN, Honorary Secretary
Town and Country Planning Association

BRITAIN is, relative to its size and population, the most highly urbanized country in the world. More than four-fifths of its people live in towns, and even of the remaining fifth more than half are dependent on non-agricultural pursuits, the farm population answering for only about 8 per cent of the total. Of those who live in the towns half are concentrated in the seven largest cities, or city clusters, the greatest of which, London, had 8,750,000 people in its continuously-built-up area.

This high degree of concentration in vast agglomerations is somewhat masked to foreign observers by the listing of municipalities and their populations in reference books. For example, the boroughs of Croydon, East Ham, West Ham, Ilford, Leyton, Tottenham, Walthamstow and Willesden, which have populations between 120,000 and 250,000 each, are integral parts of the solidly built-up area of London, and great numbers of their residents travel daily into the center of the metropolis to work. All the other great agglomerations similarly include a number of towns, each formerly a separate center and still with its own governmental identity, yet now structurally merged in the greater mass of buildings and population.

The overconcentrated grouping of Britain's population has long been a source of doubt and anxiety in many minds. In all large towns there is a serious problem of overcrowding at the center, dating from the close building of houses in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and accentuated later by the expansion of central industries and commercial businesses and the growth of city populations.

If you walk through the center of any city in Britain, especially London, you will be struck by the relatively recent construction of many of the business buildings and factories and the age and dilapidation of the residential sections. The modern buildings are almost invariably higher and bulkier than the older ones. Their floor-space is greater and they employ more people. But the dwellings—in the main small and packed together—have not been replaced to anything like the same extent. Many of them—probably the majority—have been subdivided and are occupied by several families. Large districts are squalid and depressing though the homes are as a rule well kept and "slums," in the full sense, are a small proportion of the whole.

Completely abandoned or derelict areas are rare in Britain's cities. There has been for many years a considerable movement of individual families to the suburbs. But at the same time there has been an increase of total population and an encroachment of industrial and business premises on residential areas, so that the pressure on housing accommodation has not been relieved. The statistical decline in the populations of central wards is due partly to the reduction of the area available there for dwellings and partly to the decline in the size of the average family. In the last half century the outward residential movement to the suburbs has been accelerating, and there has also been some outward movement of factory industry. But so far this has been more than balanced by the extension of industries remaining in the centers and a very great growth of commercial and office businesses. While, therefore, the large cities have expanded outwards, central employment has increased and the overcrowding of central housing districts has persisted.

At the same time traffic movement within the cities has multiplied many times, a burdensome feature of it being the daily in-and-out movement of the employed population between the enlarged employment center and the ever-spreading suburbs. In London street congestion and railway overloading had reached a critical point some years before the war. The general space shortage is further reflected in very high central land values and a grave insufficiency of land for recreation and parks.

Town planning began in Britain with the Housing, Town Planning Act of 1909. This gave local authorities power to regulate new developments, employing the familiar machinery of use and density zoning and the prescription of street lines. The act was permissive; local authorities could adopt it or not as they chose; and many did not operate under it. It was essentially a law for improving the character of suburban expansion.

In 1932 the powers were extended to built-up areas, but they were still permissive and still essentially local in initiative, though all schemes had to be centrally approved. The majority of local authorities started planning schemes but up to the war they were completed only for less than 5 per cent of the country.

Barlow Commission Reports

Thought on the whole question of urban development has been transformed in the last five years. In 1940 the Barlow Royal Commission, after a two-year inquiry, reported in favor of national town and country planning, the limitation of the further growth of large cities, and their progressive redevelopment on a more open pattern coupled with the dispersal of their excess population to smaller towns. This involved some national control over the future location of industry, since people go to live in places where they can find work. The Commission therefore proposed the setting up of a central planning authority, the restriction of the settlement of new industries in large agglomerations beginning with Greater London, and the promotion of industrial settlement in country towns, new garden cities and organized factory estates.

The German air-raids of 1940 and 1941 destroyed and damaged extensive areas in London and other cities, and the ensuing views and discussions on their reconstruction made the urban public highly conscious of the possibilities of thoroughgoing replanning. The colossal uprooting and movement due to evacuations to safer places, war shifts in industry, the bombing of houses and factories, and the military call-up, made people receptive to the idea of big changes.

The Barlow theses took hold. The Scott Committee on the rural aspects of a dispersal policy and the Uthwatt Committee on the problems of land value involved were appointed and duly reported. In 1943 Britain's new Ministry of Town and Country Planning was created and, in the course of a nation-wide controversy (which included much pamphleteering, endless conferences and many debates in both houses of Parliament) the government accepted in principle the proposals of the Barlow report, some of those of the Uthwatt report, and promised legislation to provide the necessary powers.

Compulsory Planning Powers

The Town and Country Planning Act 1944 is the first installment of Britain's New Planning. Already—in an act of 1943—planning had been made compulsory in all areas, and the whole of the land of the country brought under development control. The act of 1944 gave local planning authorities powers to buy compulsorily: (a) areas of extensive war damage where they can satisfy the Minister that they should be redeveloped as a whole; and (b) areas of bad layout and obsolete development requiring similar comprehensive treatment. They can (subject always to ministerial consent) at the same time buy land within or outside their own boundaries to provide for the "overspill" of war-damaged or obsolete areas. Provision is made also, if the matter is better handled in this way, for another authority, even a town at some distance, to acquire land for the "overspill" and for agreements between authorities for dealing with housing and other developments for the displaced population.

The accent of the act is on relocation of population and industry in communities, providing not merely housing and business premises but facilities for "recreation, worship and amenity and other requirements."

The same accent is prominent in the provisional planning schemes recently prepared for individual cities and regions—notably those of Professor Abercrombie for Greater London and Plymouth, and of the authorities of Manchester, Leeds and Portsmouth. The trend of opinion is all against continued suburban expansion and all in favor of the movement of excess industry and people to satellite towns—"garden cities" in the correct sense—centers of work as well as residence, isolated from the larger cities by wide and carefully safeguarded country belts.

Under the new act an authority will acquire the whole of the land and buildings of the designated area at 1939 prices—with some adjustment for the change in money value in the case only of owner-occupiers. The government will bear the interest cost on war-damaged areas for a period of two to fifteen years. The local authority may make a new street plan, introducing such open space as is necessary, and regrant the rearranged plots on 99-year leases to private enterprise builders and traders.

All transactions are subject to the consent of the Ministry of Planning; but the Minister cannot consent to any outright sale of land unless there are exceptional circumstances. On the other hand, he cannot allow the local authority to provide the buildings themselves, for letting, as distinct from granting building franchises, unless private enterprise fails to function (with the important exception that he can consent to their providing buildings if he thinks that necessary to enable them to recover their expenditure on development). The same rules apply to the "overspill" developments. This is an interesting sidelight on the present balance of opinion in Britain on the spheres of public and private enterprise.

Technicians will be interested in the expedited procedure provided in the act for compulsory purchase of land. But with these and many other details of this very complex measure I have not space to deal.

The act throws an important and difficult new task on the nation's local authorities which many of them are tackling with energy. There is a general determination to seize this opportunity to begin the elimination of the handicap of congestion and substandard building and of the disorderly sprawl of suburbs over the precious agricultural and green-belt areas of the cities. It is realized that it is a long-term job and that many problems remain.

Problems Involved

Prominent among these problems are those of the control of the location of industry on which early legislation has been promised, of compensation for land devalued by planning restrictions, and the collection of "betterment" on land enhanced in value by planning or by population movements. The Uthwatt report and the Government White Paper on this thorny subject, "Control of Land Use," are matters of controversy—but there is agreement on the major point, that a national system of compensation and betterment collection is indispensable if Britain's new planning implied in the act of 1944 is to be made a reality.

Correction.—The following changes should be made in the 1943 tax rate for Houston, Texas, as listed in the REVIEW for December 1943, p. 591, No. 21: City rate $19.75 instead of $22. City rate consists of $19.50 for city purposes and $.25 for library. Total rate for all purposes is $43.55, adjusted rate, $20.51. Assessment ratio for city and school purposes is 50%, for county and state purposes 40%. The 47% assessment ratio shown in the tabulation is the weighted average for all purposes.

The Tax Limitation Delusion

Legislatures of seventeen states, quietly and with little public discussion or awareness of dangers, adopt resolutions for 25% constitutional limit on income, inheritance taxes.

By **H. M. OLMSTED**
New York State Public Service Commission

AMENDMENT of the United States constitution is a difficult process, especially where the state governments are opposed. Correction of special advantages held by the small states and by sectional groups seems hopeless at times. But the state legislatures themselves, when urged to do something that has earmarks of popularity without obvious elements of danger to the states, can be a fertile field for initiating amendments, good or bad, which may stand a chance of ultimate adoption.

Nevertheless, it is almost incredible that in seventeen American states, at a time when the nation's debt for relief and recovery, for military preparation and for war itself was growing huge, one or both legislative houses have been persuaded to pass solemn resolutions calling for an amendment to the federal constitution that would place a 25 per cent limit on federal income and inheritance tax rates.

Not since 1930 have the current receipts of the government of the United States equaled its expenditures. In much of the subsequent period less than half of federal financial needs was met by taxation. At the start of this year the gross national debt was over $230,000,000,000, a figure that was fantastic a few years ago.

Despite these facts the following states adopted the measure in the last five years: 1939, Wyoming; 1940, Mississippi and Rhode Island; 1941, Maine, Massachusetts and Michigan; 1943, Alabama, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky and Wisconsin; 1944, New Jersey.[1] Kentucky later rescinded its action; but the legislatures of Arkansas and Pennsylvania are reported as having passed such a resolution, which, however, required the assent of the governor in those states—in Arkansas it was not submitted to the governor and in Pennsylvania it was vetoed. The upper house in Virginia passed such a resolution but the lower house did not. Similar resolutions are reported to have been proposed and rejected in Colorado, Missouri, New York, Ohio and Texas.

The proponents of the movement aim at having 32 states—two-thirds of the total—pass a resolution petitioning Congress to call a convention for proposing amendments, as provided by the constitution; and they hope their amendment will be proposed by such a convention and then ratified by three-fourths of the states

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[1] Sources: Division of Tax Research, United States Treasury Department, "Proposed Constitutional Amendment to Prohibit Federal Tax Rates Exceeding 25 Per Cent," May 31, 1944; *Postwar California,* Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Vol. 1, No. 5, July 1944.

(preferably by legislatures rather than state conventions) and thus become part of the constitution.

Little publicity has accompanied the passage of these resolutions or the activities that led to them. It was hardly a spontaneous movement, however, and plenty of quiet, effective work must have been done before adoption was secured in the states listed. The American Taxpayers Association, Washington, D. C., claims to have originated the proposal in 1938. Its vice-president and secretary, D. E. Casey, says his association is composed of business men of small or moderate affairs.[2]

Another agency largely if not chiefly involved in promoting the amendment is the Committee for Constitutional Government, organized in 1937 by Frank Gannett, publisher of newspapers in Rochester (New York) and elsewhere, aided by Edward A. Rumely, who has been secretary of the committee since that time. Its backing otherwise is not generally known; Mr. Rumely, late in 1944, refused to produce records of contributions before the special committee of the House of Representatives investigating campaign expenditures.

This committee has distributed a model resolution similar to the resolutions adopted in the various states. The committee has also issued a "Brief in Support of Proposed Constitutional Amendment," by Robert E. Dresser, who has also written several articles in support of the proposition.

The proposed amendment as set forth by the various legislatures begins with a clause repealing the sixteenth Amendment—the income tax amendment proposed in 1909 and finally ratified in 1913; a second clause reinstates the language of that amendment with the added words: "Provided that in no case shall the maximum rate of tax exceed 25 per centum"; a third clause requires that inheritance and gift taxes levied by Congress shall not exceed 25 per cent. In most of the resolutions, but not in all, there is a provision that in time of actual war Congress may increase the limit for one-year periods by three-fourths vote of both houses.

Income Tax Yields

In the pre-war year ended June 30, 1941, federal income taxes brought in $3,471,000,000 and were 50.9 per cent of all federal tax collections (exclusive of payroll taxes), according to Tax Institute publications. In the year ended June 30, 1944, they were $33,027,000,000 or 85.1 per cent. This figure was made up of $18,261,000,000 for individual income taxes, $5,284,000,000 for corporation income taxes (ordinary), $9,345,000,000 for excess profits taxes and $137,000,000 for miscellaneous profits taxes.

In 1941, when the income tax of $3,471,000,000 was half of the total (and the individual income tax was exceeded by corporation income taxes) the individual rate, normal and surtax combined, started with 10 per cent and rose to 81 per cent on amounts in excess of $5,000,000. The rate passed 25 per cent at $10,000. The corporation rate on large corporations, not including excess profits tax, was 31 per cent.

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[2] "Merits of Tax Limitation," by D. E. Casey, in Forum Pamphlet 3, *Should There Be a Constitutional Amendment Limiting Federal Income, Estate and Gift Taxes?* December 1944, Tax Institute, Inc., New York.

At present the individual rate starts at 23 per cent and rises to 94 per cent on amounts in excess of $200,000. It passes 25 per cent at $4,000. The ordinary income tax on large corporations is 40 per cent.

Although present rates are much heavier than those of 1941, the schedule in that year is hardly to be considered low; yet it produced less than $3,500,000,000. This would not even pay the interest (now over $4,000,000,000, with the likelihood of rising to $5,000,000,000 or more) on the present national debt.

The amendment as proposed is not clear as to the meaning and application of the 25 per cent limit. Presumably the tax on *net* income is contemplated; and presumably the rate for the highest bracket shall not exceed 25 per cent, even though the average rate for the total tax of an individual affected by such a bracket would be less than 25 per cent.

Estimated Returns

The Division of Tax Research, United States Treasury, estimates that if the individual income bracket rates now higher than 25 per cent were to be reduced to 25 per cent, the regular corporation rate cut to 25 per cent and estate taxes likewise held to a maximum of 25 per cent, these cuts would involve annual revenue losses in the neighborhood of $6,000,000,000, assuming a national income of about $125,000,000,000 at 1943 prices. The present tax system, except for the excess profits tax and allowing for automatic postwar reductions in excise taxes, is estimated to yield about $25,000,000,000 on such a total income. A loss of $6,000,000,000 would reduce this to $19,000,000,000.

But the loss would hardly stop at $6,000,000,000 (assuming the $125,000,000,000 income level). Placing the maximum rate at 25 per cent would leave an individual income tax structure with little progression. Possibly the real proponents of the amendment are willing that this be so, or that a level rate should apply to all incomes, but the vast majority would doubtless think otherwise. The principle of progression in income taxation is too firmly established for one to believe that the people and the Congress would tax an income of $2,000 at as high a rate as that for $200,000. An irresistible demand for a downward scale could be expected, and more billions would easily be lost from the revenue total.

Various other estimates[3] of postwar federal tax totals, with reduced income taxes but no 25 per cent limit, are much lower than the Treasury figure of $25,000,000,000 computed as stated above. The Committee for Economic Development estimates from $17,100,000,000 to $19,500,000,000, using various basic income tax rates (and $140,000,000,000 income). Beardsley Ruml and Hans Christian Sonne say $18,000,000,000; so do the authors of the so-called Twin Cities plan. If a ceiling of 25 per cent were placed on individual and corporate income taxes, these estimates would fall very substantially. And, without such reduction, the revenue estimates are little if any higher than corresponding estimates of postwar federal expenditures *exclusive of debt retirement*.

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[3] *Tax Policy,* October 1944, Tax Institute, Inc., New York.

Postwar national income, yields of various possible taxes, basic governmental requirements and legitimate demands for future military and naval establishments, veterans, public works and social services, are all speculative in varying degree. The utmost flexibility is needed; but the advocates of income tax limitation would place the nation in a straitjacket, would make debt reduction virtually impossible, tend to perpetuate deficit financing, endanger national credit and encourage inflation.

Probable Results

Some economies would, of course, be possible; but the major elements in the picture are either fixed needs, such as interest, or matters of grave public policy, such as potential defense, veterans' aid, foreign relief, public works, education, health, etc. The orthodox civil establishment has a minor part in the cast. The amendment advocates either fail to see the picture, or they oppose all expenditures above the barest minimum and wish to shackle those who believe in government as an instrument of social and economic welfare.

Revenue would still be sought and, as the limitation sponsors doubtless foresee, the tax burden would shift from the higher to the lower income groups, at least relatively, and very possibly the absolute tax burden on the latter group would increase. Even if taxes on the lower incomes were also to be diminished somewhat (and not raised to an even 25 per cent—another possibility), the loss in revenue to the government would compel it in the direction of consumption taxes—general sales taxes and heavier special excises—and these, except some luxury taxes, bear most heavily on small incomes.

Effect on the States

How would the finances of the states themselves fare if the proposed amendment were actually adopted? The states are told by its advocates that it would "restore state sovereignty" and free the states from "federal domination." Presumably the theory is that if the federal government is starved financially it will have to leave many of its present accepted functions to the states—and that the states can and will perform them. Some of the rich and powerful states can, and doubtless would, to some extent. But the poorer states could not do so; their people would lose what privileges they have under federal services and grants-in-aid.

Either grants-in-aid would cease, or the federal government would compete with the states for the tax dollars, or both would result. But what sources of revenue do the states wish to share? In 1943 the gasoline tax provided the most revenue to the states, although shrinking because of restrictions on driving. The federal gas tax totaled $332,000,000 as against $760,000,000 for the states. Would the states like a higher federal proportion? General sales and use taxes produced $665,000,000 for the states. The federal government has not used this source but it is constantly being urged to do so. Liquor and tobacco taxes are now largely federal, but together they yielded the states $479,000,000. Should Washington take all of these that the traffic will bear? Motor vehicle taxes yielded the states $385,000,000 and the federals only $45,000,000. Perhaps Washington could evolve ideas for a greater take. Some persons even fear that the domain of the property tax, chief reliance of local government, could be poached upon by Uncle Sam should he so desire.

Of course, if federal income taxes are drastically limited, states can increase their use of that field. At present there are 33 states with some form of income tax, but only seven obtain more than 20 per cent of their total tax revenue from it. Nearly one-third of all state income taxes comes from New York. If so few states make large use of it, although its value has been proven, can we expect that the states will generally turn to it to supply services which the federal government might cease? The amendment backers might not like it if they did; more sales taxes would suit them better. But whether income taxes or sales taxes gained ascendency, a confused welter of state taxes could be expected; and tax competition between states would be superimposed on the intrastate conflicts between groups of different wealth and income.

A further danger to the states would follow from danger to federal credit; for it is not likely that state credit would remain high if lenders began to doubt the ability of the central government to service its debt.

But, rather than the state-federal issue, the fundamental point in the propaganda for the amendment appears as the doctrine that high taxes on high incomes and inheritances destroy private initiative and dry up the sources of risk capital. Those who urge the amendment are unwilling to let Congress determine the extent to which this doctrine should be reflected in tax policy—or to what extent it should be affected by the philosophy that less inequality and a wider distribution of purchasing power are essential to national welfare, especially under a mass-production economy. Instead of leaving the decision of these questions to the elected representatives of the people, they propose to freeze an arbitrary figure into the constitution, by a roundabout method, playing on state-held fears of federal power.

Tax Opposed

The nationally known tax economist, Harold M. Groves, states with regard to progressive taxes: "This type of taxation is now accepted in nearly all, if not all, of the well developed nations. Undoubtedly it needs to be used wisely and with some restraint. But to seek a storm cellar for any group of taxpayers by constitutional amendment is an attempt to turn back the clock about a century."[4]

If the amendment were ever adopted, can one believe that there

(Continued on page 78)

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[4] "Fallacies of Constitutional Tax Limitation," in Forum Pamphlet 3, *supra.*

Alabama State Reorganization

Recent legislative acts indicate backward step from hopeful beginning of Governor Dixon's leadership; much still needed for simplification of the state's administrative machinery.

By LANE W. LANCASTER
University of Nebraska

INTEREST in the improvement of state administration in Alabama goes back to the early years of the movement for state reorganization.[1] The first step in the direction of the more efficient conduct of state business was taken in 1919 with the creation of a Budget Commission and a Board of Economy and Control, the latter having supervision over state institutions and control over general purchasing.

In 1931 Governor B. M. Miller, faced with a large deficit, persuaded the legislature to authorize a survey of state and county administration. This survey, conducted by the Institute for Government Research of the Brookings Institution, was extremely critical of the irrational administrative structure of the state and recommended drastic changes in the direction of greater integration.

Specifically it recommended the consolidation of the 92 state departments and agencies into nineteen, all to be under the direction of the governor except the auditor, who was to be chosen by the legislature. Other recommendations included abolishment of a large number of *ex officio* boards and establishment of a unicameral legislature.

Since the recommendations of the Brookings report would have required extensive constitutional as well as statutory changes, it is not surprising that it produced no immediate results. Much more influential was the deficit of $17,000,000 which existed when Governor Miller took office in 1931. Upon his recommendation the legislature in special session in 1932 took the first step toward a more businesslike management of finances by passing the Budget and Financial Control Act. This provided for an executive budget to be prepared by a comptroller named by the governor, for a preaudit by the comptroller and for gubernatorial allotment of appropriations to prevent overspending.

The Brookings investigation actually became, however, the basis for the partial reorganization which was carried out in 1939. Frank M. Dixon, the unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1934, had familiarized himself with its recommendations and these were the foundation for his program of administrative changes when he was elected to office four years later. At the date of his inauguration the evils pointed out by the Brookings report had increased. The 92 organizational units had grown to about 120 and "the shortcomings of this machine, in organization, in delegation of duties, in definition of responsibilities, in the inter-relationships of its various units, were those described in any college textbook on American government."[2]

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[1] Early Alabama experience is summarized in *The Reorganization of State Governments in the United States* by A. E. Buck, National Municipal League, 1938, pp. 45-47.

Recent Accomplishments

Though in theory and in his sympathies Governor Dixon was an "integrationist," he was aware of the practical political difficulties in the way of thoroughgoing reorganization and for this reason his recommendations were confined to changes which he felt were feasible. For example, he did not propose to disturb any of the elective administrative officers and his plan left unchanged certain areas of the state administration where the proposal of changes might arouse such protests as to endanger his principal program. For these reasons the statutes providing for reorganization may be conveniently summarized under these five heads:

1. *Finance.* One of the earliest acts of the Dixon administration was that providing for a unified Department of Finance.[3] This department is headed by a director appointed by the governor and serving at his pleasure, and contains six divisions—Control and Accounts, Budget, Purchase and Stores, Examiners of Accounts, Service and Local Finance.[4] Incidental to the adoption of the unified financial control system, the duties of the elective state auditor were restricted to the post-auditing of expenditures, and the treasurer remained as the receiver and custodian of state moneys, paying them out on warrants drawn by the comptroller as head of the department's Division of Control and Accounts.

Coincidental with the passage of the act creating the Department of Finance, the Budget and Financial Control Act of 1932 was amended to provide for a biennial rather than a quadrennial budget, and to improve the form of the budget. At the same time the State Tax Commission was abolished and in its place a Department of Revenue was created with the major function of tax collection. Its director is appointed by and serves at the pleasure of the governor.

New Labor Department

2. *Labor.* Prior to 1939 the state's functions with respect to labor were parcelled out among half a dozen agencies, including a Department of Labor, the Employment Service (nominally a division of the Department though actually independent), the Unemployment Compensation Commission, the Office of Mine Inspector, the Board of Mediation and Arbitration and the Office of Workmen's Compensation Commissioner. All of these agencies were abolished and their functions taken over by a Department of Industrial Relations organized in appropriate divisions.[5]

3. *Conservation.* Before the reforms of 1939 the state's responsibilities in the field of conservation were divided among the Department of

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[2] "Alabama's Administrative Reorganization of 1939," by Roscoe C. Martin. *Journal of Politics,* November 1940, p. 441.

[3] No. 112, *Alabama Laws,* 1939.

[4] The Division of Service provides a central mailing system, a messenger and telephone service and a clerical and stenographic pool, manages the state's capital properties in Montgomery, and maintains an inventory of all movable property.

[5] No. 161, *Albama Laws,* 1939.

Conservation of Game, Fish and Seafoods, the Conservation Board, the Oyster Commission, the Forestry Commission and the Department of Forestry. These agencies were all abolished and in their place was erected a consolidated Department of Conservation with Divisions of Game, Fish and Seafoods; Forestry; and State Parks, Monuments and Historical Sites. The new department is headed by a director serving at the pleasure of the governor.[6] There is an advisory Board of Conservation partly *ex officio* and partly appointed by the governor.

4. *Commerce.* The principal state agencies engaged in the supervision of private financial enterprises were the Bureau of Insurance and the Departments of Banking and Building and Loan Associations, each of the last two having a separate board attached to it. The legislation of 1939 created a Department of Commerce, under a director named by the governor, with appropriate subordinate agencies for the supervision of banking, insurance and building and loan associations.[7]

5. *Miscellaneous and incidental changes.* Chief among these was an act creating a Department of Personnel and introducing the merit system for the selection of state employees. The Department is headed by a personnel board of three members appointed by the governor for overlapping six-year terms with confirmation by the Senate. The administrative head is a director named by the Personnel Board. Substantially all state employees are chosen under the merit system.[8]

Commissions Abolished

The Highway Commission was abolished by another act and a director named by the governor placed at the head of a new Highway Department.[9] The Docks Commission was abolished and replaced by a Department of Docks and Terminals also under a director appointed by the governor.[10]

A new Department of Corrections and Institutions was created to manage the prisons of the state and to it were transferred functions formerly vested in the State Board of Administration, which was abolished, as well as those exercised by the former State Prison Inspector.[11] By an amendment to the state constitution recommended by Governor Dixon, the constitutional Board of Pardons, consisting of the attorney general, the secretary of state and the auditor, was abolished and the legislature was given authority, which it immediately exercised, to create a paid Board of Pardons and Paroles of three members named by the governor and senate for six-year overlapping terms with power to grant pardons except in capital cases and to administer a modern parole and probation system enacted at the same time. The power to grant reprieves and commutation of sentences to persons condemned to death was left with the governor.[12]

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[6] No. 162, *Alabama Laws,* 1939. The *ex officio* members of the board are the governor, the commissioner of agriculture and industries and the director of the Agricultural Extension Service of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute; eight other members are chosen by the governor "with reference to their training and experience along one or more lines of activity vested in the Department of Conservation."

[7] No. 14, *Alabama Laws,* 1939.

[8] No. 58, *Alabama Laws,* 1939. An analysis of this act may be found in "Alabama's New Merit System Act," by Roscoe C. Martin. *Good Government,* March-April 1939.

[9] No. 13, *Alabama Laws,* 1939.

[10] No. 12, *Alabama Laws,* 1939. The Department also has an advisory board consisting of the governor and director *ex officio* and three citizen members named by the governor for six-year terms and paid a *per diem* of fifteen dollars.

[11] No. 91, *Alabama Laws,* 1939.

Finally a non-administrative reform effected by the influence of the governor was the provision by constitutional amendment for biennial instead of quadrennial sessions of the legislature, beginning in 1943.[13]

It is clear from this account that the changes made in 1939 amounted to only a modest installment of reform though they did affect important functions. But the following executive and administrative offices remained with powers and functions very largely unchanged: attorney-general, secretary of state, treasurer, superintendent of education, commissioner of agriculture and industries and the Public Service Commission. Boards were in charge of public health, public welfare, alcoholic beverage control, state planning, civilian defense and archives and history—though in some cases the evils commonly associated with board administration were mitigated by the fact that the governor may appoint and remove board members or is himself *ex officio* member of a board appointed by himself.

Many Boards Remain

Licensing and examining boards to the number of eighteen remained outside regular departments, though in some cases their members are named by the governor. Similarly five regulatory boards (Boxing and Wrestling, Pilotage, Oil and Gas, Milk Control and Aviation) remained independent, as well as the Public Service Commission whose three members are elected by the people.

There are in addition twelve miscellaneous boards and commissions not readily placed under any clearly descriptive designation. A dozen boards of trustees for the state's educational, eleemosynary and correctional institutions enjoy independent status, with varying methods of appointment. Eight boards and commissions at present are inoperative though still provided by statute.

The *Handbook of Alabama State Agencies,* published by the Bureau of Public Administration at the state university in 1942, listed 101 separate agencies including the eight no longer operative. Of these only nine were under the governor's control.

The legislature of 1943 made few changes in the state administrative machinery, but one or two of these may indicate an attitude unfavorable to further integration. One act created a new State Markets Board in the office of the Department of Agriculture and Industries for the "inspection, grading, standardization

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[12] No. 8, *Alabama Laws,* 1939 (extraordinary session); Nos. 275, 278, *Alabama Laws,* 1939 (regular session).

[13] No. 12, *Alabama Laws,* 1939 (extraordinary session). The amendment also limited the regular session to 60 days and increased legislators' compensation from four to ten dollars per day.

". . . and marketing" of agricultural and other foods. The board consists of the commissioner of agriculture and industries, who is paid $50 a month for his services in connection with it, and four members appointed by the governor. The board is authorized to name a director at an annual salary not to exceed $5,000.[14]

By another act a Division of Records and Reports was set up in the governor's office, with a small appropriation, to collect the reports of state agencies and handle information and news releases.

Still another measure created the Alabama Emergency Finance Corporation consisting of the governor as chairman and four other citizens named by him and removable after notice. The corporation has a capital of a million dollars and is empowered to relieve unemployment by making loans to any body politic for self-liquidating projects.

The State Defense Council set up by executive order in 1941 was given a statutory basis and organized with the governor as chairman, twelve citizens named by him, and a director of civilian defense who is paid $5,000 a year. The Council is to go out of existence May 20, 1945, or at the end of the current war, whichever date is earlier.

Backward Step

But what may be a more serious inroad upon the administrative structure was made by an act to create a Department of Labor. The Department of Industrial Relations created in 1939 absorbed the duties of the former Department of Labor and the effect of the act of 1943 is to undo, at least in some measure, the integration brought about in 1939. Specifically what the act does is to withdraw the function of mediation and arbitration from the jurisdiction of the Department of Industrial Relations and vest it in a new department headed by a director named by the governor and serving at his pleasure. Whatever may have been the motives of the governor in recommending and the legislature in passing this act, its effects can scarcely be other than unfortunate from the point of view of sound public management.

In summary, it must be said that while a hopeful beginning has been made towards an integrated administration in Alabama, the process is far from completed. After due allowance has been made for the strength of local traditions with respect to executive organization, there would seem to be great possibilities in the way of greater simplification of administrative machinery. Though constitutional revision would be needed to do a thorough job, a great deal could yet be accomplished by statute. The well developed tradition of executive leadership in policy leads the observer to believe that a vigorous governor, with a well prepared program looking in this direction, would be able to carry the legislature with him.

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[14] No. 32, *Alabama Laws,* 1943. This act carried an appropriation of $300,000. No. 62 also appropriated $75,000 for each of the fiscal years ending September 30, 1944 and 1945, for the study and teaching of marketing at the Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

AMG Takes Over War's Ruins

Moving in with combat troops, Military Government men find many exciting adventures; problems include need to capture fighting Germans entrenched in farmhouse.

By **LIEUTENANT JESSE L. WALDEN**
Headquarters, Army Air Forces

WHEN the Allied armies smashed into Naples—a city comparable to San Francisco in size and topography—they found a city whose economic heart had been completely paralyzed by a corps of 4,000 German demolition experts. These scientific vandals had worked a full month to add their bit to the woes of a Naples already ravaged by war. They did a complete job.

The non-residential parts of the city were in ruins, the city was without lights or electric power, telephone or air raid systems. Its sewers were clogged and overflowing into the streets. The people were suffering from thirst after the destruction of the water supply and all food had been stolen or exhausted. The port through which relief must come was demolished so that out of all its modern piers only one afforded berthing for even half a ship's length.

This was the Naples that confronted Brigadier General Frank J. McSherry, senior U. S. officer of the Allied Military Government, and his civil affairs officers when they entered the city on October 1, 1943.

On that day, when the Allied soldiery finally broke through the lines defending Naples, General McSherry's party, in two jeeps, raced past English tanks on the outskirts of the city to a building that corresponds to an American city hall. The Mayor having fled, they were met by a man who called himself "Commissioner Extraordinary" and who formally tendered the surrender of the "ancient city of Naples."

This was the beginning of a long record of accomplishment. Within an hour AMG officials had Italian police on the streets and before noon had consulted with the remaining management of the city's utilities to determine the status of all public services and to initiate their repair.

The critical shortage of water was the most pressing problem. Thirst had to be satisfied. "Water points," standpipes that were filled with water by tank trucks and tapped by faucets, were set up and armed guards rationed water to each person. Within ten days the dynamited aqueducts had been repaired; in a month the supply was adequate.

Telephones operated on a partial basis in ten days; electricity for essential needs was available in a month; the port was repaired in ten days so that it handled tonnage equal to peacetime levels and triple that amount in six months. A major epidemic of typhus was stopped short —the first time in history this has been accomplished!

In the first month the three Italian police forces—Carabinieri, Finance Guards and Metropolitan Police—and the fire department were func-

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EDITOR'S NOTE.—Reprinted from *Western City.*

tioning. Banks were open, food was supplied daily, fuel was at hand, the funicular railway operating, law courts in session and buildings were being repaired.

Recent reports show that many factories are in operation, including huge repair shops with heavy machinery whose bases were broken by hammers in the hands of demolitionists; non-ferrous foundries, cement plants, and steel mills are in production. There are also flour mills, tanning shops, shoe and clothing factories, and others manufacturing home supplies. In addition hundreds of one-family industries are making consumer goods.

Typical Situation

Volumes are required to describe fully the role of civil affairs officers in cities the size of Naples or Rome. The work of Lieutenant Colonel W. R. Irish and his staff, in the small Sicilian town of Gela, however, is typical and gives a clear picture, on a smaller scale of course.

Three American divisions, the 1st, 3rd and 45th, landed in Sicily on D-Day, each division accompanied by its complement of AMG officers under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Charles Poletti. Colonel Irish and his party of nine were attached to the 1st Division and went ashore with the invasion forces.

An official report of the first actions of Colonel Irish and his staff provides the following interesting report of their adventures:

"Lieutenant Colonel Irish and Lieutenant Asquini, an Italian-speaking American officer, landed on the beach at Gela on D-Day at 0700 (7 A.M.) under shell fire and proceeded to divisional headquarters about three-quarters of a mile from the beach. At 1400 (2 P.M.) he started for Gela in a jeep, entering the town about 1500. Considerable fighting was still going on in parts of the town and outside it, including a tank battle. He located himself in a building and called the acting *Sindaco,* the communal treasurer and communal engineer and the local representative of the Church together. Three times they attempted to hold a conference. Each time they were interrupted by an air raid. Fighting continued throughout the day and for two days thereafter.

"The Italian officials, in spite of difficulties, were cooperative but were thoroughly paralyzed by events and were unable to render much assistance.

"The chief problems with which Colonel Irish was faced in the first few days were as follows:

"a. There were 170 corpses to be buried, most of which were covered by rubble. They had to be dug loose. The populace refused to handle the bodies. Therefore, he used Italian prisoners of war and local donkey carts. There were no medical supplies and poor medical care for those suffering from tuberculosis, typhoid and scabies, which diseases were prevalent in the area.

"b. There was no water in the town because the pipes had been tampered with by civilian and military personnel. Irish got the communal engineer to work and in 36 hours the pipes were again operating.

"c. There was no power because the generating plant was put completely out of operation by bombing. With the exception of the electric plant, the town had not been seriously damaged by air attack. The electric situation continued to be unsatisfactory for some time.

"d. Bakeries were all shut down. These had to be started up with wood taken from the bombed houses. This was done on D plus 1.

"e. Gela was the main artery for bringing supplies into the troops. This situation necessarily complicated the problem of restoring normal life to the town.

"On D plus 1 Colonel Irish organized the Carabinieri.

"The *Sindaco* of the town, a prominent Fascist, had fled three days before the occupation, and a school teacher with no experience had taken his place. Colonel Irish was forced to remove the school teacher and secure a more competent official.

"He was flooded with small individual cases of extreme need and with a refugee problem. Here, as in other cases, the military called upon civil affairs officers for many things which they were not set up to handle through regular military channels.

"From the beginning he put it squarely up to the Italian officials that it was their job to take hold and to attend to all matters needing attention. They were to call upon him for help only when it was absolutely necessary. The looting and the food problems were not acute because he entered the town in time to seize the food stores and to organize the Carabinieri to prevent looting."

Lieutenant Colonel George H. McCaffrey and his civil affairs officers had reported to the 3rd Division immediately preceding D-Day. Their beachhead was at Canicatti and Colonel McCaffrey's problems were similar to those at Gela, with the addition of food and looting problems. Certain of these looters were caught and on July 13 Colonel McCaffrey presided over the first Allied Military Court to be held in Sicily, trying three men accused of looting.

Functions in Battle Zones

Today AMG still functions in the battle zones. In the settled areas of Sicily and Southern Italy, however, the Allied Control Commission has been set up. It is supervising the new Italian government while it carries out the Armistice terms and continues with the rehabilitation of the country. Today, despite a geographically shattered economy, a bitter war still raging, great transportation shortages, and an apathy brought on by more than twenty years of Fascist rule, Italian industries and agriculture are being slowly redeemed. Italian education and labor are undergoing a rebirth, the economic system is being rebuilt and political freedom is emerging after a quarter century of Fascism.

There was never any intention to establish AMG in France, a nation with whom we have enjoyed a traditional friendship. Under the policy laid down by Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces, control of civil administration remains with the local authorities. A group of French officers, however, selected by the French authorities, and attached to the civil affairs staffs and detachments, maintains liaison between the Army and the civil officials and population.

A regular army officer, who is a veteran of the campaigns of North Africa and Italy, is chief of the civil affairs section of the First Army. Corps and divisions also have civil affairs staffs whose duty is to plan and coordinate. Actual co-operations are the responsibility of civil affairs detachments.

Most civil affairs detachments now deployed in the U. S. zones consist of four officers and six enlisted men, with specialists officers—experts in such fields as public health, public welfare, transportation, police—are assigned to detachments from time to time to carry out assignments requiring specialists' attention.

Go In with Combat Troops

Civil affairs detachments ordinarily enter a town with, or immediately after, its liberation by combat troops. In many instances liberated towns have still been under enemy fire when the civil affairs detachment began its job of re-establishing local government and community service and assisting local authorities to maintain law and order.

Before invasion, or before arrival on the Continent, each detachment is given its assignment—a town, group of villages or an area. Detachment personnel thus have plenty of time to familiarize themselves with three objectives—the language of the people, their customs and the problems they are likely to face on beginning actual operations.

In the first two months after D-Day, when American civil affairs officers landed from gliders near Ste. Mere Eglise, some 40 civil affairs detachments handled approximately 30,000 refugees and assisted in re-establishing normal conditions in towns in France liberated by the advancing 1st U. S. Army.

An interesting sidelight is revealed in a dispatch received by the War Department shortly after D-Day. The dispatch stated that a six-man civil affairs detachment, traveling with invasion troops in Normandy, found its most pressing "civil affairs" problem consisted of a farmhouse full of fighting Germans. The detachment attacked with the arms available and captured the farmhouse, 65 Germans, two machine guns and a quantity of small arms, grenades and ammunition.

The dispatches were limited to the bare facts of the encounter, but the War Department pointed out that civil affairs detachments went into battle with combat troops, are trained in the use of weapons and that some of them landed with the airborne troops as an integral part of airborne divisions.

The responsibility for civil affairs is charged to the Combined Chiefs of Staff whose functions are the strategic conduct of the war. This staff established the Combined Civil Affairs Committee and delegated to it the broad policy involving all civil affairs, formulating plans concerning them and making recommendations to the Combined Chiefs of Staff. As this committee is equally divided between British and American members, its deliberations have reconciled viewpoints in the preliminary stages which might have otherwise impeded the progress of operations in the field.

United States civil affairs policies

are fully coordinated through the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces and constant consultation between the Civil Affairs Division of the War Department, the Occupied Areas Section of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations and interested United States civilian agencies.

The Soviet Union is now actively participating with us in the Allied Control Commission and the Advisory Council for Italy. The European Advisory Commission, consisting of representatives of the United States, United Kingdom and Russia, is considering the terms of surrender for Germany.

Thus, in the final planning, the three Allies, in close touch with other United Nations, will have reconciled their views for the occupation of Germany and the administration of Germany's civil affairs.

THE TAX LIMITATION DELUSION

(Continued from page 68)

would be no effective protest from the mass of people who would find themselves carrying a greater share of the tax burden than ever? There would surely be determined efforts by them to get tax relief themselves from the states as well as from the nation—with further danger to state and federal credit, stability and power to render full and effective public service.

Local government representatives are awakening to the dangers in the proposed amendment. They have felt the throttling effect of local tax limits, in state statutes or constitutions, and they want no more of them, a least in constitutions. The American Municipal Association, representing the state leagues of municipalities, predicts that the amendment would force drastic inroads by the national government upon the revenue sources of the states and cities. The Municipal Finance Officers Association, in a statement dated August 26, 1944, stresses the need of opposing such an amendment, saying: "The limitation threatens the very existence of the national government. Its adoption would result in fiscal chaos. The war-created national debt would be difficult or impossible to pay, and intensive tax competition among states would result."

William Anderson, eminent political scientist, writing under the title "The United States: Limited or Unlimited?"[5] warns that no nation in the world has limited its government as to the rate or amount of taxes. The framers of the constitution rejected such limitation for the nation. The people's conventions for ratification in the several states were aware of the tax provisions. Their conclusion, as expressed by Dr. Anderson, holds good today: "They knew that what Hamilton and other leaders said was right—that when the necessities of a government cannot be calculated in advance its means for meeting those necessities must be left unlimited."

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[5] In Forum Pamphlet 3, *supra*.

Contributors in Review

A TRIP to Alabama, where he taught at the University of Alabama during the summer session, is responsible for **Lane W. Lancaster's** story, *Alabama State Reorganization.* Dr. Lancaster has been professor of political science at the University of Nebraska since 1930 and chairman of the department since 1939. He was formerly assistant and associate professor of history and government at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut. Professor Lancaster is author of articles and reviews appearing in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and other journals in the field of government and of *State Supervision of Municipal Indebtedness* (1924) and *Government in Rural America* (1937).

READERS of the REVIEW are familiar with the name of **H. M. Olmsted** (*The Tax Limitation Delusion*), one of its contributing editors since 1934. Mr. Olmsted has had a wide experience in the field of public utility regulation as consultant and as a member of the staffs of the Illinois Commerce Commission and the New York State Public Service Commission, with which he is now associated as hearing examiner. He was formerly associate editor of *The American City.* He is a graduate engineer and also a product of the Training School for Public Service of the former New York Bureau of Municipal Research, now the Institute of Public Administration.

LIFETIME interest in the fundamentals of planning marks the career of **F. J. Osborn** (*All-out Planning for Britain*). Mr. Osborn is honorary secretary of the Town and Country Planning Association, a member of the Physical Reconstruction Panel of the Ministry of Works and Planning, and honorary treasurer of the Town Planning Summer School. He was city clerk, company secretary, housing manager and estate manager of Welwyn Garden City from 1919 to 1936; clerk and finance officer of that city from 1928 to 1931 and honorary editor of the *Journal of Town Planning Institute* from 1935 to 1937. His publications include *New Towns After the War; Transport, Town Development and Industry; London's Dilemma; Overture to Planning; The Land and the Planning; Planning and the Countryside; Making Plans;* and *Housing, Planning and Full Employment.*

IN ACTIVE service for the last three years, **Lieutenant Jesse L. Walden** (*AMG Takes Over War's Ruins*) is stationed at Headquarters, Army Air Forces, in Washington. He recently completed an officers training course at Miami, Florida. Lieutenant Walden is from Texas, a graduate of Texas A. & M. About twelve years ago he migrated to Los Angeles, starting his own advertising agency, The Walden Organization. The agency was eventually merged with Chester M. Wright & Associates, Inc., industrial relations counselors. In civilian life Lieutenant Walden was (and will be) vice president in charge of its Los Angeles and Dallas offices. He was also a member of the staff of *Western City* which first published the story on the work of AMG appearing in this issue.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Georgia Commission Drafts New Constitution

Document Will Be Submitted for Legislature's approval

AFTER working for more than a year the Georgia Commission to Revise the State Constitution[1] adopted on December 9, 1944, a final draft of a revised constitution for that state, ready for submission to the 1945 legislature.

If approved by the legislature the revised constitution will be submitted to the people of the state for ratification. The 25 members of the commission were variously appointed by the Governor, the presiding officers of the two legislative houses and the appellate courts and some were *ex officio*.

A list of major changes recommended by the Commission, arranged according to the various articles of the Constitution, is as follows:

Article I—Bill of Rights. All exemptions from taxation heretofore granted in corporation charters are null and void.

Article II—Elective Franchise. Qualifications of electors reduced to good character and ability to read and write (if not physically unable); payment of poll taxes still required; minimum age eighteen. Regulation of primaries omitted.

Article III—Legislative Department. List of senatorial districts omitted; meetings of General Assembly clarified so not forced to meet for 70 days; elected officers may accept appointive positions, if first resigning; local legislation must have copy of public notice attached; no local elective office may be abolished or term shortened unless submitted to referendum of people; per diem compensation increased to $10.

Article IV—Public Utilities, Eminent Domain, Police Power, etc. Made to cover all public utilities; language revised.

Article V—Executive Department. Governor's salary increased to $12,000 (after 1946); limitation of governor to one term removed; governor to have no power to veto constitutional amendments; constitutional prison board created.

Article VI—Judiciary. Seven Supreme Court justices; Court must sit in a body, is administrative head of all state courts, has power to assign judges to relieve congestion in Superior Courts, and has rule-making power for practice and procedure, unless a judicial council is created by the legislature; one divorce decree to replace the present requirement of two; legislature can require jury service for women.

Article VII—Finance, Taxation and Public Debt. Public health added to purposes for which the state may tax, and restriction on taxation for education to elementary instruction only removed; administrative expenses added to purposes for which counties may tax; county homestead exemption not to apply to taxation for school purposes; two-thirds vote still required for approval of bonds, but the total vote at an election, rather than the total favorable vote, must be a majority of the registration; additional amount of bonds, above 7 per cent, up to 3 per cent (to be repaid in five years) may be voted; General Assembly empowered to create a bond commission to pass on bond refunding, and if refunding is approved it must be authorized by the local authority but popular vote not required; temporary loans authorized for counties; strict provisions to protect sinking funds for bonds; appropriation control established; allocations abolished.

Article VIII—Education. State superintendent to be appointed by Board of Education; county superintendents to be elected or appointed, as desired by the people in the county; county-wide school systems to replace separate school districts (other than independent city systems); county boards of education to set school tax rate, between five and fifteen mills.

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[1] See "25 Study Georgia Basic Law," by Governor Ellis Arnall, National Municipal Review, January 1944, p. 11.

Article XI—Counties and Municipal Corporations. No new counties except by consolidation; one-fifth of registered voters of any county sufficient to require election in that and other counties proposed to be consolidated; consolidation authorized if majority of qualified electors voting in each county approve; General Assembly may provide for optional systems of consolidated county and municipal governments to become effective when approved by a majority of voters.

Article XIII—Amendments. Local amendments to be approved first by community affected, before being submitted to statewide vote.

Article XV—Home Rule. Home rule on purely local matters if city or county vote to come under this provision.

Minnesota Interim Committee Urges Administrative Changes

A report with recommendations was submitted to the Minnesota legislature in December by the Interim Committee on State Administration and Employment,[1] consisting of five members of the House of Representatives.

Its first recommendation was the creation of a permanent legislative research body, composed of both Senate and House members, with an adequate staff to conduct studies as directed.

Administrative organization in Minnesota was criticized as involving too many departments, boards and commissions. Consolidation of all related activities in a few major departments was suggested, with greater concentration of responsibility in the governor. It was stated that boards, where necessary, should be advisory rather than administrative. Certain boards were justified because of their quasi-judicial functions, although an administrative court was suggested to take over such functions for the civil service, workmen's compensation, old-age assistance, unemployment compensation and taxation departments, making it possible to operate each under a single administrative head.

Independent post-audit of the executive branch was recommended.

Consolidation of inspectional duties was recommended by shifting from certain departments to others the administration of laws that necessitate the use of inspectors.

The subject of considerable study was the system of ungraded rural schools, of which there were 6,617 in Minnesota in 1940, in 7,186 ungraded school districts, out of a total of 7,687 districts in the state. At that time only four states exceeded Minnesota in number of school districts. It was urged in the report that new enlarged districts be organized and that state aid to foster the continuation of small inefficient schools be restricted.

The interim committee, which includes powerful legislative leaders, is expected to push its recommendations in the legislature.

Constitutional Changes Approved, Rejected in Idaho

Idaho adopted a constitutional amendment at the November election providing for extending the tenure of officers in the executive department from two to four years beginning with those elected in 1946. These include governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, state treasurer, attorney-general, superintendent of public instruction and possibly state auditor (there is a question concerning the latter). The same amendment provided that the governor may not succeed himself, although he is eligible to hold the office again after a lapse of one full term. Many voters would have liked to have voted separately on these proposals.

In the same election the electors replaced an *ex officio* Board of Equalization with a new State Tax Commission. The Commission, appointed by the governor and subject to the approval of the Senate, will assume the functions of the former board; that is, it will coordinate the work of the county boards (county commissioners) of equalization, equalizing the assessments of property throughout the state, and assessing certain classes of property, etc. In another amendment the voters approved adding villages and school districts to the list of areas of government whose property is already exempt from state taxation.

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[1] See also "Minnesota Interim Committee a Legislative Council in Embryo," the Review, May 1944, p. 251.

Prison Reforms Fail

In 1944, as in 1942, the Idaho legislature attempted to abolish the State Pardon Board and the State Board of Prison Commissioners in favor of a nonpartisan board to be known as the State Board of Correction; the governor was to be vested with pardoning power subject to limitations established by the legislature. The two existing bodies are *ex officio* boards consisting of the governor, the secretary of state and the attorney-general.

In the 1942 general election the electors approved a constitutional amendment giving the legislature power to create a nonpartisan State Board of Correction. But the voters failed to adopt two other amendments to destroy the two existing boards. Thus Idaho had retained the two constitutional agencies already in existence and had authorized the creation of a new one, charged with the responsibility of duplicating, at least in part, the activities of those already in existence.

The legislature decided to resubmit the two defeated amendments in 1944 and did not create the State Board of Correction, pending the results of the election. The voters, however, again defeated both amendments. Thus, the impasse created in 1942 continues.

Many electors were unaware of the necessity of voting either for or against all three amendments. This experience demonstrates the need of ample explanation of the objectives and effects of proposed amendments. It would appear that the state should assume some responsibility in this matter. Either the attorney-general or the secretary of state should be authorized to explain the significance of such proposals to the electors.

Boyd A. Martin

University of Idaho

Minnesota Poll Favors Unicameral Legislature

An unofficial poll survey recently conducted in Minnesota is reported in the Minneapolis *Star-Journal* of January 7 as showing 38 per cent of the people polled in favor of establishing a legislature of one chamber with a membership of about 50. Another 38 per cent had no opinion on the subject, and only 24 per cent were definitely opposed.

Minnesota's legislature is now one of the largest in the nation, with 131 members in the House of Representatives and 67 in the Senate.

Council-Manager Plan News

Twenty-nine cities, towns and counties adopted the council-manager plan in 1944, and one city voted to abandon the plan, according to the International City Managers' Association, whose official list of council-manager communities stood at 621 at the end of the year. Adopting the plan by charter were fourteen communities in Maine: Brownsville, Dexter, Eagle Lake, Fort Kent, Frenchville, Haynesville, St Agatha, St. Francis, Skowhegan, Staceyville, Stockholm, Van Buren, Vassalborc and Wallagrass; four in Oregon: Coos Bay (formerly Marshfield) with proportional representation for the council, Eugene, Milwaukie and Nyssa; three in Michigan: East Lansing, Midland and Berkley; two in Missouri: Moberly and Neosho; and also College Station, Texas; Warwick County, Virginia; and Longueuil, Quebec. Three cities adopted the plan by ordinance: Ontario, California; Pottstown, Pennsylvania; and Georgetown, Texas.

Five communities that had adopted the plan in prior years were added to the Association's official list in 1944: Eastport, Maine; Guilford County, North Carolina; Niagara Falls, Ontario; and Isle Maligne and Hampstead, Quebec. Crystal, Island Falls and Mercer, Maine, were removed from the list because managers were not appointed. Hastings, Minnesota, voted to rescind its manager ordinance and Mason City, Iowa, voted to abandon the plan in April, 1945 (the 28th abandonment in 30 years). The net effect of these changes was an increase of 29 in the official list, bringing it to 621, of which 584 municipalities and nine counties are in the United States, 22 municipalities are in Canada, five in Ireland and one in Puerto Rico.

Seven cities and towns voted to retain the plan, at referenda in 1944: these were Ashtabula, Ohio; Rapid City, South Dakota; Bennington, Ludlow, Manchester and Northfield, Vermont; and Houston, Texas. Fifteen towns and cities and one county voted negatively on adoption of the plan: Hayward, California; Ottumwa, Iowa; Gray and Greenville, Maine; Battle Creek, Berkley (which voted to adopt later in 1944), Howell and River Rouge, Michigan; Salem, Oregon; Crockett, Orange and West University Place, Texas; Pulaski, Virginia; Pasco, Washington; Fairbanks, Alaska; and Montgomery County, Maryland.

Independence, Kansas, adopted the manager plan on January 23 by a vote of 882 to 584.

A petition to place the manager plan on the ballot has been declared sufficient in **Parsons, Kansas.** The election will be held February 20.

In **Houston, Texas,** the proposed charter amendment to abolish the city manager was overwhelmingly defeated on December 19, 7,541 to 1,898.

In **Harriman, Tennessee,** each member of the City Council appointed a citizen representative to a committee to study the manager plan. The committee rendered a report to the council, which reached no decision on it. Subsequently a Merchants' Association was formed the leading objective of which is to advance the manager plan. It is expected that a bill will be introduced in the legislature authorizing a referendum on the plan.

At a meeting early in December in **Key West, Florida,** the manager plan was explained and discussed and it was the sense of the meeting that the manager plan be established in Key West. Representatives of the civic organizations in the city were present. The Key West *Citizen* supports the plan.

In **San Diego, California,** various charter amendments have been under consideration, some of them following suggestions made by the late city manager, Walter W. Cooper, before his recent death in an airplane accident. One amendment to be submitted at the suggestion of Public Works Director Fred A. Rhodes, who is acting city manager, is for establishment of the position of assistant city manager outside the classified civil service.

County Commissioner J. Harold Sparkman has proposed the county manager plan for **King County** (Seattle), **Washington.** The proposal has met with the approval of various other county officials.

The city manager plan was adopted

in **Nyssa, Oregon**, by a vote of 80 to 10 at a special election in December.

The legislature of Maine has before it a town-manager charter drafted by Professor Orren C. Hormell of Bowdoin College for the town of **Fairfield.** It has received preliminary approval at a town meeting and it is hoped that legislative action will permit submission of the final charter to the town by February 15 and installation of the manager plan at the annual town meeting on March 5.

Belfast and Augusta, Maine, are also considering the manager plan.

An election on the council-manager plan will be held in **Mt. Clemens, Michigan,** on March 5.

A manager charter for **Howell, Michigan,** was defeated there in December.

The **Benton Harbor (Michigan)** *News-Palladium* editorially criticized former Mayor Emery for opposing a referendum on the question of a return to the council-manager plan formerly in effect there for seven years.

Interest in the manager plan is stirring in **Decatur, Alabama**; **Hartford, Connecticut**; **Delaware City** and **Wilmington, Delaware**; **Alliance, Ohio**; and **Sheridan, Wyoming.**

Baltimore and Hartford Deal with Employee Unions

An ordinance permitting municipal employees to join unions, but prohibiting strikes, has been adopted by the City Council of Hartford, Connecticut, according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

The Hartford action came a few days before the Baltimore, Maryland, Circuit Court, in a decision involving a labor contract between the city's Public Works Department and local No. 825 (AFL), recognized the right of municipal employees to organize and deal collectively. The Baltimore decision invalidated the contract because it denied the Department the right to bargain with any other organization; but a new contract was signed two days later incorporating every provision of the invalidated contract except the one in question; thus the new contract permits any organization to bargain for or on behalf of its members.

The Hartford Street Commission voted last March to recognize the street employees union (AFL) and the new statute placed the action on an official municipal basis and extended the recognition to unions in the fire, police and education departments. Several months of public hearings and executive sessions of the ordinance committee preceded adoption of the ordinance.

The Hartford ordinance directed all departmental administrative heads to establish in their departments "effective machinery whereby grievances, complaints, problems or suggestions" may be presented by the organization. It prohibits discrimination against any employee who joins the union, and authorizes the mayor to intervene in a dispute between the union and any department of the city if he deems it desirable or necessary.

Three State Leagues Foster Retirement Systems

Oregon, Washington and Minnesota Leagues of Municipalities have been particularly active in promoting sound statewide retirement systems for public employees.

An outline of a proposed retirement system for state and local employees has been prepared by a committee formed last summer at the suggestion of Fred C. Inkster, president of the League of Oregon Cities, as reported by *Western City.* Following actuarial studies that are under way a specific plan is to be presented to the 1945 legislature.

Because of experience with retirement legislation and administration in other parts of the country the committee felt that a plan covering all state and local employees would be the only sound financial method of providing a pension system for public employees in Oregon. The League therefore communicated with all groups preparing retirement bills for their members and invited them to cooperate in establishing a statewide system. These groups have formulated a plan which will be incorporated into a bill.

The Committee on Pensions of the League of Minnesota Municipalities has submitted a report on retirement systems and a proposed plan to public officials in that state. The committee recognizes difficulties in the way of a statewide plan, in view of present local systems and Minnesota's home-rule traditions, and invites a thoroughgoing discussion.

A committee of the Association of Washington Cities points out the advantages of a statewide plan, and has issued a report with many detailed recommendations.

Civil Service League Reports on Veterans

Recognizing the problem of giving generous treatment to veterans without interfering unduly with efficiency and over-all fairness in public employment, a special Committee on Veteran Preference of the National Civil Service League issued a report on the subject January 15. The committee is headed by Robert L. Johnson, president of Temple University, with Albert S. Faught as secretary, and includes President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton University, Lieutenant George M. Ethridge, U.S.N.R., Rev. John Howard Melish, Director S. C. Simons of the Oakland (California) Community Chest, and four business executives.

The committee makes the following recommendations which it believes "would carry out the desire of many citizens to give a reasonable preference to veterans in civil service employment, safeguard the efficiency of our public services, maintain fairness to those already seeking careers in the service, and keep open the doors of opportunity to those now too young to take up arms in defense of our country."

The public interest makes imperative the maintenance of at least the present standards for entrance to the public service.

Veterans' preference should not apply beyond a period of five years after cessation of hostilities or five years after discharge of the veteran, whichever is later.

Experience gained in military service and training and education received through military agencies should be properly evaluated and recognized in determining eligibility and in rating education and experience.

Preference should be confined to original entrance.

All veterans should be required to obtain at least a passing mark in competitive tests before being entitled to any preferred status.

Preference should be granted in the form of credits to be added to earned ratings in examinations, with disabled veterans receiving no more than ten points and other veterans no more than five points to be added to their earned ratings.

Retention in the service in case of reduction in force or abolition of positions should be based for all employees solely on relative seniority and efficiency.

Civil service employees who, while in good standing in the civil service, left to engage in military service should be given credit for seniority purposes for time served in the military service. Those among them who became disabled in military service to such an extent that they may be unable to perform their previous duties should wherever possible be transferred to other positions in the service for which they may be fitted.

Researcher's Digest

Legislative Councils Report on Pensions, Schools

Housing Group Studies New York Population Densities

THE **Maryland Legislative Council** has issued four recent reports: *Report to the General Assembly of 1945, Proposed Bills Submitted to the General Assembly of 1945, Pensions for County and Municipal Employees* and *Local Government—a Comparative Study.*

The first contains a seventeen-page summary of the Council's recommendations to the General Assembly together with the minutes of the Council meetings; the second contains the text of bills recommended. Matters on which legislation is suggested include building and loan companies, conservation, complete revision of election laws, juvenile courts, local legislation, repeal of obsolete laws, pensions, public welfare, roads, veterans, workmen's compensation, etc.

The last two of the reports were prepared by the Research Division of the Council. One examines the various state and local pension systems in operation in Maryland and the employees not now covered by any system. Experience as to local government employees and pensions in a few selected states is given. The conclusion is reached that "most of Maryland's counties and municipalities have too few employees to consider establishing their own systems and this is the main argument for extending to them the facilities of the state system."

The fourth publication, *Local Government, a Comparative Study,* is the result of a 1943 State Senate resolution requesting the Council to study the problem of local legislation with a view to giving more authority to county commissioners in order to eliminate trivial legislation and to have bills submitted making the purpose of the resolution effective. The volume includes a study of constitutional restrictions on local legislation in Maryland and other states, of statutory powers of counties in other states, and of proposals to expand county powers and to require public general laws in Maryland. The study discloses that 60 to 65 per cent of the bills introduced and passed by the state legislature of Maryland are local. The principal recommendations made are for a constitutional prohibition on local legislation on a number of specified subjects and for county self-government in these matters.

Schools Investigated by Kansas Council

There are two new reports by the Research Department of the Kansas Legislative Council. *The High School Problem* discusses development of the Kansas high school system under various laws, the difficulties arising therefrom and a proposed bill for county-wide high school support. It contains basic statistical and other information concerning the high schools. The proposed high school measure provides for a county levy and the distribution of county aid to the high schools of the county except in cities of over 15,000.

School District Reorganization is concerned principally with reorganization of small inadequate school districts. The reorganization experiences of other states is presented and the problem in Kansas is put forth. In the final section of the report questions for legislative consideration are propounded.

These include the advisability of strong one-teacher schools, natural community school districts having both elementary and high schools and an optional county unit plan.

Auditoriums, Registration, Reporting Interest Seattle

The **Municipal League of Seattle for Governmental Research** has issued several interesting mimeographed studies. One is entitled "Civic Auditorium Revenues and Expenditures." While mainly concerned with an analysis of the situation in Seattle, the latter part of the report compares certain facts on auditoriums in a few selected cities replying to a special questionnaire.

A second release presents the results of a poll of 46 states on voting registration procedure, with specific application of the results of the poll to the state of Washington. The study is particularly concerned with the closing dates of registration.

"Planning for a Greater Metropolitan Seattle" contains a short section on planning in other cities and recommendations of the City-County Planning Committee of the Municipal League.

A release on "Better Annual Reporting of City Services" contains a description of present practices in Seattle together with a summary of some of the better report work of other cities.

New York Housing Group Reports on Population Densities

Densities in New York City is a report to the **Citizens' Housing Council of New York** by the Committee on City Planning and Zoning, prepared under the direction of Henry S. Churchill by William H. Ludlow. It is a technical study of urban population densities in relation to city planning. The various parts of the study are measuring density, present densities, future densities, standards for adequate sunlight and daylight, suggested methods for obtaining adequate sunlight and daylight and recommendations for density and density controls. Many tables and charts are included and an appendix lists densities in other American and European cities.

Specific density recommendations are made for New York City. These are based on the conclusion that "the tendency of building high density apartments in the face of a diminishing rate of general expansion will have a blighting effect on many areas within the city resulting in depreciated values, a mounting tax burden on the remaining property holders and an unstable tax base."

Michigan Study Covers State-Local Finance

Michigan State College Agricultural Experiment Station has published a study by Milton D. Dickerson on *State Supervision of Local Taxation and Finance in Michigan.* Various parts of the booklet are devoted to state supervision of local taxation, financial administration and indebtedness. One of the principal conclusions the author reaches is that "every local unit should be required to have a budget and an accounting system which accurately records the transactions taking place under that budget."

Potpourri

Urbanism

The trend toward urbanization, the role of cities in our national life, and some of the problems of city life and government are outlined in a booklet, *Cities in Society,* published by the **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas** and written largely by Dr. Wilfred D. Webb.

Pension Systems

The **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council** has issued a report, *New Haven's Pension Systems,* which undertakes to provide a summary comparative statement of the legal provisions and current financial information on the five public employee pension funds in operation in the city of New Haven. Numerous tables and charts are included.

* * *

Police and Fire Personnel

Because the public has been evincing interest in the subject, the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** has published data on the Providence Police and Fire Departments covering the period from January 1, 1941, to November 10, 1944. Figures presented include total uniformed personnel, separations including resignations, pensioned, deceased, discharged, in armed services; additions, promotions, etc. Both departments show a decrease in personnel.

* * *

Citizen Control

The **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research** devotes two issues of its *White Paper* to bringing to the attention of voters the importance of their obligations in electing the 1945 city council and school boards. "Every voter has the right to participate in the (1) selection of candidates; (2) choice between candidates. Most people confine their civic activities—if they have any at all—to the second step," says the Bureau.

* * *

Tax Fund Distribution

The **Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research** has invited representatives of all the larger cities in the state to a meeting to discuss a fairer distribution of state tax funds. Fifteen of the larger cities, with delegates of two to eight men each, were represented.

Highway Finance

The fact that the state closed its June 30, 1944, financial year with the largest surplus in its history, is cited by the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research** as one of several reasons for its recommendation that no additional taxes be levied at this time. Other reasons are discussed in *State Problems* under the title "State Highway Financing."

* * *

Court Battle

The Supreme Court of Oklahoma has upheld the public's right to examine public records in a suit brought by the **Oklahoma City Research Institute.** The suit was filed by the Institute when the Oklahoma County Clerk refused permission to have auditors examine records in her office. The decision reversed that of the Oklahoma County Circuit Court upholding the Clerk.

* * *

Postwar Population

What will be the population of Schenectady after the war? This is the question which the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** is trying to answer. Its January 11 *Research Brevities,* after a study of prewar and wartime population figures, comes to the conclusion that Schenectady County, including the city, may expect to have about 125,000 people living within its borders.

* * *

County Government

In its annual summary of the year's work, published in *Just a Moment,* the **Buffalo Research Bureau** reminds its readers that it has opened a campaign against an Erie County government which is controlled by the votes of supervisors—town officers elected by their towns for the benefit of the towns. It is maintained that there should be a county board elected by districts formed for the purpose, substantially equal in population, regardless of city, town or village lines.

In another issue of *Just a Moment* the Bureau comments favorably on a suggested consolidation of the offices of county comptroller and county auditor, endorsed editorially by the *Buffalo Evening News*.

* * *

"Facts—Our Chief Business"

Thus speaks President Frederick U. Conrad of the **Hartford Governmental Research Institute,** in an address before the organization's 1944 annual meeting. Mr. Conrad points to the accomplishments of the Institute during its six years of existence. "We have not deviated from the original principle implied by the name of the organization—research. Consistently we have made facts our chief business—applying those facts constructively for the greater good of Hartford through an advisory committee of prominent citizens serving without pay. Services of the Institute are increasingly sought by public officials. As an organization we are steadfastly committed to the principle that public officials desiring to do a good job welcome assistance from citizen groups who know the facts."

* * *

Housing Problem in Reverse

The **Los Angeles Bureau of Municipal Research** raises a pertinent question: What will become of the housing built during war times around airplane factories? The number of new dwelling units built near five such centers is 116,123, accounting for 77 per cent of new housing in Los Angeles County since April 1940. "It is estimated that postwar payrolls of all airplane plants in the county will drop 90 per cent," says the Bureau. "This . . . will pose the problem of keeping these new houses occupied."

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Springfield, Mass., Takes Lesson from Best Sellers

Thousands of Citizens Enjoy Streamlined Annual Report

FOR a city to publish an annual report is not news. But for a report to publicize a city—that is news. In its 1944 annual report, titled *Our Home Town*, Springfield, Massachusetts, not only created "consumer acceptance," but developed such a genuine "consumer demand" that thousands of citizens who never had taken the slightest interest in municipal affairs before, eagerly clamored for a copy—phoned in, wrote in, and called in person at city hall to sign a receipt for it.

One of the most vital developments was the use of *Our Home Town* in the Springfield school system. Seventeen hundred copies were requisitioned for classroom use in the civics classes of the high schools and in night schools and Americanization classes. The book ties in well with the so-called "Springfield Plan" of education for democratic citizenship, since it not only presents the details of city operation, but includes a section on how to register as a voter, how to become a candidate for public office, and a discussion of the mechanism of municipal government. Thus *Our Home Town* will serve as a textbook in civics on the municipal plane, filling a place that is badly needed since most of the attention in school courses on civics is usually devoted to state and national affairs.

The question arises at once, "How is it possible for a city to put out its report in such a form that it will be discussed, read with interest, kept for reference, and passed from hand to hand for additional reading? Can a report be a 'best seller'?"

The committee which was appointed by the Mayor and the City Council faced this question with the realization that the drab 400-odd-page compendium of small type and figures which had served in previous years would not fill the bill. The members of the committee, all either members of the city's legislative body or experienced public relations men, knew that the average man or woman simply does not have the time or energy to dig out facts and figures on city government, no matter how loudly he may criticize tax rates and administrative shortcomings. In fact it was a matter of record that the 300 copies of the annual report which were printed each year not only met all the needs of libraries, newspapers, government departments and public, but also, in large part, were unused at the year's end.

Therefore the new book, *Our Home Town,* was deliberately planned to make understanding of city government easy and inviting not only as to words but through attractive format, good typography, liberal use of pictures, and a human presentation of the material. Every microscopic detail need not be included since detail figures could be obtained by those interested at City Hall; the material used was that which was significant.

Our Home Town is in the popular "digest" size; an 88-page book, with two-color pen-and-ink cover design showing the view of the city and Connecticut River from the south. The back cover lists city services with phone numbers. The inside front cover is a table of contents.

The articles—they really are articles rather than dry reports, based on facts submitted by the various department heads—are presented in an exciting and interesting manner, frequently leading off with some dramatic incident or punch paragraph and then introducing essential figures to bring out and demonstrate various points. Such headlines as "North End, South End, All Around the Town," "16 Ounces Make a Pound in Springfield," and "Young America—You Are the Hope of the World," highlight respectively the sections on the street department, weights and measures, and school system. All the way through the book are pictures (photos), human interest shots, no bare buildings, no portraits or groups of politicians. And for fact-minded citizens, the back part of the book contains a summary of financial figures.

Our Home Town was intended for free distribution, but only on specific request from a citizen. In other words, each recipient must show sufficient interest to ask for a copy or he does not get one. The question was, "How many citizens will take the trouble to ask?"

Report Publicized

In order to let the public know about the book, every means of showing it and telling about it was used. A window display in the largest stationery store in the city; counter displays for libraries, offices, city departments, factories; application cards to be mailed to the membership of various civic organizations; short talks by speakers before service clubs and other organizations; radio spots and plugs (time contributed by the stations or by local advertisers); and, of course, newspaper publicity, headed off by a feature article in the Sunday paper with extracts from *Our Home Town,* photos from the book, and a picture showing Mayor Albin Anderson receiving the first copy from Alderman Norman Fletcher.

The results were overwhelming. The originally authorized 5,000 copies were oversubscribed in three days. The city council passed a unanimous vote of commendation to the committee, and authorized 5,000 more copies; but within two weeks it was necessary to again vote additional copies, this time 10,000, for a total of 20,000 books, in order to fill accumulated applications.

The enthusiasm with which the report has been received certainly proves that the citizen will take an intelligent interest in municipal matters provided only that city officials will take him into their confidence, strip the red tape from bureaucratic procedures, discard the stuffed shirt, step down from the pedestal, and give Mr. Taxpayer an honest story in language and form he is accustomed to reading—something he can understand and enjoy.

What the ultimate effects of *Our Home Town* will be no one can say as yet; but it is certain that Springfield is reaping a secondary "plus value" from the copies that have penetrated to other cities and to the boys in service. Certain it is, too, that the city will not go back to the old style 400-page reports of yesteryear.

JOHN MAGEE, JR., *Editor-in-Chief Our Home Town*

Cincinnati Charter Committee Accepts Postwar Challenge

The recent anniversary dinner of the **City Charter Committee of Cincinnati**, commemorating its founding twenty years ago, served a two-fold purpose.

For the pioneers of the Charter movement the celebration served to recall the circumstances surrounding the Committee's successful fight in 1924—against apparently hopeless odds—to establish proportional representation, a small council and the council-manager plan.

The record of vastly improved and extended services, increased efficiency and reduced costs, heightened morale and reputation achieved in the intervening years lent in retrospect a glorious lustre to the steps taken in 1924.

For the men and women carrying the major part of the Committee's present activities, however, the record added up to something of a challenge to future action. The two principal speakers, Colonel C. O. Sherrill and C. A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin, city managers of Cincinnati from 1926 to 1944, gave form to the challenge.

Both Colonel Sherrill and Mr. Dykstra paid tribute to the Committee's accomplishments in inaugurating and developing conditions favorable to sound municipal government — but both foresaw real hurdles ahead.

Colonel Sherrill described the physical problems confronting the city: slum clearance and the reclamation of blighted areas, completion of the city's subway system, expansion of water supplies to meet the requirements of the entire metropolitan area in Hamilton County, comprehensive sewage disposal works, construction of new access roads to the northwest and southeast and further improvements in the city's General Hospital.

Mr. Dykstra stressed the city's social problems, particularly those arising from the growth of urbanism and the shift of emphasis from state-city to federal-city relationships.

"Cities face in a very special way," said Mr. Dykstra, "the great postwar challenge of employment for their citizens. Surplus labor in rural areas moves into the city, for the city is the home of industry and of the great services. When unemployment appears it is the city which first faces the great problem of relief.

"Moreover, with urbanism on the increase, cities are likely to look to Washington for the solution of their common problem. Thus the whole question of grants-in-aid to states and via state authority may be affected.

"Finally, it is becoming increasingly evident that as our population becomes more and more urban, it becomes the responsibility of the city to provide the satisfactions that are socially necessary in an industrial age."

The two managers were honored with citations of distinction, conferred by the City Charter Committee and presented by Murray Seasongood and Russell Wilson, former mayors.

The citation to Colonel Sherrill, presented by Mr. Seasongood, read, in part: "His incisive personality revitalized the community. His vigorous enterprise stamped itself upon the city's physical rebuilding. His high resolve marked the restoration to Cincinnatians of their rightful heritage of a government of integrity. His record forms a memorable page in the history of the Queen City."

The Dykstra award, presented by Mr. Wilson, read, in part: "He was a faithful and efficient administrator of the city's business. He was a wise and far-sighted guide in the years of economic distress. He was a decisive and reassuring commander in time of catastrophe from flood. His leadership and vision will not be forgotten."

FOREST FRANK, *Executive Director*
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

Preview of the 1945 Legislatures

Most of the state legislatures will hold regular sessions in 1945 and civic groups are training a weather eye on state capitals.

The **Augusta (Georgia) Citizens Union** has made a postal card poll of its members asking their opinions on five proposals for new legislation.

Greater Cleveland, published by the **Citizens League of Cleveland**, lists the members of the 96th Ohio General Assembly with the comment that "it has every opportunity to make a fine legislative record." The League considers that "the General Assembly has been made up, in the main, of a body of sincere, industrious and patriotic citizens who have wanted to do the right thing. . . . Unfortunately, in a majority of the sessions, at least in the last twenty years, there have been so many restraints put upon the legislature by the rules of the two houses and so much interference injected by party leaders, that the results of the sessions have been far below what the people had the right to expect, both in the quantity and quality of the legislative product."

The League calls for the modernization of the legislature's procedure. "It is within the power of the two houses in their rules adopted at the opening of the session to speed up, by at least 50 per cent, the consideration of pending legislation." Changes in the rules are suggested, with the admonition: "When the 169 elected representatives of a great state like Ohio find that its state's rights are gradually being usurped by the federal government, then there should be some patriotic searching of the heart on the part of the members of the General Assembly."

"The 1945 Legislature Is Especially Important to Taxpayers" headlines a *Bulletin* of the **Civic Federation of Chicago.** The Federation will assign staff members to cover all sessions and all committee hearings on measures affecting taxes, finance and expenditures of Chicago governments. Its *Bulletin* lists the steps taken by bills from introduction to adoption and also the legislative stages at which citizen opinion may be effectively expressed.

"With bills already filed calling for expenditure of upward of $500,000,000 the forthcoming session of the legislature promises to be the most important, and perhaps the most turbulent, in many years," remarks the **Massachu-**

setts Federation of Taxpayers Associations. Its publication, *Taxtalk*, discusses various proposals on which the legislature will be called to act.

The *Nebraska Taxpayer* comments on the "excellent personnel in the unicameral legislature" for 1945 and lists the matters on which legislation will probably be asked.

In a sympathetic vein the *North Dakota Taxpayer* editorializes: "Above all, if the legislator performs a good service and works for good government, efficiency and wise economy, commend him. Let him know that you approve of his action. Too many of us reserve our comment solely for critical purposes. Take pity on the legislator and do not harass him unduly. Give him constructive suggestions, but do not join in a pressure group unless you are familiar with the facts and circumstances and there is no question as to the merits of the cause you espouse."

Here and There

New Charter for Philadelphia?

"A Legislative Program for Philadelphia," suggested by the city's **Committee of Seventy,** includes a council-manager plan charter, city-county consolidation, elimination of the Registration Commission and its merging with the County Board of Elections, and revision and simplification of laws governing the registration of voters and the conduct of elections. "There never was a better opportunity," says the Committee, "for the ordinary taxpayer who is tired of being pushed around to do a little pushing himself." It advises the voter to "work on your committeeman right away, talk to your state representative. Let them know that you are interested in the legislative reforms listed in this letter."

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Manager Plan Evaluated

Lowell, Massachusetts, has had a year of government under its new Plan E charter—council-manager plan with proportional representation. The **Lowell Taxpayers Association** states that "while it has not fulfilled the highest hopes of everyone during this short time it seems to have accomplished several steps on the road to better government." The steps listed include provision of adequate garage facilities for the city's mechanical equipment, opening of the Lincoln Street bridge to travel, inauguration of a definite drive to clean up the enormous tax title and tax possession holdings of the city. The new government reduced the number of city employees by leaving vacancies unfilled, improvements have been made in the budgetary process and the tax rate has been reduced. One important factor is that a more honest and healthy attitude toward their city government has been noticeable among both officials and citizens, the Association reports.

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Constitutional Revision

The Constitutional Revision Committee of the **Chicago City Club,** through its chairman, Professor Kenneth C. Sears, has been keeping in touch with the Illinois League of Women Voters in its movement for a state constitutional convention. Professor Sears addressed one of the weekly luncheons of the Club on "Constitutional Revision and Postwar Progress in Illinois."

The **Illinois League of Women Voters** has published an "Open Letter to Our Servicemen" in which it asks for counsel. The letter states that there has been some objection to the League's work for a revision of the constitution on the ground that the state should wait until service men and women are home. But, the League points out in its letter, "even if there are no defeats, no setbacks, a revised constitution would not be ready to submit for the voters' consideration before 1948 or 1949 at the earliest. . . . We sincerely believe that your best interests will be served by going ahead with revision as fast as possible and taking whatever risk there may be of your being back to vote on the proposed draft, but we should like to to know what *you* think."

A **Missouri Committee for the New Constitution** has been organized with headquarters in St. Louis. Jacob M. Lashly is chairman, Mrs. Frank E. Atwood, secretary. The Committee has issued a small folder which gives twenty "good reasons why you should vote for the proposed new state constitution." The leaflet lists a number of statewide citizen and professional groups which are supporting the constitution with the comment: "You travel in fine company when you support the new constitution." The document will be submitted to referendum on February 27.

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Postwar Planning

The staff of the **Municipal League of Toledo** has been appointed by City Manager George N. Schoonmaker as secretariat for the city's Postwar Long Range Planning Committee. Under the direction of Ronald E. Gregg, the League's executive secretary, the staff's duties will be to aid coordination of the work being done by various official and civic groups, to expedite the preparation of a program of public works for the immediate postwar period, and to prepare a factual foundation for public opinion on an integrated postwar plan. The new setup will not conflict with or curtail activities of any of the 76 agencies engaged in planning but will encourage and speed up completion of plans.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

U. S. Supreme Court Upholds N. Y. Port Bond Tax Exemption

Refuses Review of Decision by Federal Court of Appeals

RECONVENING on January 2 after the holiday recess, the United States Supreme Court announced its denial of petitions filed by the Solicitor-General for writs of certiorari in the *White* and *Shemberg* cases.[1] The court thus in effect affirmed the decision of the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, which had earlier upheld a ruling of the United States Tax Court that interest on the bonds of the Port of New York Authority and the Triborough Bridge Authority is exempt from federal income taxation because under the statute the Authorities are political subdivisions of states.

The Court's refusal to grant the petitions of course ends the litigation in the cases, with the tax exemption feature of the bonds under existing federal law upheld. Announcement of the denial of the writs was followed immediately by advances in the prices at which the bonds of the Port Authority and Triborough Bridge Authority are traded on the market, and there was also a strengthening in price for obligations of other special districts. At the same time, the decision was widely hailed as ending permanently the efforts of the Treasury Department to tax income from presently tax-free state and local obligations, since the

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[1] See "Port Authority Tax Exemption Affirmed," the REVIEW, October 1944, p. 493.

Congress has consistently refused to make such income taxable by amendment to the law. The only remaining approach is apparently through constitutional amendment.

It had been felt in some quarters that a decision adverse to the Authorities would open the way for taxation of income from all state and local obligations, but others have pointed out that such an expectation was rather too sweeping. The Authority bonds are not full faith and credit obligations in the manner of the bulk of state and local debt, but are limited obligations payable solely from the revenues of particular proprietary enterprises. The Treasury's case, indeed, seems to have been based primarily on this distinction.

An adverse decision, therefore, would have actually left untouched the status of full faith and credit obligations issued for purposes whose governmental nature could not reasonably be contested. Such a decision, however, would have thrown into confusion the tax status of an increasingly large volume of bonds issued for proprietary purposes, such as water works, electric light and gas plants, transportation systems, recreational and other public facilities for which admission, rental or other charges are made, and probably even for sewerage systems when such systems are financed with revenue bonds under the guise that the systems are "self-supporting."

The Supreme Court's action in upholding the lower court's decisions must therefore be regarded as having averted a chaotic situation not alone for the special governmental agencies of the authority type but also for all other governmental units which engage in proprietary or quasi-proprietary enterprises.

The court's decision is also important for another reason. In some quarters there is a tendency to attempt to break local government up into little components, not only as to the political units concerned but as to the activities of the separate units, and to classify as "governmental" only the functions supported by or of direct benefit to real property. The government's case in the Port Authority litigation was essentially an attempt to enforce an attitude of this type, since the argument in effect held that if the people of a community built bridges and wharves and terminals and paid for them with property taxes, they were engaging in a governmental enterprise, while if they built the same facilities under an arrangement to make the facilities self-supporting from charges paid by the users, the enterprise was not governmental. The Tax Court and Court of Appeals turned thumbs down on this blurry conception of local government, and the Supreme Court has now refused to permit a reconsideration.

Whatever one's feeling as to the broad issue of tax exemption, the outcome of the Authority cases must be regarded as a victory for progressive local government.

Prewar Local Borrowing Explored

Last month in this column a brief examination was made of the record of long-term borrowing by state and local governments since 1923 to see whether there was any precedent for borrowing as large a sum as five billion dollars or so for postwar state and local improvement programs. It was found that state and local borrowing for other than refunding and housing authority purposes exceeded one billion dollars annually from 1923 through 1931, but that since then there had been only four "billion dollar" years—1933, 1934, 1938 and 1940. Since 1940

TABLE I
LONG-TERM BORROWING BY BORROWING AGENCY[a]
(Amounts in millions of dollars)

Year	*City, Etc.*	*State*	*County*	*School*	*Other Districts*[b]	*Total*
1930	$646	$221	$224	$140	$93	$1,372
1931	674	252	140	84	39	1,251
1932	420	276	109	25	17	934
1933	542	377	78	20	66	1,127
1934	474	280	117	62	96	1,174
1935	522	267	148	66	188	1,182
1936	526	192	129	91	215	1,153
1937	424	169	124	86	174	977
1938	595	190	118	125	189	1,218
1939	592	241	87	78	97	1,095
1940	929	117	86	61	300	1,492
1941	528	354	117	70	158	1,210
1942	326	21	70	17	138	575
1943	229	29	38	23	189	506

a. Includes refunding bonds.
b. Includes local housing authority bonds.

TABLE II
LONG-TERM STATE AND LOCAL BORROWING, 1935-40
(Exclusive of Refunding and Housing)
(Amounts in millions of dollars)

Purpose of Loan	*Total 1935-40*	*Annual Average*	*Peak (Year)*
Total state and local	$5,333	$889	$1,119 (1938)
Road and street improvement	638	106	168 (1938)
City utilities	1,004	167	470 (1940)
Sewer	167	28	46 (1938)
School	533	89	184 (1938)
Emergency relief	443	74	131 (1935)
All other	2,548	425	546 (1938)

the volume of long-term borrowing has dwindled sharply because of wartime restrictions on construction and the postponement of all but the most essential improvements.

The figures quoted were those compiled by *The Daily Bond Buyer,* a New York financial journal whose records on the subject are most comprehensive. *The Daily Bond Buyer* has tabulated the borrowing also by borrowing unit, and these data show that on the average close to half the borrowing is done by the cities, towns, villages, and like units, with the states normally accounting for the second largest portion. Table I summarizes long-term borrowing by borrowing agencies for the prewar decade and for the last four years reported. These figures, it should be noted, are inclusive of refunding bonds.

A considerable part of the amounts borrowed in some years came from federal agencies rather than directly from the public. Loans from the PWA and the RFC are included in the figures as follows (amounts in millions): 1932, $130; 1933, $484; 1934, $288; 1935, $79; 1936, $56; 1937, $109; 1938, $148; 1939, $58; 1940, $14; 1941, $161; 1942, $14; and 1943, $1.

For the period since 1934 it is possible to classify the long-term borrowing by the purpose of the issue, with refunding bonds excluded. For the six prewar years, 1935-40 inclusive, the average amount borrowed was $888,866,000 annually, but in 1938, the peak year for the period, the amount was $1,118,904,000, and in 1940, $1,047,660,000 was borrowed. On the average, slightly more than half the borrowing went for road and street improvements, city utilities, sewers, schools and emergency relief, and slightly less than half for miscellaneous improvements, chiefly building of one sort or another. Table II summarizes the situation for the period.

It seems evident that if the weight of borrowing for postwar improvements is distributed as was the borrowing in the prewar period, a good half of it will fall to the city, town and village governments. At the same time it would seem that, among the city projects, those for sewer systems and sewerage disposal offer the best opportunities since it has been in this field that prewar borrowing has been lightest. But above all the data make it evident that the problem is one in which every level of local government is concerned.

78th Congress Starts Postwar Highway Program

Just before it adjourned, the 78th Congress enacted the bill to make available one and a half billion dollars for a nation-wide highway improvement program. The funds will be apportioned over a three-year period at the rate of $500,000,000 a year, and must be matched by the individual states.

The more populous states will receive the largest apportionments, although mileage and areas, as well as population, are factors in the allocation.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Manager Plan Brings Surplus to Hamilton County, Tenn.

Pay-as-you-go Public Works, Expansion Programs Planned

HAMILTON County, Tennessee, is highly pleased with results secured under its new manager plan charter, according to an article by Brainard Cooper in *Better Roads*. The county has a population of 190,000, and includes the city of Chattanooga.

The manager and council, operating "like a smooth working team," have refunded the debt with considerable saving in interest, combined positions and stopped the rise in the tax rate. They have transformed the county deficit into a surplus, and recently they invested $300,000 of the surplus in war bonds.

Locally-elected squires—known elsewhere as justices of peace, with both judicial and administrative duties, formerly met four times a year in county court to transact all the county's business. This system was attacked first by the Civitan Club in 1930 because the county court had become a hotbed of petty political warfare and the squires were even worse in their individual capacities as dispensers of justice.

In 1940 a county delegation was elected to the state legislature on the issue of county reform, and the following year it secured a council-manager law for the county. The members of the first council were placed in office by the state legislature and they also fell to bickering, but an outstanding council was elected by the voters in 1942. A leader of the reform movement was Estes Kefauver, now Congressman from Tennessee.

Under the manager plan the squires were stripped of both judicial and administrative powers except for certain constitutional functions. They continue to meet in quarterly county court at which they fix the tax rate, but such rate is always that "recommended" by the County Council.

The County Council is composed of the county judge elected for a eight-year term and four councilmen elected for four-year terms. It selects the manager, adopts the budget, and performs the other functions of a county governing board.

The manager and the Council plan an extensive postwar public works program, to be financed on a pay-as-you-go basis. After the war they are preparing to welcome not only industry but also the tourists who wish to visit the scenic beauty of the county.

Oregon Legislature Considers County Manager Plan

The Oregon state legislature, which convened on January 8, is considering the principles of the county manager plan as such principles might be embodied in permissive legislation for adoption by the counties of the state. The responsibility to enact such legislation has fallen upon the legislature as a result of the adoption by the voters last November of the county manager constitutional amendment as previously reported in this section.[1]

The Oregon League of Women Voters has been especially active in county government reform, and for the guidance of legislators and others it has issued a mimeographed pamphlet entitled *Principles of Model County Manager Government.*

King County, Washington, Must Collect Rentals

King County (Seattle), Washington, which is the landlord for 237 tenants, recently was enjoined by a court decision from continuing its arrangement whereby a local real estate firm collected the rentals for a fee. The suit was brought by the Municipal League of Seattle which believed the public officials were fully competent to collect rents and that the net yield to the county would be greater as a result of the injunction.

Highest rentals include $125 per month for a parking lot and $200 per month for an industrial site. A few lots contain county-owned apartment houses, but other parcels draw rentals ranging downward to 42 cents per month. Some of the property is that which had reverted to the county for non-payment of taxes, but the remainder has been owned by the county in fee simple for many years.

1943 County Revenue and Debt Summary Issued

The United States Bureau of the Census has just issued a two-page *Summary of County Government Revenue and Debt in 1943,* prepared by Dr. Wylie Kilpatrick, county consultant. The summary reveals that revenue shrank only slightly more than one per cent from the preceding year, but that debt shrank over 8 percent.

The summary shows also that revenues from the various miscellaneous sources fell off much more rapidly than did revenue from the main source, property taxes. Aid received from other governmental units decreased more than 3 per cent. In half the states county debt decreased by more than 10 per cent, three states experienced a slight rise, and in the remaining states county debts shrank moderately.

A comparison with 1932 statistics reveals that although property tax revenues had increased only 1.4 per cent in the eleven-year period, total county revenues had increased 23 per cent. The increase was almost entirely the result of the growth of state grants-in-aid to the counties. During the same period county debt shrank 29 per cent, resulting primarily from the curtailment of capital improvement programs. This divergence of trends in county debt and county revenue has resulted in 1943 in a situation in which counties account for one-fourth of all local government revenues but only 11 per cent of the local public debt.

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[1] See "Oregon Voters Adopt County Manager Amendment," the REVIEW, December 1944, p. 633. Official vote on the amendment was 175,716 to 154,504.

The *Summary of County Government Revenue and Debt in 1943* constitutes a preliminary report to *County Finances: 1943*, which will be issued later.

Cook County, Illinois, Makes Administrative Improvements

The Civic Federation of Chicago recently has expressed satisfaction regarding reorganization in the government of Cook County, Illinois. As especially noteworthy it listed the establishment of a Department of Purchase, a Department of Central Services, and a start toward the reorganization of maintenance services for county buildings and properties.

New York Studies Town Improvement Districts

Town and County Topics, issued monthly by the Town and County Officers Training School of the State of New York, is publishing currently in serial form a description of the legal basis of town improvement districts of the state. Author of the analysis is Charles W. Potter, of the New York State Department of Audit and Control.

County Officials in Kansas Seek Improvement

Among the resolutions recently adopted by the Kansas County Commissioners Association were recommendations that counties be permitted to own and operate airports singly or as joint county or city-county enterprises and that plans be developed to establish by law a public agency to cooperate with county officers in the study and improvement of county government.

Wyoming Removes County Salary Freeze

Having seen during territorial days the evils of requiring county officers to procure part of their salaries from fees collected, the Wyoming Constitutional Convention of 1889 established fixed salaries in the state constitution. The range, based on assessed valuation and office, was from $500 to $2000, except for a few prosecuting attorneys. With rising costs and higher standards of living it has become increasingly difficult to get efficient officers.

The 1943 legislature, therefore, adopted an amendment delegating the power to fix county salaries to the legislature, to be voted upon in November 1944. Amendments to the constitution, by court interpretation, require a majority of the *total* vote cast, not of those cast on the amendment. Prevalent voter indifference to amendments often causes failure by default.

The Governor issued a statement favoring the amendment, clerks enclosed copies in county mail, a citizen wrote a widely copied newspaper article and speakers supported it before clubs. The result was that the amendment was ratified by a vote of 69,848 for, to 16,781 against out of a total vote cast at the election of 102,244.

The Governor is recommending in his message to the legislature a substantial increase in county salaries which doubtless will be approved.

Henry J. Peterson
University of Wyoming

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Liberated Areas Restore Local Governments

Early Elections Planned in France and Czechoslovakia

THE pattern of the re-establishment of free local government in Europe and Asia as countries are liberated or approach liberation is becoming apparent. Two of the most knotty problems temporarily exiled governments must face are the relation of local government to the resistance forces and its relation to those who collaborated with the enemy. There have been various solutions of these problems adopted by the several governments but the most common one seems to be the restoration to power, until new elections can be held, of those councillors and officials who held office before the war and who did not collaborate.

Other general patterns are an agreement with the military as to the relation between civil and military administration, the restoration of the free laws in force before the war and plans to hold elections as soon as possible—although in some cases this means a wait of a year or two. One of the main reasons for the delay in holding elections is the difficulty of compiling new registers of voters. Another is the fear that elections would disturb emergency administrations.

Because of the experience of the last four or five years local government is likely to be permanently modified in many cases. Trends toward decentralization are evident in Czechoslovakia and France. Metropolitan consolidation is a possibility in Belgium. And in at least two countries, France and Albania, women are being given the vote for the first time.

Czechs Hold Elections in Liberated Areas

With the advance of the armies of liberation through Carpathian Russia and part of Slovakia, the pattern of restoring free local institutions in Czechoslovakia has emerged. As early as February 1944 plans for the day of liberation were well advanced. At that time Dr. Edvard Benes, president of the Czechoslovak Republic, outlined a plan whereby the organized underground could be used as the first government in freed territory. Local (including parish, village and town) and district national committees will be created "to carry out our struggle at home in the present phase of the war and to ensure a final transition to our new, free, national and fully democratic regime. . . . After the fall of the Nazi dictatorship these committees would constitute the first democratic machinery to exercise political and administrative authority."[1] Provincial national committees for Carpathian Russia, Slovakia, Moravia and Bohemia are planned, and from these a temporary all-national assembly will be created.

The members of these committees will not number more than the respective municipal, district and provincial councils in preinvasion days. Immediately after liberation of an area the committee will supervise free elections for new national committees. Their other immediate duties will be to cooperate with the military, safeguard property, organize relief and appoint reliable local public officials. They will respect all preinvasion law, especially that dealing with democratic rights.

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[1] *Czechoslovak Policy for Victory and Peace*, Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Service, London, 1944, p. 43.

The Czechoslovak government in London has appointed a delegate to supervise administration of the liberated territory which has been turned over to the Czechs by the Soviet army in accordance with an agreement between the two governments of May 8, 1944. Although a Slovakian National Committee was in existence at the time of liberation, together with a rather full development of local and district committees, no such organization was to be found in Carpathian Russia. In the first four weeks of liberation, however, local committees were formed in about two-thirds of the area under encouragement of the London government's delegate. Eventually, when a provincial national committee can be formed, the central government delegate will limit his activities to supervision in local administrative matters.

Finally, on November 24, 1944, the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Service announced that elections for national committees had begun in all liberated districts of Carpathian Russia and Slovakia.

It is planned that a greatly decentralized republic be established after the war, with the four provinces strengthened in their powers.

France Postpones Local Elections

Because of registration difficulties, local elections have been postponed in France until the end of April.[5] There has been much discussion over the six months residence requirement. Residence is to be proved by receipts for rent payment for the last two quarterly periods. Since those active in the resistance movement were frequently in hiding they would have a difficult time proving such residence. Although the central government refused to alter the requirement, local registration officials have been instructed to use discretion. It has been unofficially suggested that local registration officials accept either rent receipts or proof of enlistment in a resistance organization as satisfactory evidence. The government has reaffirmed by ordinance that names of soldiers, war prisoners, refugees and deportees shall appear on the voting list of their legal place of residence as of September 1, 1939. If they so request, they will be permitted to vote in the commune to which they have transferred and established domicile.[6]

All persons directly accused of aid to the enemy or Vichy are disqualified. The Minister of Justice has expressed the hope that the purge of those considered nationally unworthy would be completed by February. All those who voted in Parliament in 1940 to give full power to Marshal Petain have been barred from local office. Members of department (county) councils under Vichy are eligible for election if they served on such councils prior to June 1940.

The registration of women, who may vote for the first time, has been unexpectedly heavy. There has been some discussion of the degree of church influence over women's votes. In some dioceses in France all nuns have been urged by church officials to vote.

The Communists have been unsuccessful in their attempt to have the resistance movement present a single ticket everywhere in the local elections. This does not prevent the unity of the resistance movement in the event of run-off elections. In many communities it is said to be likely that the Communists will be successful in their single-ticket drive.

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[5] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1944, pp. 642-3.

[6] *Free France*, French Press and Information Service, New York, December 15, 1944, pp. 492-3; see also *New York Times* of January 2 (p. 8) and 3 (p. 5), 1945.

A break with the French tradition of extreme centralization is indicated as a real possibility because of the events of the last four years, according to an editorial in *Free France*.[4] It is "unquestionable," it says, "that habits of decentralization were acquired by the French during the past four years and that they cannot fail to influence those whose task it will be to build a new France."

Paris Council Changed

The combined department-municipal council for Paris, consisting largely of the Parisian Committee of Liberation which was provided upon liberation of the capital, has been replaced by centrally-appointed separate department and municipal councils until elections are held.[5] Before appointments to these bodies are made the cabinet is to confer with the Paris Committee of Liberation. The municipal council is to be composed of 85 members, 28 from the liberation committee and 57 representing the various *arrondissements* (districts) in Paris. The department council will number 133 members—the 85 members of the municipal council, 42 appointed from the cantons, and six representing the resistance organizations. Political parties are to nominate their choices and it is provided that members holding office on September 1, 1939, who have remained faithful to their duties, as well as members replacing those who have died for France, shall be nominated by the political parties to which they belonged. Recent political trends are to be taken into account in making appointments.

French Police under Vichy

A summary of the experience of the police forces under Vichy France, including the special powers granted them and the complete central control of local police, is to be found in *Free France*, September 1 and 15, 1944, pp. 203-211.

Prewar Communal Councils Serve in Belgium

Free local government has been restored in liberated Belgium. The Belgian government has cancelled all Nazi appointments to local offices and reinstated prewar officials with prewar laws. If communal councils have a quorum of prewar members left—a simple majority—the vacancies are not to be filled until elections can be held. If a quorum is lacking the communal councils are to appoint enough to make a quorum until other prewar members return or until elections. Burgomasters in Belgium are generally appointed by the King upon recommendation of the Ministry of Interior, but actually the recommendation of the communal council is decisive. These officials will be appointed, if necessary, in the usual way.

No definite plans for holding local elections have been formed. Many months are likely to pass before such plans can be made. About a fourth of the electorate is in Germany as enforced laborers or prisoners.

During German occupation the areas of the principal metropolitan centers were consolidated for governmental purposes. In Brussels this arrangement is being kept until spring to facilitate readjustment. There were many advocates of consolidation before the war and it would be well to watch whether they now will be successful in getting parliamentary laws passed providing for it.

Italy's Local Governments under Allied Commission

Since Italy was an enemy country in this war local self-government has not been restored to as great an extent as in United Nations territory. Allied Military Government has first taken over the administration of Allied-held territory. The Carabinieri or local police are soon organized, essential public services restored and church and city officials called upon to aid in restoring order in the area.[6]

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[4] November 15, 1944, pp. 353-4.

[5] *Free France*, November 15, 1944, pp. 373-4.

Areas remote from the battle zones (Sicily and Southern Italy), including 36 provinces, have been placed under control of the Allied Commission which supervises the new Italian government. The various Italian political parties are in sharp disagreement over the policy of local elections. Those of the Left want immediate local elections in territory removed from military zones while the Center and Right want to have such elections wait until the complete liberation of the country. The communists have taken a stand favoring strengthened powers for provincial and communal committees of liberation.

Greater regional autonomy for such areas as Sicily and Sardinia has been promised by the Bonomi government, but it is determined to combat separatism.

Norwegian Government Plans with Help of Underground

The Norwegian government in London has extensive plans for reinstituting local self-government in Norway upon its liberation. Lists have been prepared in London with the assistance of the Norwegian underground giving data on the chairman of every communal council. Most of the prewar chairmen (who are elected by the communal councils) were removed by the Nazis because they refused to cooperate. Those few who have collaborated with the invaders will not retain their posts but all those loyal to Norway will be reinvested in office together with all available members of the prewar communal councils who did not collaborate. Elections will not be possible for some time after liberation, but the Prime Minister has stated that they must be held as soon as "technically possible."

In general, the same system of local government as existed prior to the invasion is expected to be established. One change that might come—but not as a result of the war—is the lengthening of the terms of office of local councils from three to four years. In 1936 the term of members of Parliament was so lengthened and some observers believe it is merely a matter of time before local terms are similarly changed.

Philippines Look Forward to Reconstruction

The first problem of government in any liberated territory is immediate relief for the people. The pattern of administration adopted on Leyte, Panaon and Samar was the early transfer of authority for the distribution of food. "Leading officials were chosen from each small settlement in the region with the title of *tenientes barrios* or village leaders. Each was required to certify how many refugee families came from his region and was permitted to draw food for that number. The distribution to individuals was placed in his hands."[7]

President Osmena has said that, while as a result of conditions growing out of the Japanese occupation local elections would have to be held in some Philippine areas, in general the local governments would be prepared to play their part under independence. He has also promised that towns and cities which suffered severe damage will be reconstructed under a systematic and scientific town planning program.

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[6] See also page 74, this issue.

[7] See *New York Times* dispatches of November 12 and December 6, 1944.

Democratic Election Law Planned for Poland

The London Polish government through its Vice-Premier has announced that it has drawn up plans for "well organized local government elections" on the basis of a "most democratic electoral law" which "will assure free and clean elections in a manner even better than the election law of August 1922."[8]

Through its Ministry of Reconstruction the London Polish government has been studying local government in England with the cooperation of English local councils and the National Association of Local Government Officers. The Polish officials concerned are commissioned to prepare plans for a system of local government in Poland after its liberation.

Holland Prepares Temporary Local Government Measures

In an address by the Interior Minister of the Dutch government in August 1944 it was stated: "It is considered necessary, in view of the extraordinary conditions which will prevail in Holland at the time of liberation, that temporary measures be taken in respect to provincial and municipal government and to representative bodies of the state, provinces and municipalities."[9] The principle is established that as soon as possible after liberation, that is, within the period of a special state of siege, provincial and municipal councils shall function and possess their old powers.

Community Welfare

Prepared by Federal Security Agency

National Health Program a Postwar Aim

Ample Hospital and Health Services Must Be Provided

A NATIONAL health program that guarantees the best of health and medical care for the entire population should be a major postwar aim of the American people. Such a program should include adequate, inter-related and equitably distributed hospital and medical service, greatly expanded preventive services, sanitary facilities and control of mass diseases. It should be operated locally through grants-in-aid, and should be sufficiently diversified to meet the needs of individual states. It should be publicly supported through insurance, taxation, or a combination of both.

A number of major elements go into the making of a national health program. The first step must be application of all available knowledge on the prevention of disease in every community. This is important because attack has scarcely been begun on many of the causes of sickness and death which sap the nation's vitality. A national health program operating efficiently in every community of the land could bring about a great reduction in the volume of illness.

Of primary importance to the development of an adequate health program is the provision of a nation-wide system of integrated hospitals and health centers. Development of such a system to meet the estimated minimum need calls for a construction program which would provide 417,000 beds and 2,400 health centers during the ten-year period following the war. Estimated items and costs include:

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[8] *United Nations Review,* September 15, 1944, p. 249.

[9] *United Nations Review,* September 15, 1944, p. 243.

100,000 new general hospital beds and 66,000 replacements at $6,000 per bed	$996,000,000
94,000 new mental hospital beds and 97,000 replacements at $3,000 per bed	573,000,000
44,000 new tuberculosis beds and 16,000 replacements at $5,000 per bed	300,000,000
1,200 district health centers at $70,000 each; 1,200 subcenters at $30,000 each	120,000,000
Total estimated cost	$1,989,000,000

To render most effective service, the functions of each institution must be related to those of other institutions and to the needs of the whole area. The nucleus of such a system would be the regional base hospital around which medical, public health and hospital services would be grouped. The base hospital—a large teaching and research institution—would be the regional training, diagnostic and specialized treatment center.

District hospitals, somewhat smaller institutions providing less-specialized services, would function in areas radiating from the base hospital. Extending from these, but again related, would be the small rural hospitals and health centers. In some areas a combined hospital and health center would provide limited hospital care as well as public health services. All complicated cases, such as major surgery, would be referred routinely to the district or to the base hospital.

Since one of the major functions of the future hospital should be assistance to the physician in the practice of his profession, hospitals might provide physicians' offices in any of the institutions — base, district, rural or health center—including the use of all necessary equipment. The economy of this plan and of the group consultation made possible would be particularly helpful in rural areas where the doctor too often is denied the facilities and services necessary to enable him to practice good medicine.

Hospitals, however, are only a part of a national health system. A program designed to provide equal opportunity for health would also include greatly expanded preventive services, sanitary facilities and control of mass diseases. It must provide well trained personnel in adequate numbers and adequately distributed throughout the country.

Continue Research

There are other important aspects also. Medical science is one of the most dynamic and rapidly developing sectors of science. Therefore, support of research to develop more effective methods for diagnosis and treatment must be continued and encouraged. Research must be concentrated on those diseases for which there are not now weapons of control.

A national health program of the great scope and magnitude necessary to meet the needs of the nation might best be effected on a decentralized basis, that is, through federal assistance to the states. Within the broad concept of the program each community could be given maximum opportunity to work out its own plan—with its own resources, with assistance from the state and with assistance from the federal government. Under this type of program federal aid would be given to the state and, through the state, to the community in proportion to the need.

The extraordinarily heavy costs of modern medical care fall unpredictably upon the family and unevenly upon the population. The risk could be lessened and even removed through prepayment on an insurance basis, through public

(Continued on p. 108)

Books in Review

Lowering the Voting Age. Compiled by Julia E. Johnsen. New York, H. W. Wilson Company, 1944. 237 pp. $1.25.

The H. W. Wilson Company has added another volume to the Reference Shelf series. *Lowering the Voting Age* contains the usual sections devoted to general discussion, affirmative discussion, negative discussion, summary of arguments, and bibliography. A rather full selection of articles is covered including excerpts from the writings and remarks of such men as President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Senator Harley R. Kilgore.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Budgets

A Practical Guide for Budget Making in Texas Cities. A Manual Designed to Stimulate Improved and Uniform Budgeting Through the Use of the Standard Classification of Revenue and Expenditures; also **The Appraisal of Municipal Budgets** (Supplement). By Bill N. Taylor. Austin 21, The League of Texas Municipalities, 1944. 58 and 6 pp. respectively.

A Preview of National Budgets for Full Employment "Model T". By Hans Christian Sonne. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1944. 30 pp.

Congested Areas

An Avalanche Hits Richmond. A study of the impact of war production upon the City of Richmond, California, and an outline of measures necessary to provide the facilities for normal postwar community service. By J. A. McVittie. Richmond, California, The City Manager, 1944. 141 pp. illus.

Observations on the Sample Censuses in Ten Congested Production Areas. By John Webb. Washington, D. C., Executive Office of the President, Committee for Congested Production Areas, 1944. 20 pp.

President's Committee for Congested Production Areas. Final Report. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1944. 37 pp.

Highways

Highway Research Board, Proceedings of the 23rd Annual Meeting, held at Chicago, November 27-30, 1943. Edited by Roy W. Crum and Fred Burggraf. Washington 25, D. C., Highway Research Board, 1944. x, 605 pp.

Housing

Housing Needs. A Preliminary Estimate. By National Housing Agency. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1944. 24 pp. 10 cents.

Liquor Control

State Alcoholic Beverage Monopoly Finances in 1943. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1944. 6 pp.

Municipal Officials

Directory of Tennessee Municipal Officials. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, The Governmental Reference Service, 1944. 49 pp.

Personnel

Better Use of Personnel. An Outline and Check List for Evaluating Federal Agency Employee Utilization Programs. Washington, D. C., United States Civil Service Commission, 1944. 14 pp.

Planning

Coastline Plans and Action for the Development of the Los Angeles Metropolitan Coastline. By Donald F. Griffin under the direction of Charles W. Eliot. Los Angeles, The Haynes Foundation, 1944. 38 pp. illus.

Illinois Prepares for Peace. Chicago, Illinois, Post-War Planning Commission, 1944. 39 pp. illus.

Manual of Post-War Planning for Ci-

ties and Towns in Rhode Island. By the Committee for the Advancement of Local Planning of the State Planning Board. Providence 2, Rhode Island State Planning Board, 1944. 40 pp.

A Plan for America at Peace. New York 11, Electronic Corporation of America, 1944. 65 pp.

A Plan for Lexington's Future. By Lexington's Post War Planning Committee Coordinating with the National Committee for Economic Development. Lexington, Ky., Board of Commerce, 1944. 12 pp.

Planning for Schenectady. By Interdepartment Post War Planning Committee. Schenectady, New York, 1944. 8 pp.

Planning Opportunity for Towns in Illinois. By Karl B. Lohmann. Urbana, University of Illinois, 1944. 40 pp.

Postwar Improvements. Preliminary Six-Year Program for Planning, Land Acquisition and Construction. San Francisco, City Planning Commission, 1944. 47 pp.

Post-War Program for Tacoma Improvements. By Colonel E. P. Antonovich. Tacoma, Washington, 1944. 26 pp. (Apply Author.)

Public Administration

Industry-Government Cooperation. A Study of the Participation of Advisory Committees in Public Administration. By Carl Henry Monsees. Washington, D. C. 8, Public Affairs Press, 1944. 78 pp. $1.

Public Health

Food—in War and in Peace. Consolidated Report of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Nutrition. Legislative Document No. 73. Albany, New York, 1944. 221 pp.

Public Utilities

The Financial Record of the Electric Utility Industry 1937-1943. A Summary Compiled from Annual Reports of the Federal Power Commission Entitled "Statistics of Electric Utilities in the United States." Washington, Federal Power Commission, 1944. 10 pp.

Recreation

A Recreation Industry Bibliography. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Harvard University, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, 1944. 2 pp.

Salaries

Fire Department Salaries. Salaries in Effect in Fire Departments of the United States and Canada, January 1944. Washington, D. C., International Association of Fire Fighters, 1944. 11 pp.

Schools

Report of a Survey of the Public Schools of Boston, Massachusetts. Conducted under the Auspices of the Finance Commission of the City of Boston. In Eight Volumes: I: General Administration; II and III: Business Administration; IV, V, VI, and VII: Program of Education; VIII: Financing the Schools of Boston. Boston, Printing Department, 1944. 1122 pp.

A Digest of the Report of the Boston School Survey. Boston, Printing Department, 1944. 64 pp.

Social Welfare

Social Work and the Joneses. By Ruth Lerrigo and Bradley Buell. New York 20, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1944. 31 pp. 10 cents.

Symbols

References on Symbols. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Harvard University, Library of the Department of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, 1944. 2 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Extracts from Governmental Finance in the United States: 1942. Recapitulations of Selected Tables, National Totals by Type of Government. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1944. 6 pp.

A Record of Debt Change in the 91

Largest Cities of the United States 1935-1944. New York 5, Blair & Company, 1944. 7 pp.

Revenue Allergies Among the States. By Mabel L. Walker. New York 10, Tax Institute, 1944. 6 pp. 25 cents.

State Debt in 1944. By W. Paul Nowell. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1944. 13 pp.

Study of the Problem in Connection with Public Lands of the United States, the Tax Problems Connected with the Acquisition of Such Lands and Burden upon Local Units by Reason of the Use of Large Tracts of Public Lands for Public Use, etc., as Provided in House Resolution 281, 78th Congress, First Session. Interim Report. Washington, D. C., House of Representatives (Report No. 1884), 1944. 56 pp.

Summary of City Government Finance in 1943. (The Cities Covered Are Those Having Populations over 25,000). By Inez A. Applebee. Washington 25, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1944. 45 pp.

Tax Institute Bookshelf Numbers 3-4. (A Bibliography). New York 10, Tax Institute, 1944. iv, 29 pp.

Transit

The Subways of New York. New York 7, Citizens' Transit Committee, 1944. 21 pp.

Transit's Part in Postwar Plans. Convention-in-Print, Second Session. New York City, American Transit Association, 1944. 40 pp. illus.

Veterans

The Employment of Veterans in the Public Service in the United States. A Report Submitted to the Executive Council of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada by the Committee on Veteran Employment Policies. Chicago, The Assembly, 1944. 8 pp.

Youth

Adolescents in Wartime. Edited by James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll. Philadelphia, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* November 1944. vii, 233 pp. $2.

Zoning

Retroactive Zoning. The Legal Principle and Its Application for the Elimination of Rural Billboards. A Preliminary Report Prepared by the California Roadside Council with the Cooperation of Albert S. Bard, Counsel for the National Roadside Council. San Francisco 1, California Roadside Council, 1944. 22 pp.

Some Basic Redevelopment Problems. Zoning and Master Plan. By The Committee on Civic Design and Development. New York, New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, 1944. 21 pp.

COMMUNITY WELFARE

(Continued from page 105)

taxes or through a combination of both. Broadened social insurance will advance national health by spreading the cost of illness and by insuring the wage earner some payments in lieu of wages when he is ill and unable to earn. But social insurance itself, no matter how complete, does not constitute a total health program. It is only part of it and contributory to it.

A great amount of public interest in all matters pertaining to health has taken place during the war, and it seems certain that demands for health care, following the cessation of hostilities, will be the greatest this country has ever known. Public health, which means the sum total of individual health, is of paramount public concern in modern society. Working together, the public and the professions can attain the democratic goal of an equal opportunity for health among all the people.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

61

Man Bites Dog

Editorial

City Subsidies to Industry Wane

Robert E. Lowry

Jamaica Gets Reform Program

L. C. Hill

The Case for 'Foot-in-the-Door'

Robert G. McCloskey

The County Clerk as 'Manager'

L. H. Adolfson

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Contents for March 1945

EDITORIAL COMMENT .... *Alfred Willoughby* 110

CITY SUBSIDIES TO INDUSTRY WANE.......... *Robert E. Lowry* 112

JAMAICA GETS REFORM PROGRAM ....*L. C. Hill* 116

THE CASE FOR 'FOOT-IN-THE-DOOR'......*Robert G. McCloskey* 122

THE COUNTY CLERK AS 'MANAGER' ....*L. H. Adolfson* 125

CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW 129

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION ....*H. M. Olmsted* 130

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST 136

CITIZEN ACTION ....*Elsie S. Parker* 139

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ....*George H. Hallett, Jr.* 144

TAXATION AND FINANCE ....*Wade S. Smith* 146

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP ....*Elwyn A. Mauck* 149

LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROARD ....*Edward W. Weidner* 151

COMMUNITY SERVICES ....*Zilpha C. Franklin* 154

BOOKS IN REVIEW 157

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service,* the *Index to Legal Periodicals,* the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Man Bites Dog

WHEN a taxpayers' organization advocates doubling the salary of a public official, that's news!

It is more startling than the old legend which has a hard-boiled city editor telling the cub reporter: "When a dog bites a man, that's to be expected. But if a man bites a dog, that's news."

The Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, with a long record as a forceful, effective, frequently belligerent watchdog over the public treasury, has urged the state legislature to increase the governor's salary from $10,000 to $20,000. The Federation argues that it is not sound policy to pay the head of any organization "doing an $85,000,000 annual business" so little, that no honest man without private income can meet the obligations of the office and that other public salaries in the state or its cities should not be greater than that of the governor.

The arguments are sound. Opposed, of course, is the philosophy that a position such as that of governor should be sought largely as an honor or an opportunity for public service, that salaries of elective offices should not be so high as to be sought for the salary's sake. Yet, with our appreciation of the value of the dollar and the desirability of possessing a few of them, we still seem pretty far from that ideal.

But what of the men, able but not wealthy, who are pressed to look after the economic future of their families? Shall we pass them by because their fathers were not rich?

Meanwhile, we wish for more outstandingly able men in public service—and Massachusetts has furnished her share of big men who have gone into public life at considerable personal sacrifice.

This action will interest many who tend to feel that an organization of citizens, simply because its name includes the word "taxpayers," is chronically "anti-social," is prone to think any spending of public money is too much and is never able to recognize that it is sometimes good business to spend a little more to get something better.

Some taxpayers' associations have laid about them so recklessly as to deserve such criticism. But many, many others have based their actions on careful research, sound reasoning, justice and a lively sense of responsibility.

The truth is that either using or avoiding the word "taxpayer" is not the significant test of an organization's worth. There have been taxpayers' organizations in this country for more than 50 years. Some have left much to be desired, but most of them have exerted a healthy influence by keeping public officials on their toes and keeping the public informed on current public affairs.

Higher Pay for City Employees

THERE is a general upward trend in the salaries of municipal employees the same as in other lines of work. On behalf of these people it is argued that prices are higher and that opportunities for better pay elsewhere are plentiful.

Despite the relative permanency of city jobs and other usual advantages such as retirement benefits, cities generally are shorthanded and find it difficult to recruit adequate personnel. Under such conditions there is a strong tendency to demand permanent increases without regard for the probable temporary nature of the reasons justifying such increases. There is a logical, just, safe way to meet this problem.

A growing number of cities are adopting the so-called cost-of-living salary adjustment plan which, more or less automatically, maintains salaries at an approximately constant purchasing power. There is much to recommend such a plan as being fair to both employees and taxpayers. When the cost of living goes up so, usually, do tax revenues. When the cost of living goes down cities find their financial ability impaired.

Under this plan the pay of city employees moves up *or* down each year, keeping pace with the cost of living.

In an authoritative study[1] of this kind of plan as it is in operation in various places, the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research states that "salaries of municipal employees should command a constant purchasing power—purchasing power being the real measure of worth of a salary." The study points out, however, that the several advantages of public employment tend to challenge the validity of the common practice of public employees to compare their salaries with those current in private employment.

In considering pay increases, cities should take care to make the solution sufficiently elastic. Today tax revenues are good and tax delinquency is low. Cities feel prosperous because, in addition, some normal expenditures are curtailed by war conditions. What of tomorrow? Many cities face a very uncertain financial future. They will be wise to keep out of financial straitjackets.

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[1] *Cost-of-Living Salary Adjustment Plans for Municipal Employees,* Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., 1050 Buhl Bldg., Detroit 26, Mich., July 1944.

A Small Legislature

What we need, the Commentator reiterates, is a small, continuing legislature of a single body, which would have time to do its own studying, make its own recommendations, and act on them without this constant pressure of the desire to go home to the spring plowing as soon as the frost gets out of the soil. We need a legislature that will do the public's business without the intrusion of more important private affairs. We need a legislature that will work without having to wait for the Governor's lash.

"The Commentator," by W. K. Kelsey, *Detroit News,* February 6, 1945.

City Subsidies to Industry Wane

Experience shows fallacy of offering tax immunity, free buildings, free services; future emphasis to be on factors such as modern public facilities and sound administration.

By ROBERT E. LOWRY
Lieutenant (j.g.) U.S.N.R.

THROUGHOUT our history the services of local governments have figured strongly in the nation's economic development. The importance of local public services to private enterprise seems oftentimes to have been ignored or taken for granted, but always the environment which local government helps to create has been one of the most significant factors of industrial plant location.

There is ample evidence that from now on those factors which make a community "a good place in which to live" are destined to play a more readily recognizable part in industrial plant location. If this is true, municipalities will find in the concept of public services well planned and well administered their most effective inducement to industry.

The merit of traditional and time-worn forms of special aid which municipalities have extended directly to new enterprises has been questioned even while the practice itself was being extended. Colonial bounties, railroad grants, and more recently subsidies to industry testify that such local inducements have roots deep in the nation's economic background. The decade preceding the present war saw local governmental aid to individual manufacturers becoming widespread, with the practice more prevalent in some sections of the country than in others.

The alternatives which face local government wanting to invest public funds in the community's economic future are thus rather clearly defined. One approach is to extend financial inducements directly to industry, in effect to build the new factory and let the new school building wait. The other approach is to help create a community more attractive to people who staff the industry.

Everywhere the importance of the local community as a basis for postwar economic planning is being stressed. It is widely held that private enterprise in each locality must be encouraged to do its own thinking relative to conversion from war to peace. The Committee for Economic Development, the U. S. Department of Commerce and the U. S. Department of Agriculture are busy to this end, stimulating citizens' groups in cities and towns to study possibilities for new products and markets after the war, in order that peacetime private employment may be resumed as quickly as possible.

Local governments too are making their own postwar plans. Many have public works projects already in the blueprint stage, available to fill immediate employment needs. Generally, municipalities have been reducing their indebtedness and building up cash reserves for future contingencies. All local governments are being urged to put their financial houses in order so that they may participate more effectively in the difficult transition from war to peace.

Programs of community self-help for postwar readjustments will almost certainly lead to new consideration of municipal subsidies to industry. Special inducements have been offered in some form or other in all parts of the country where new industry has been actively sought. Communities have become thoroughly familiar with means by which they, through their local governments, can be of direct aid to private enterprise. The competitive features of local subsidies led to their widespread use before the war as a measure for self-defense as well as self-help, and a renewal of subsidies after the war is likely to have a similar effect.

Tax Exemption

The most common form of industrial subsidy by local governments before the war was exemption from local property taxes. Exemptions were for a period of five or ten years but were frequently extended. Since they were a waiver of revenue which the municipality would not obtain in any event without the factory, tax exemptions were generally regarded as a painless and inexpensive type of inducement. In the same category was free service from municipal utilities or service at special reduced rates. Tax concessions and special municipal services in the smaller communities were offered to industry almost as a matter of course.

Another subsidy practice which came into prominence in the early 30's was the use of municipal factory buildings. Scores of smaller towns in Tennessee and other southern states still own such structures, many of them attractively designed, built from the proceeds of city bond issues. Sometimes they housed the city fire hall and other public offices to maintain their legal status as "municipal buildings." The main structure, however, was leased to private operators who contracted with the city to maintain a given employment or payroll and to continue in operation "as steadily and to such an extent as the natural and ordinary business of the company will warrant from time to time," as stated in one contract.

The contract was usually signed before the building was constructed to assure occupancy. An operator agreeing to the conditions had use of the building free or at a very nominal rental. Recruiting of employees was frequently carried on at city offices prior to the building's construction in order to guarantee a supply of labor to the prospective operator and to assure that local people would be employed. In a number of instances the employee would be required by the city to assign from 3 to 10 per cent of his wages to a special fund to assist in retiring the building indebtedness.

Although the cost of public subsidy programs was generally borne locally, many state governments, especially in the South, have sanctioned the practice. Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia enacted general legislation permitting local governments to exempt new industries for definite periods. Mississippi has also experimented with a "BAWI" (Balance Agriculture with Industry) plan, whereby municipalities built factories for operation or lease under a certificate of public necessity issued by the State Industrial Commission. Subsidies in Tennessee were sometimes but not always covered by special legislation; no less than 23 authorizations for construction of municipal factory buildings were enacted by the 1935 and 1937 legislatures.

Subsidies in South

Industrial subsidies have sprung up in the South because the region realized it needed new employment and payrolls and needed them quickly. A new factory was likely to be regarded along with schools, churches and civic buildings as a community asset advancing the general welfare. The demand was for branch plants or other factories already established as going concerns. With benefits of new factories measured almost exclusively in terms of immediate employment and payrolls, there was less economic significance attached to small manufacturing enterprises conceived and nurtured within the community itself. Opportunities for local capital investment, for new processing of local raw materials, or for serving local market demands were secondary considerations in subsidy programs. Efforts to provide employment and payrolls tended to encourage the movement of plant operators who seemed best able to produce them, and the inducements did little to hasten the internal development of new manufacturing operations integrated with the local economy.

It seemed only natural for the smaller communities to call upon their governments as the local organizations best equipped to finance subsidy programs. Such programs proved to be an expensive undertaking, however, for local governments already handicapped by low per capita revenues. The practice of bidding for industries tended to increase the cost of subsidies. Municipal bond issues for new factory buildings often exceeded $100,000, even in the smaller towns. The value of tax exemptions granted over a period of five or ten years and frequently extended was also high. Debt service on municipal factory bonds today still takes a large portion of property tax revenue in some municipalities. To this can be added the loss of new taxes from industrial property and the expanded need for public service that comes with a major industrial addition to the community. Since benefits from new payrolls found their way very slowly into the public treasuries, their industrial policy led many municipalities dangerously close to bankruptcy. Municipal taxpayers, whether benefited or not, had substantially increased tax bills to pay, and the standards of public service generally suffered.

The extreme forms which local encouragement to industry took in the South have been matched by more subtle types of inducements to be found elsewhere. The southern situation has been emphasized partly because the problem in this region is brought into sharper focus and also because it is in the South that alternative action by local governments to develop industry seems most likely to make progress.

There are already encouraging signs that the basic conditions which led to local subsidies to industry in the South are gradually being eliminated. There is renewed confidence in the potentials of the region from an industrial standpoint. Municipalities in the Tennessee Valley region, for example, see a plentiful supply of electric power available for postwar industries, a new inland waterway, a greatly expanded attention to industrial research and new techniques for utilizing the region's products. They are coming to realize that industries can be developed in the region without resort to subsidy. The 90 odd municipalities distributing electric power in the Tennessee Valley region have found that a uniform schedule of power rates applicable to all industrial customers within their respective service areas has aided rather than retarded community industrial growth. Encouragement given by local, state and regional agencies to the indigenous development of new enterprises based on local resources has begun to pay dividends in sound economic progress.

With this background of experience in industry attracted by subsidy versus industry attracted by natural environment, local governments in the South are now thinking about their participation in local economic adjustments after the war. The need for new employment opportunities in their communities may be as great in the coming period as when depression conditions of a decade ago brought publicly sponsored industrial subsidies into full bloom. Postwar planning will be directed primarily to making these communities as attractive as possible to industry.

Standards Change

There is evidence that standards of what constitutes a favorable industrial environment are changing. It is significant to prospective manufacturers as well as to the people as a whole that per capita expenditures for local governmental services in the South are only slightly above half the national average. Plant operators weigh the advantages of special tax concessions or other privileges acquired at community expense against better protection for their property and better schools, health and recreational facilities for their employees. This is coming to be more widely recognized. For example, factors bearing directly upon local governmental services and community facilities comprise most of the items in the community inventory of industrial advantages being currently prepared in Tennessee under the auspices of the State Planning Commission. The maintenance of equitable tax administration, efficient public administration and uniform standards of public service are the essential ingredients of continuing good relations between industry and community.

Ten years ago local governmental participation in economic adjustments was viewed chiefly in terms of offers of tax immunity, free buildings and free services to plant operators. Now

(Continued on page 129)

Jamaica Gets Reform Program

Sweeping changes in municipal government proposed to strengthen democratic process, bring popular control of services; need seen to train public job candidates.

By L. C. HILL
International Union of Local Authorities

JAMAICA is on the threshold of a new era. A new constitution, based on universal suffrage, went into effect the first of the year. Plans for a more adequate scheme of local government are under way. A report on its reform has been presented to the island government for consideration.

The history of local government in Jamaica, like most other places, commences with roads. The first legislative act was an Act of Highways putting upon the vestries the responsibility of "mending and keeping clear the common highways and known broad paths within the island leading to church and market."

The growth of public management in Jamaica follows closely the English pattern. Indications are that the first governmental plan was a division of the island into a number of parishes. Fifteen parishes were created by the act of 1677, but time and circumstances altered these; at one time there were 22; now there is one corporate body for Kingston and St. Andrew and 13 parochial boards covering the rest of the island.

The transition from the early days to the present time has not been smooth; in fact it has experienced one or two rather serious upheavals. There have been instances of maladministration, neglect of duties and other serious defects which have caused the government to change its policy from time to time. This is not peculiar to Jamaica. And perhaps it can be excused more readily here than in many other places.

It is nearly three hundred years since the island first became part of the British Empire and during that time its government has been purely "colonial"; the welfare of the common man has been left mainly to those who were landowners, known colloquially as the "plantocracy." It is only a hundred years since slavery was abolished, and the same mistake was made there as elsewhere; there was no alternative plan of living put in its place, no attempt was made to teach the people how to prepare for self-government.

At present the government of the island is by a Legislative Council of fourteen elected members and fifteen official and nominated members. The latter are bound to vote as the governor directs. The governor presides at the council meeting. The franchise for electing the fourteen members is confined to men of 21 years of age and upwards who pay a ten-shilling direct tax. The women of 25 years of age can vote if they pay a similar tax and are literate. There are about 70,000 voters on the list.

The laws to be made and all financial expenditures are settled by the government before they are presented to the Council. There is a Privy

Council of nominated persons which acts in an advisory capacity, but the governor is not bound by its advice and, as the composition of the legislature shows, the governor is able to vote any proposal by using the government majority vote of the nominated and official members.

Full Suffrage Granted

The new constitution grants adult suffrage to all men and women of 21 years and upwards and that will increase the electoral roll to about 700,000. This tremendous increase in the number of voters nearly half of whom are illiterate disturbs a lot of people. As the former governor of the island, Sir Arthur Richards, expressed it on the eve of his recent departure, "the history of Jamaica is being opened at a new page upon which nothing has yet been writ."

Two houses are provided—an all-elected House of Representatives of not less than 32 members and a Legislative Council, the second chamber, of fifteen nominated members. Each will elect its own presiding officer. Policy, bills and finance will be initiated by an executive committee consisting of five elected and five nominated members with the governor possessing a casting vote, but not an original vote.

In addition to the executive committee there is an advisory council on matters of royal prerogative and civil service. The governor will be able to veto a law passed by the legislature but he must first consult his executive committee and is expected to accept its advice. The governor can declare a measure law if rejected by the legislature only if the executive committee agrees; then it must be reported to the secretary of state.

Elected members of the committee will form committees to deal with special departments such as education, agriculture and lands, transport and communications, social welfare, and general purposes. The chairmen of committees are to be members of the executive committee. This is the beginning of the ministerial system. The change is a big one and will be given a five years' trial.

There has been a demand for self-government for a long time past and now the Jamaicans have got it, many are afraid of the responsibility. The only way to make it a success is for the best men to come forward for election and to put their backs into it. Perhaps the heavy responsibilities which they will have to shoulder will make them careful. There are enough good men in the island to make it a success if they will come forward.

The British Government realized that any new form of self-government should embrace a more adequate and better defined system of local government. To prepare a scheme of reform of local government was the task given to the author by the Secretary of State for the Colonies; this has now been completed and left to the island government to adopt, alter or reject.

The first problem was to sort out the responsibilities of local government from central government, the latter body having taken care of everything in the field of government for some time past.

Believing that it is in the local

government field that men and women can practice governing themselves, a plan was devised to divide the island into over a hundred districts. These districts would comprise areas surrounding a well defined village center—the market, the post office, the church, where folk gather to talk and to barter. These centers have had a natural growth, the paths trodden through the bush and along the hillsides all converge there, and time and custom have established them.

New Local Setup

Under a plan of this nature the people who live within each district can elect a district committee composed of men and women who live amongst them and who will be interested in promoting those personal services which are needed every day. The local government functions of each district area will of course be limited because the areas will be too small and the number of people too few to undertake major services, or those functions which are "social obligations" such as the wider ranges of public health and education. The district committee will handle the personal services such as markets, street-cleaning and lighting, libraries, pounds and social amenities.

For the administration of the "social obligation services" a number of district areas will be joined together to form a municipal council. The areas of the municipal councils will conform mainly to the areas of the present parochial boards, excepting where one or two are merged. This is necessary if due regard is to be paid to the basic factors of good local government concerning size, functions, population, rateable value, community of interest, and ability to raise enough funds.

The effect of this is to reduce the number of municipal council areas to eight. The island is only 144 miles long and 49 miles at its widest point and is not much larger in area than one of the large county councils in England. Therefore, what would be a county council function in England, such as education, hospitals, and main roads, is a central government function in Jamaica. The latter functions must remain so if modern trends are to be accepted, but to bring local government into the picture it is suggested that local education, traffic and hospital committees should be appointed by the municipal authority and not, as at present, by central government departments. The present committees are merely government agents, and do not express the "voice of the people."

This has caused much anxiety in government departments. The medical officer claims that he is the right person to decide what hospitals the people should have. The author maintains that it is for the people through their elected representative to say what hospitals they want, whether the hospital services are adequate and, generally, to be constantly calling for more and more activity.

Whilst retaining a number of "all island services" it is advisable to create a properly constituted channel through which the wishes of the people can be expressed with some authority and responsibility. Further, the municipalities can help government-sponsored services in many ways other than those which the present government-appointed committees can do.

Take education as an example. The present education committees are appointed by the island government from people who are either in holy orders of one brand or another or who claim to be interested in education. The functions of these committees appear to be limited to advising government on the conditions of the schools, the attendance of children and so forth. If the municipal authorities appoint the education committees, they can do much more. Teaching is not the beginning and the end of education. Some children cannot go to school because they have not any suitable clothing, some parents cannot afford school books, some live too far away from school and many are dreadfully undernourished. If the municipalities are given a fair share of the responsibility for education they can make a useful contribution towards remedying these deficiencies; they can do so in fulfillment of their ordinary public health, public assistance, and other functions.

In one important feature the new scheme breaks with common practice. The eight municipal councils will be made up of representatives of district committees elected by the district committees. Therefore, the members of the municipal councils will not be directly elected by the voters. Taking other things into consideration, there is a better chance that the best men and women will be appointed on the municipal council by this method.

Several matters referred to in the report may be regarded by some as being outside the scope of a report on the reform of local government. Such questions are the control on an all-island basis of water supplies, transport, electricity, reforestation, etc. They are all-island in their scope and cannot adequately be handled by municipal authorities. Therefore it is suggested these services should be under the control of public corporations and not administered by the island government or local government. Anything which has to be run on commercial or business lines is safest if removed from all contacts with the vitiating, interfering, favor-seeking politicians. Once the average Jamaican gets onto the Legislative Council, the Kingston City Corporation, or a parochial board, he assumes the right to interfere in administration. Again this is not peculiar to Jamaica.

New Borough Council

One outstanding alteration in the plan is the proposal to create another borough to be called Montego Bay Borough Council. The area of the borough will be coterminous with the present Parish of St. James and it will have a mayor and a somewhat higher status than a municipal council which can boast only of a chairman. Montego Bay is a promising urban center and the idea is to create some competition with Kingston in municipal enterprise. The scheme provides for other borough councils to be created when municipal councils have proved their mettle.

Far-reaching financial proposals are also incorporated in the report. Most of the present grants to parochial boards are in the nature of "doles" and the author has substituted for them a system of grants in aid of the main services, public health and poor relief.

A rather large supplementary report has also been prepared outlining a comprehensive system of recruitment and training of Jamaican local government officers (employees).

Train Public Employees

Whatever changes take place in the system of local government, the standard of administration can never be better than the qualities of its permanent officials. Whilst it has been the practice for some time past to grant scholarships for training technicians, such as agriculturalists, doctors and scientists, it has never occurred to government to train administrators. There are, of course, a number of Rhodes Scholars both in private occupations and in government, but their choice of a career has been a personal one and largely influenced by the chances offered through personal or family connections. There is ample evidence amongst the youth of a desire to be trained and many are studying for examinations of one kind or another. But it all lacks guidance and direction, particularly in the field of administration.

There is a growing demand for Jamaicans for Jamaican jobs which is not unreasonable, although because of the way the slogan is used, it gives rise to a misunderstanding of the present position and fogs the question of efficiency and training. It also gives the impression that far more Britishers are occupying important positions than the real situation admits. Another point which the incessant demand overlooks is that a white Jamaican is just as entitled to consideration as a black one.

There is relatively a very small number of the best official jobs held by Britishers. In the secretariat there are only three non-Jamaicans; all the rest, from assistant secretaries down to the messengers, are Jamaicans and shade from near white to black. The proportions are more in favor of the Jamaicans in the larger departments and several heads of departments holding important positions, such as director of surveys, commissioner of income tax, are colored men.

The island is not large enough and the experience to be gained in any department is not wide enough to make a thorough job of training. Jamaicans must go to the United States, Canada or England for practical experience. The author has already compelled a start to be made by sending two promising young men to Syracuse University where they will be put under the excellent direction of Dean Mosher. Two have been sent to England, one to train as a municipal finance officer and the other to take his bar examination. They are serving in municipal financial and town clerks offices respectively while studying.

In the opinion of the author the work done in connection with these reports is not so important as the awakening to the importance of local government which has become fairly widespread. As an illustration of this it may be mentioned that when the present governor, Sir John Huggins, took office last November, he was given an official welcome by the mayor, aldermen and members of the Kingston City Council. In the whole of his reply to an address of welcome the word municipal was not used once and no reference was made to the work of the corporate body. Six months later, in the Governor's address to the members of the Parochial Board Association assembled at their annual meeting, he said.

"If we feel we have earned a right to self-government, let us remember that all that we have gained is the privilege and the responsibility of building a new Jamaica. You, as the representatives of our local government administration, can play a vital part in shouldering that responsibility. . . .

"It is not a question of how much better you can do the limited amount of work which has been your share up to now, but how much more can you do? To quote a well known writer: 'Local government touches the welfare of the people more closely than any other influence.' If you remember that, and at the same time keep permanently in your thoughts that the children of today are the men and women of tomorrow, you will see your duty in its proper perspective. A large proportion of the children are scattered over the rural parts of the island and it is just as important that they should be given education, good health and taught the elements of citizenship as the children of the towns. You are nearer to them than central government. You know their needs and handicaps. You can bring happiness into their lives by developing attractive villages with communal services in public health and cultural amenities.

"That, in my opinion, is the nursery of self-government. We may deny ourselves, in the future, the help of many first class citizens and capable administrators if we fail to open the door of opportunity to anyone however remote he or she may be from the urban centers of activity.

"As an association of parochial boards or municipalities you can do much to help your constituent authorities by your collective encouragement and the dissemination of your specialist knowledge of the problems and systems of local government. Leadership is essential in all things and in the future it will become more important still. Your Association should set a high standard in efficiency and personally guard the honor of the service. If the local government units, however small, can call upon their representative organization for help, that will be a great comfort to them and a stimulant to greater activity.

"As the representatives of the citizens you have been charged with a noble duty—service to others without hope of personal gain. The average citizen does not understand the intricacies of the technical problems of government, but he can assess those personal qualities which alone justify his confidence in human nature."

The Case for 'Foot-in-the-Door'

Sharp drop in unwarranted dismissals, lower "quit rate" and boost in employee morale result from new middle-of-the-road plan of the Michigan Civil Service Commission.

By **ROBERT G. McCLOSKEY**
Michigan Civil Service Commission

NO issue in public personnel administration is more fraught with controversy than the question of dismissal-appeals procedure under civil service. Employee organizations insist that the discharge of a worker should be meticulously hedged about with safeguards and restrictions. Supervisors, on the other hand, tend to advocate managerial autonomy and the "open back door." The argument in each case rests, or purports to rest, on conflicting notions of what policy best serves the public interest.

So far as this writer knows, a definitive resolution of these varying points of view has never been achieved. The reason for this is, of course, that the issue exists in that vague hinterland of human relationships where truth is always conditional and seldom measurable. The "open back door" might be nearly ideal under certain nearly ideal conditions. On the other hand, it is quite possible to imagine circumstances in which the same policy would work great harm in terms of lowered employee morale and administrative inefficiency. However much we may prefer to stress the positive rather than the negative aspects of public personnel administration, we must admit that the ghost of political jobbery still walks in many American jurisdictions, that no civil service agency has yet reached a point where it can afford to ignore its watchdog function.

While no all-inclusive general principle can be laid down, however, it is possible to record the experiences of specific agencies operating under certain conditions and to evaluate those experiences on the basis of their results. A conclusion may then be reached which will cast light on the problems of similar agencies operating under a similar complex of circumstances.

The Michigan state government was introduced to the merit system in 1937. Until then Michigan had been, governmentally, a fairly representative American state, carrying the traditional burden of nepotism, jobbery and spoils. The legislative act which created the Civil Service Commission specifically provided for an open back door and denied the commission power to reinstate employees whose dismissals were found to be unjustified. The power of the commission in dismissal cases was limited to "advising" the appointing authority and to returning employees whose dismissals were held unjustified to the "reemployment register."

Michigan's unfortunate experiences under this system are already a matter of record.[1] An investigator found that during a single nine months' period 622 employees were dismissed. Of these 220 were heard by the commission, 127 of which were determined to have been without due cause. Although these 127 were returned to the reemployment register, only 7 per cent were ever actually reemployed. The evidence seemed conclusive that the dismissal privilege was being abused by department heads (inferentially, for political reasons), that employee morale was suffering as a result, that the existing machinery was accomplishing little to rectify the situation.

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[1] See *The Open Back Door: A Case Study,* by E. H. Litchfield, the REVIEW, February 1941, p. 85.

New Policy Adopted

When the statutory Civil Service Commission was supplanted in January 1941 by a constitutional merit system, the new Commission adopted a quite different policy. The regulations listed failure to carry out duties and obligations imposed by the rules, "conduct unbecoming that of a state employee" and a below standard service rating as sufficient causes for removal. It was not implied, nor has practice indicated, that dismissal on other grounds would be deemed unwarranted. The rule did suggest, however, that discharge without *good* cause might create a strong presumption that discriminatory practices were being employed. That is, while assigning original authority in dismissals to the appointing officer, the Commission reserved the right to reverse a case when the employee could show evidence that his removal had been arbitrary and unreasonable.

This "foot in the door" variation of dismissal procedure was designed to check political, racial or religious discrimination without unduly restricting departmental discretion. Those to whom the merit system had been entrusted hoped to steer a middle course between the unlimited freedom of the open and the paralysis of the closed back door. As to how well they succeeded in this aim, the following table may be suggestive.

	1941	*1942*	*1943*	*Total*
Dismissals	258	364	463	1085
Appeals	136	137	77	350
Reinstatements	13	11	7	31

How does this record compare with the 1939-40 "open door" period? The 622 dismissals for the nine months studied at that time suggest an annual rate of 829, or 2,487 for three years, assuming, of course, that dismissals remained constant. This amounts to the annual discharge of more than 10 per cent of the total employees in the service. For the three-year period from January 1941 to December 1943, the average annual dismissal rate was, on the other hand, about 3 per cent, a significant reduction even when account is taken of the radically different employment conditions during the latter period.[2]

The difference in the number of cases found unjustified (i.e. eligible for reinstatement) is likewise striking.

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[2] No optimum dismissal rate can, of course, be established. Mosher and Kingsley found an average dismissal rate of 9 per cent for nine jurisdictions during 1932, a figure which tends to support the charge that civil service sometimes freezes employees in their jobs. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that in the fiscal year 1941-42, the rate for New York City was 3.7 and that, according to the *Monthly Labor Review* for June 1944, (p. 1305) the rate in 1943 for manufacturing industries was 3 per cent.

In the 1939-40 period, 20 per cent of the total dismissals were pronounced improper and would presumably have been reversed had the Commission possessed the power to take such action. In 1941-1943 only about 3 per cent of all dismissals were found unjustified and warranting reinstatement.

There is more to be learned from a year-to-year comparison of the 1941-1943 record. One out of every two persons dismissed brought his case before the Commission in 1941. By 1942 this ratio had fallen to almost one to three; and in 1943 only one out of every six dismissals was reviewed. A similar trend is noticeable in reinstatements. In 1941, 5 per cent of all dismissals were held to have been unjustified; in 1942 the percentage was about 3 per cent and in 1943 only 1.5 per cent, less than two dismissals in every hundred, were adjudged irregular.

The conclusions which can be drawn from such comparisons speak well for the middle-of-the-road approach to the dismissals procedure.

Unwarranted Dismissals Decrease

1. In the first place, the figures clearly suggest that unwarranted dismissals have been sharply decreased by the mere threat of Commission action. To some extent at least, it seems fair to say, the foot-in-the-door has acted as a preventive as well as a corrective. Moreover, there is reason to believe that this preventive effect has been cumulative, that, as appointing officers have become more familiar with the restrictions on their discretion laid down by the Commission, they have tended more and more to make certain in advance that their actions are justified.

2. Employee morale, that intangible but essential concomitant of a true career system, has been served by the feeling of security the foot-in-the-door provides. While no comparison with the 1939-1940 Michigan turnover rate is possible because of the present extraordinary war conditions, it is instructive to note that the 1943 "quit rate" in the Michigan civil service is well below that for private industry although industrial salaries have increased much more rapidly.

3. Neither are dismissal rates so low or reinstatement rates so high as to indicate that the operation of the machinery of state government is being hampered. White has shown how a truly closed door operated in Chicago where, in 1935, 97 employees were "acquitted" of dismissal charges, or reinstated, while only 26 dismissal cases were upheld.[3] The record in Michigan is not even remotely comparable. An appointing authority, actually confronted with an inefficient, insubordinate or undependable employee, can dismiss him with full confidence that his judgement will be upheld. No principle of government is valid at all times and in all circumstances. The case for "foot-in-the-door" appears strong when Michigan's experience is taken into account but any general conclusion must be applied with care.

Nevertheless, it seems safe to say

(Continued on page 128)

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[3] *Introduction to Public Administration*, by Leonard D. White (1939) p. 395.

The County Clerk as 'Manager'

Financial and secretarial duties of Wisconsin official thrust him into the foreground of local administration to coordinate business of otherwise headless government.

By **L. H. ADOLFSON**
Extension Division, University of Wisconsin

THOUGHTFUL students of local government have long been concerned with the problem of how best to introduce modern executive management into the traditional structure of American county government. County reorganization schemes, with all their variations from place to place, generally propose some form of "county manager" plan. In theory this is as it should be.

Unfortunately, supporters of the *status quo,* bitterly opposed to drastic reorganization of the county governing process, are in a strong position to defend their alleged prerogatives in most state legislatures. Consequently, an oblique approach to the executive problem of county government is worth consideration, particularly for the rural county. In Wisconsin a substantial integration of the administration of most counties can be achieved by encouraging, and perhaps institutionalizing, general managerial practices that are developing in the office of county clerk.

Wisconsin counties are governed under the supervisor plan in which legal authority over the governmental affairs of the county is vested in a board of supervisors. This board is composed of the chairmen of the rural towns and elected supervisors from each ward of the municipalities in the county.

Various departmental officials, such as the county clerk, treasurer, and district attorney, are elected independently of the board and draw their basic powers directly from state constitutional provisions and state legislative action. There is no official executive head. Thus, Wisconsin county government consists of more or less independent governing agencies, subject in varying degree to control by the general governing body of the county, the county board.

In so far as state-county relations permit, effective control over the general affairs of the county is exercised by the county board chairman, the committees of the board, and the county clerk, all functioning under the brooding presence of the county board as a whole. Even in the rural counties, however, the pressure of constantly more complicated tasks has created an awareness of the need for more centralized management.

Though the complexity and traditional rigidities of the county governing process have prevented clear-cut structural reorganization to meet this need, general managerial responsibility has been thrust upon the office of county clerk in many Wisconsin counties. This development has resulted from the exploitation of his financial and secretarial duties.

By state statute in Wisconsin the county clerk is the official county accountant and auditor. He maintains all general county financial books and records, pre-audits all bills for committee or board action, usually prepares the preliminary county budget, aids in controlling the budget, where control exists at all, and acts as the facilitator of the whole county financial process. On the basis of these responsibilities the county clerk may easily become the responsible financial officer of his county. Moreover, in half the counties of the state, where the volume of purchases does not warrant the creation of a separate purchasing department, the county boards have designated the county clerk as purchasing agent, in a few cases providing an additional salary for this task. All this suggests that financial and related duties have placed the county clerk squarely in the center of county administration.

Administrative Duties

The secretarial duties of the Wisconsin county clerk as clerk, or secretary, of the county board and its committees also thrust him into the center of general county administration. In this role he gathers and supplies materials for board and committee meetings, prepares agendas, advises and counsels with board members, issues the call for committee meetings (sometimes on his own initiative), sees to the publication of board proceedings and other legal notices, and in general assists in getting action on board decisions.

The clerk who fulfills the managerial potentialities of his office meets with virtually all committees and serves as the active liaison between the committees themselves and between the committees and the operating departments. Of all county officials in Wisconsin the clerk alone holds the position, at least quasi-executive in nature, from which county government by committees can be coordinated and facilitated.

In 1942 the writer made an appraisal of the effective role of the Wisconsin county clerks in the general administration of their counties, an appraisal based upon extensive field surveys which included at least one visit to each of the 71 county seats in the state. Expressed in terms of executive management, the following criteria indicate roughly the measurements applied in the appraisal:[1]

Very strong (7): The clerks in this category performed all the functions of a full county executive. They were the dominant factor in the county budget-making and budget control process; they initiated most committee action; they were regularly consulted by all other county officers, including the board chairman; and they exercised effective authority over the general administration of the county.

Strong (23): The clerks in this category were the key general administrators of their counties but fell short of full executive stature. They were active in the whole budget process; they worked closely with the board chairman and board committees; they were frequently consulted by all other county officers;

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[1] Since Milwaukee County is a large metropolitan county with governing problems markedly different from those of any other in the state, it has been omitted from the present analysis.

but while they exercised considerable effective power, they were careful to do so through the regular policy authorities—the county board, its chairman and committees.

Fairly strong (17): The clerks in this category facilitated clearly the whole county governing process, but did not play a forceful, active role. They were moderately active with the committees of the board, and performed merely a routine part in the budget process.

Weak (23): The clerks in this category were mere routine officials, with virtually no part in the budget process or in the general administration of county affairs.

On the basis of this analysis 30 county clerks in Wisconsin approximated, unofficially but none the less effectively, the position of county executive.

This marked tendency for the clerk to assume substantial direction of general county administration is a natural development of the clerk's inherent position in the county governing process. He alone knows the total financial picture of the county; and he alone comes into contact with all the board members, either individually, in committees, or in full sessions of the board. Moreover, the clerks are in constant contact with the various departments in the county court house and consequently know the day-to-day problems.

Since neither the county board nor its committees are in daily session, and the board chairman is frequently not available, department heads usually develop the habit of bringing their particular problems to the chief agent of the board, the county clerk. As a result much general administrative responsibility falls to the clerk whether he wills it or no, and the stronger clerks are able to exploit their extraordinary position to the point where they become, in large measure, unofficial county executives.

Board Chairman's Position

In a consideration of the role of the county clerk, one must not ignore the potentially strong position of the county board chairman, who is in effect the general administrator of many counties. Though the chairman of the board is a full-time official in only one county, he is paid a small monthly salary in ten counties and permitted liberal per diem expenses in many others, with the expectation that he will attend, more or less regularly, to the day-by-day general administrative affairs of the county. Where he is able and conscientious he guides the county board and its major committees, and it is to him that all department heads look for advice in the determination of departmental policies.

In contrast to the clerk, who cannot rise officially above the role of the effective facilitator of county administration, the strong board chairman is able to assume a more nearly official role of county executive. This is possible because he, as the elected chairman of the county board, represents the political majority of that board. He enjoys, therefore, an effective political position not unlike that of the British prime minister under Britain's parliamentary system of government. A chairman capable of filling this role intelligently and energetically can provide the civic leadership essential to the best interests of the county.

Unfortunately, the emergence and and continuity of strong leadership in the office of board chairman is unpredictable, for at best the office is a secondary interest to most incumbents, and its perquisites are generally not large. Nor is it possible to institutionalize easily the administrative practices of the best board chairman as is possible with the best practices in the full-time office of county clerk. Hence, assuming the present framework of Wisconsin county government, more is to be gained from centering attention upon the long-range managerial potentialities of the clerk's office than upon those of the county board chairman.

Optional Forms Asked

The Wisconsin constitution specifies that the system of county government shall be uniform throughout the state, and by judicial interpretation the supervisor setup is *the* uniform system. Frequent attempts, one of which is now pending, have been made to amend this provision of the state constitution in order to provide optional forms of county government for those counties desiring a change from the supervisor system. Even should the present "optional" amendment[2] hurdle successfully the obstacles of further legislative action and a popular referendum, it is doubtful that many rural counties would abandon their traditional form of government. Yet the problem of attaining more effective management of general county administration to meet the governmental needs of modern society remains. The most practicable escape from this dilemma for the average rural county of Wisconsin is to strengthen the central financial and secretarial position of the county clerk.

THE CASE FOR 'FOOT-IN-THE-DOOR'

(Continued from page 124)

that this principle has worked well in Michigan and with due allowances for varying conditions can be set forth as a tentative plan for action elsewhere. The success of the plan will depend to a considerable extent upon the judgment of the reviewing body in applying its flexible provisions. Or, to say the thing in a rather different way, it will depend on the understanding which is developed between the personnel board, the employees and the appointing authorities. Good sense is the universal catalyst in personnel management; no basic formula can be expected to work without it.

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[2] The so-called Daugs constitutional amendment, to remove the requirement of uniformity in county government and to empower the legislature to set up optional forms of county government, passed the 1943 legislature but must pass the present session in identical form and then be submitted to the voters of the state for ratification. See the REVIEW for October 1944, p. 484.

Contributors in Review

THE article in this issue by **L. H. Adolfson** (*The County Clerk as 'Manager'*) is based on a study made by the author in connection with his doctoral thesis on Wisconsin local government. Dr. Adolfson, a graduate of Wabash College, took his graduate work at the University of Wisconsin. He was formerly assistant professor of political science at Wisconsin, teaching in the fields of American government and local government. He is now director of the University's Extension Division.

BECAUSE of his broad experience in local government affairs, **L. C. Hill** (*Jamaica Gets Reform Program*) was a logical person for the British Colonial Office to send to Jamaica to advise on the reorganization of local government. His report on the subject was recently submitted to the Island's government. Mr. Hill was general secretary of the National Association of local Government Officers from 1909 to 1943, he is a founder and member of Council of the Institute of Public Administration (England) and member of the International Committee on Teaching and Training for Public Administration. In 1936 he was awarded a Spelman travelling fellowship to America. He is author of *The Local Government Officer* and a contributor to municipal publications in England, America, Canada, Newfoundland, South Africa, Germany and Poland. Mr. Hill is now serving as acting director of the International Union of Local Authorities.

SINCE preparing the article which appears under his name in this issue **Robert E. Lowry** (*City Subsidies to Industry Wane*) has become a lieutenant (j.g.) in the Navy. Previously Mr. Lowry was with the Tennessee Valley Authority for ten years, his last position being that of public administration analyst. His work in this connection has brought him in contact with many local officials. Mr. Lowry is a graduate of Ohio State University, with a master's degree in political science from that institution.

ANOTHER graduate of the University of Wisconsin is **Robert G. McCloskey** (*The Case for 'Foot-in-the-Door'*) who later received his M.A. in political science from the University of Michigan. At the time he prepared his article Mr. McCloskey was a research analyst on the staff of the Michigan Civil Service Commission. He is now an administrative assistant on the staff of the Governor of Michigan.

CITY INCENTIVES

(Continued from page 115)

there is more tendency to consider public works programs planned with an eye to the over-all community development and improved standards of service designed to make the community a better place in which to live and work. A new school building, a well equipped playground or a new fire station is displacing the municipal factory building as the most effective means of making the community attractive to desirable industries. Competitions among communities for better local government, more modern public facilities and higher standards of public service are forms of bidding for community developments which promote the welfare of the community, region and nation. That this fact is being recognized in the postwar planning of many southern communities is one of the most encouraging elements in the entire postwar prospect.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Congress Takes Steps to Modernize Procedure

National Research Groups Offer Many Suggestions

THE Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, appointed in December, functioning under the present Congress that convened January 3, announced at the start that it would seek the views of specialists in political science, newspaper men, and authorities on business management, in addition to those of members of Congress.

Since then there has been much discussion and formulation of specific suggestions, including a comprehensive report by the Committee on Congress of the American Political Science Association, and one by Robert Heller, business management consultant for the National Planning Association.

The first-mentioned report is based on a four-year study by ten political scientists, under the chairmanship of George B. Galloway, and contains ten recommendations designed to mitigate Congressional handicaps and remedy the defects in internal organization and operation and in the external relationships of Congress. It reflects the unanimous views of the Committee, but does not necessarily represent the opinion of the American Political Science Association, which is traditionally neutral on questions of public policy. The recommendations are as follows:

1. That Congress divest itself, because of the heavy volume of legislative business, of such work and activities as it can appropriately delegate to other agencies, including District of Columbia government affairs, the settlement of private claims and pensions, and other private and local legislation, eliminating the Private Calendar.

2. That the committees of Congress be adequately equipped with independent, qualified experts to aid them in making laws, such experts either to be attached to the committees themselves or drawn from a central pool or joint legislative staff service, or both.

3. That appropriations to the Legislative Reference Service and to the Office of Legislative Counsel be substantially increased so as to strengthen their research and legal facilities.

Modify Committee System

4. That the committee systems of both chambers be simplified by (a) eliminating the inactive committees; (b) consolidating those with overlapping jurisdictions; (c) creating twin committees in both houses; and (d) correlating them with the major areas of public policy and administration.

5. That a Legislative Council be established, to be composed of the vice president, the speaker of the house, the majority leaders in both chambers, and the chairmen of the reorganized standing committees; and that it be the duty of this Legislative Council to plan and coordinate the legislative program of Congress and to promote more effective liaison and cooperation with the executive.

6. That the reorganized standing committees also be utilized as vehicles of communication and collaboration between Congress and the corresponding administrative agencies within their respective jurisdictions; and that the heads of the major departments and administrative agencies appoint congressional secretaries who shall devote full time to liaison with their corresponding committees in Congress.

7. That the function of legislative oversight of administrative performance be entrusted by Congress primarily to the subcommittees of the House Committee on Appropriations, which should be adequately staffed to permit continuing review and evaluation of the work of the executive agencies within their respective jurisdictions.

8. That all groups, representatives of which appear before congressional committees, should register and make full disclosure of their membership, finances, etc.

Limit Service of Chairmen

9. That an automatic time limit of, say, six years be fixed upon service as chairman of a standing committee; or, alternatively, that standing committee chairmen be chosen at the beginning of each Congress by the Committee on Committees of the majority party, as they are in some of the states; and that committee chairmen be required by the standing rules to (a) call committee meetings when desired by a majority of the members; (b) report bills within ten days after the committee has taken favorable action failing which report any member of the committee could report the bill; and (c) keep a complete public record of all committee proceedings except executive sessions.

10. That the annual salaries of senators and representatives be increased to $15,000; that each member's annual allowance for clerical hire be substantially increased; and that the Civil Service Retirement Act be amended so as to make members of Congress eligible for retirement annuities on a contributory basis after long legislative service.

The conclusions of the Heller report are of somewhat similar character. They call for only about fifteen regular standing committees in each house, as compared to 33 in the Senate and 47 in the House at present; that each party have a policy committee in each house, to further coherent over-all programs. Increased research and staff facilities, including a well paid assistant to each member capable of relieving him of a variety of work, are recommended. A salary of $25,000 and liberal retirement provision for each member are suggested.

Other special points in the Heller report are: The Senate should adopt a closure rule rigid enough to prevent filibusters. Congress should discontinue irrelevant riders to bills, adopt reasonably broad rather than highly detailed appropriation bills, insure that the General Accounting Office is an effective instrument for control of executive expenditures, experiment with periods for questioning executive department heads before each house, and develop a substitute for the seniority rule for committee chairmanships.

Georgia Repeals Poll Tax

The number of states requiring payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting shrank to seven with the repeal of the tax in the state of Georgia. On February 5, the State Senate, by a vote of 41 to 30, adopted a repeal measure that had already passed the lower house and forwarded it to Governor Arnall who has strongly advocated repeal.

The Senate previously had passed a poll tax repeal measure which eliminated permanent registration and required voters to register biennially. The House restored permanent registration with an annual purge and a provision that registrars must notify all persons who have not voted in two years that their registration will be cancelled if they do not vote in four years.

Council-Manager Plan News

Mayor Mortenson of **Hartford, Connecticut,** is advocating a thoroughgoing charter revision for that city, with council-manager government as a highly desirable objective. Certain charter changes have been drafted by the corporation counsel's office, affecting the finance department and also substituting single administrators for the present welfare and police boards, but the mayor considers these revisions to be makeshifts. He has been in conference with legislative and municipal leaders of both parties and other citizens, in an effort to arrive at bipartisan agreement on charter revisions for presentation to the state legislature. A bill has been drafted to authorize the mayor to appoint a charter commission.

A movement in **Asbury Park, New Jersey,** to bring about a special election on the question of reversion from the manager plan to the commission plan, has been blocked by the passage in the state legislature of a bill requiring such a question to wait until the general election in November. The bill, introduced by Senator Haydn Proctor of Asbury Park, majority leader in the Senate, was said to be designed to give voters in the armed services the opportunity to vote on such a change, and also to save the expense of a special election. It was not considered feasible under present statutes to collect servicemen's votes on special referenda. Petitions had been circulated in the effort to obtain a special election.

An active movement for council-manager government is under way in **Burlington, North Carolina.** A civic committee of 215 members sought to have the Board of Aldermen call a special election on the question of adopting the manager plan, but the board by resolution refused, for "statistical, historical and political reasons" and because the proponents were not shown to represent 25 per cent of the qualified voters (the percentage necessary for a petition to force action). Thereupon petitions were circulated both by the civic committee, calling for an election, and by Acting Mayor Cooper, opposing an election. The committee continued to seek legislative action, but also planned to obtain 2,500 signatures to its petition, to insure the minimum of about 1,400 registered voters residing in the city limits prior to a recent extension thereof.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Chattanooga, Tennessee,** after conferring with state legislators from that city, has redrafted in some respects its bill for council-manager government in Chattanooga, for presentation to the legislature.

A committee of leading citizens of **Key West, Florida,** is campaigning in favor of the manager plan for that city. It is headed by Wallace B. Kirke, director of the Key West Housing Authority. It is functioning as a charter committee, to draft special legislation for establishment of the manager plan. State Representative B. C. Papy is expected to introduce a bill in the legislature to provide the plan for the city.

The *Herald-Tribune* of **Sarasota, Florida,** has published a series of articles by its managing editor, giving the background of the manager plan, the steps necessary in obtaining it, reasons for its adoption for Sarasota, and a symposium of citizens' opinions on the idea. A poll of the Chamber of Commerce was 311 to 7 in favor of sponsoring a study of council-manager government. Mayor E. A. Smith is reported to be in favor of the manager plan.

Following a decisive vote by the

Tampa, Florida, Chamber of Commerce for a change in the city's form of government, with preference for the manager plan, the Junior Chamber of Commerce has been active in study of possible governmental reforms. Subcommittees of the Junior Chamber's Better Municipal Government Com-Committee reported in January on various proposals; one group urged the use of the *Model City Charter* of the National Municipal League, and two others favored revision of the existing charter to provide a council of seven from districts but elected by the entire city, instead of twelve elected by districts as in the existing Board of Representatives. One of these two groups recommended the manager plan, while the other urged that it be given much consideration. On January 18 the main committee, after protracted debate, voted seven to six for the manager plan. It also unanimously favored reduction of districts to six or seven, with representatives to be voted on first by districts, the two high men in each district then to be voted on by the citizens as a whole, for five-year terms. On January 23 the better government committee of the "Senior" Chamber of Commerce unanimously endorsed the manager plan.

Dothan, Alabama, will vote March 20 on adoption of the manager plan.

Council President George Maclellan, in **Santa Barbara, California,** has proposed a city manager amendment to that city's charter. He would also make the offices of city attorney, police judge and assessor appointive instead of elective.

Negaunee, Michigan, defeated a proposed manager charter on January 29 by a vote of 1,353 to 884. While proponents of the charter issued considerable publicity and tried to get out a good vote, and there was an active and vociferous opposition, a general attitude of apathy was reported.

The **Colorado** Municipal League has prepared a legislative bill to enable cities to adopt the council-manager or the commission form of government by popular vote without the long and expensive procedure involved in the local drafting and adoption of a charter.

The **Annapolis, Maryland,** *Capital,* discussing current pleas for annexations by Annapolis urges that the city first consider governmental improvements such as were set forth in an earlier survey report, which recommended the city manager or the strong mayor form of government.

A group of citizens in **Old Town, Maine,** is asking the legislature to pass an act providing the manager plan for the city, to be voted on locally.

Dixon, California, is becoming interested in the manager plan.

Move for Home Rule Defeated in Florida

Although first reports indicated the repeal in November of the uniform charter provision in the Florida constitution, as stated in the REVIEW for January (page 32), it appears that the provision still stands. State Senator Mathews, speaking at the convention of the Florida League of Municipalities, according to the January *Florida Municipal Record,* said:

"We recently had an election in the state of Florida whereby the people were given the privilege of voting on a proposed constitutional amendment No. 6, which would have restored, secured and preserved to the people of the cities and towns of the state of Florida local self-government and home rule. This amendment was lost by approximately 2,000 votes. The fact that this amendment was defeated leaves in the constitution section 24 of article 3 which requires a uniform system of municipal government and provides that 'no special or local law incorporating cities or towns, providing for the government, jurisdiction, duties, powers and privileges, shall be passed by the legislature.' "

Support for State Leagues of Municipalities Debated

The question of adequate support, from public funds, of leagues of municipalities has recently come to the fore in Michigan and Ohio.

A suit has been under way in Kalamazoo, Michigan, brought by a former mayor of that city, in an effort to prevent it from paying an annual charge for membership in the Michigan Municipal League. The plaintiff contended that the money received by the League from its member cities has been used in part to enable league representatives to appear before legislative committees, to draft proposed legislation, and to advise and counsel individual legislators, and that, as to these and other uses, such money was not under the control of the contributing city.

In Ohio the League of Municipalities is not supported from public funds, and the *Dayton Herald* points out the need of such support. It states: "The present so-called State League of Municipalities cannot become a real league of cities until the state legislature passes enabling legislation, with the final approval of the governor, which would permit municipalities to join the organization and pay their proportionate share of the operating cost for year-round activities of fact-finding, information and mutual aid." The editors assert that, in contrast to leagues of municipalities in 41 other states, the Ohio organization is merely "a league of municipal officials who are sufficiently interested in promoting the welfare of their local governments that they contribute from their own pockets to the maintenance of an organization for occasional consultation on common problems." Hope is held out that Governor Lausche will support a move to permit cities to pay league dues, although opposition of certain rural and business interests is foreseen.

Change in State Fealty Sought for Isolated Island

A movement is under way for the transfer of Fishers Island, New York, to the state of Connecticut. This small island is under the jurisdiction of Suffolk County, Long Island, but is much nearer Connecticut. To reach the county seat in winter a long journey through Connecticut to New York City and then out on Long Island is necessary; in the summer a ferry provides access.

New Union Contract Made in Philadelphia

The City Council of Philadelphia has approved a new agreement between the city and a local council of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL) regarding hours and working conditions for more than 5,000 per diem employees in the Public Works Department. Like the superseded contract, made in 1940, it does not mention specific wage rates. The chief changes are as to overtime, liberalizing sick leave with pay, and adding another holiday (Good Friday). According to the International City Managers' Association, union and city officials believe that the overtime change, under which time-and-one-half will be paid only after an employee has worked 44 hours in a work week, will greatly reduce absenteeism, which in 1944 averaged 248 workers per day for employees under the old contract. The latter permitted overtime pay for the excess above eight hours any work day.

The agreement also recognizes the union as sole bargaining agent for its members, prohibits discrimination between union and nonunion employees, prohibits strikes, allows double time for Sundays and holidays, gives two weeks' paid vacation after a year's service, and provides that the personnel rules of the city apply as to discharge and suspension but that the union or employee can discuss the matter in accordance with grievance procedure set forth in the contract.

New York Village and Township May Consolidate

Massena, New York, scene of huge aluminum production, is a village within a town (township) of the same name. The town was organized in 1802 and the same offices created then exist today. The village, incorporated more recently, has experienced rapid development. Now the merger of village and town are contemplated to eliminate duplication in town and village offices and duties, increase efficiency in local government, and strengthen administration in the interests of the citizens of the entire community.

Plans Advanced for Municipal Report Exhibit

The Town and City Reports Committee of the American Institute of Graphic Arts has tentatively set the end of September, in New York City, as the time and place for its exhibition of town and city reports. It had previously been hoped that the showing would be held in April. A jury of three is to be chosen by the committee to make selections based on typographical excellence. Professor Phillips Bradley of Queens College (New York City) and Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary of the National Municipal League and acting editor of the REVIEW, who are members of an advisory committee, will serve as jurors for judging the content of the typographic selections.

Awards Given for Maine Town Reports

The 1944 Maine Town Report Competition resulted in first awards being given to the following towns in various population groups, designated here by the upper limit for each group: 250, Upton; 500, Acton; 750, Castle Hill; 1,000, New Portland; 1,500, Gray; 2,000, East Millinocket; 3,000, Oakland; over 3,000, Houlton. Two lesser awards were given in each group. There were over 450 entries.

Uniform State Unemployment Compensation Maximum Urged

The Council of State Governments has recommended that the 44 state legislatures meeting this year revise their unemployment compensation laws to bring benefit payments up to a maximum of $20 a week for a maximum of 26 weeks. Such action would sustain an adequate standard of living for workers and their families through a reasonable period of reconversion, and minimize the deflationary effects of unemployment, the council said in a report on *Unemployment Compensation in the Postwar Period.*

One-teacher Schools in Kansas Drastically Reduced

In the state of Kansas, which is exceeded only by Illinois and Missouri in the number of separate school units, it is estimated that 2,220, or 30 per cent, out of a total of 7,220 schools in organized one-teacher districts are closed this year, according to Camden Strain, assistant director of the Research Department of the Kansas Legislative Council, writing in the *Kansas Government Journal.* Twelve years ago 269 such schools were closed, or 3.7 per cent of a total of 7,297 one-teacher districts. The number of such districts has decreased hardly more than one per cent in the period, however, in the absence of legislation directed to reorganization of school districts.

About two-thirds of the districts not now maintaining schools have sent their pupils to graded school centers, and one-third to adjacent one-teacher districts.

The number of one-room schools in the United States is reported to have declined from 189,227 in 1920 to 113,600 in 1940.

The Kansas Legislative Council has formulated a plan for comprehensive reorganization of school districts in the state. It provides for appointment by county commissioners of school reorganization committees of five nonteachers, in each county, to make a survey and prepare a reorganization plan, in four years.

Fewer Wisconsin School Districts

In Wisconsin, in contrast to Kansas, the actual number of school districts has radically decreased. The number of elementary school districts at present, 6,356, represents a net decrease of 1,063 since the 1936-37 school year; 1,065 districts were eliminated and only two added. Of the present number some 800 are not now conducting schools. The heavy reduction in districts is attributed by the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance to the power held by the state superintendent of public instruction; under a 1939 law he can on his own initiative consolidate districts of less than $100,000 valuation by attaching them to adjoining districts, thus saving in costs and making for better administration and instruction. Much remains to be done, by new legislation, especially in revamping districts so as to eliminate or reduce the number without schools.

Researcher's Digest

R. I. Expenditure Council Studies Local Finance

Suggests Uniform Budgeting, Accounting under State Agency

THE latest publication of the **Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council,** *Local Finances in Rhode Island,* was prepared by A. E. Buck of the staff of the Institute of Public Administration. That organization, at the request of the Council, has been conducting a series of surveys of state and local government in Rhode Island, dealing largely with intergovernmental relations. In publishing the study the Council hopes to "stimulate public opinion to the point where it will serve to strengthen the effectiveness of local governments."

Discussed in the report are such questions as these: "Are the cities and towns properly organized for the discharge of their financial responsibilities? Do they plan and control their expenditures effectively? Do they account adequately for the moneys entrusted to them by the taxpayers? Are their debts consistent with their resources? A "Program of Fiscal Reconstruction" completes the discussion with these recommendations:

1. Reorganization and integration of the fiscal offices and agencies in each of the city and town governments;

2. Establishment of a central agency in the state to formulate, promulgate and administer a general fiscal policy for all local governments;

3. Systematic budgeting and debt supervision, all local governments to follow a uniform practice in budgeting, bond issues to be approved by the central agency before application made to legislature;

4. Uniform accounting, comprehensive reporting and competent annual postauditing to be emphasized;

5. Establishment of a uniform fiscal year for all local units with which the appropriation year should be made to coincide.

Locating a State Capital —Tale of Pioneer Days

The competition and discussion which raged over establishing a state capital is the theme of *A History of the Location of the State Capital in South Dakota,* prepared by John Elmer Dalton, superintendent of schools in Beemer, Nebraska. The story has been published by the **Governmental Research Bureau of the University of South Dakota** as its fourteenth report.

According to Mr. Dalton, the struggle between various towns for the honor of becoming the state capital lasted from 1857 to 1904, when the populace voted for Pierre, which had won all contests from 1889 on, defeating the aspirations of Mitchell. At one time a governor suggested the appointment of a commission to locate a new site for the capital in the town offering the greatest inducement in cash and land. This suggestion was put into action by the legislature. The bill stipulated that the commission was empowered to accept bids from any aspiring town that would guarantee $100,000 in cash and a clear title to 160 acres of land. And, of course, the railroads had a finger in the pie.

Massachusetts State-Collected Taxes under the Microscope

"The interchange of funds between units of government—state, county, town and city—is one of the most confusing and least understood aspects of public finance in Massachusetts." This is the reason for *Distribution of State-Collected Taxes Shared with Cities and Towns in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* which the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations** has published in an effort to clarify the subject.

The study covers payments from the proceeds of five state-collected taxes shared with cities and towns. It is its purpose to "provide a clear picture of the impact of these distributions on real estate taxation, to show fluctuations in dollar amounts from year to year, and to show the effect upon different types of cities and towns of the formulas upon which the distributions are made." The fourteen municipalities used as samples are Boston, Worcester, Springfield, New Bedford, Lowell, Lynn, Brookline, Pittsfield, West Springfield, Newburyport, Ludlow, Longmeadow, Sturbridge and Stockbridge. They were selected as most likely to bring to light the variations in the distribution of the taxes.

"Lame Duck" Appointments Continue in Boston

"Lame Duck" tactics evidently do not exist on the federal level only. The **Boston Municipal Research Bureau,** in an item entitled "Lame Duckery Again," points out that despite criticism over the years Boston mayors at the close of their terms continue the practice of making last-minute appointments and granting salary increases after election day. Increases in the city's payroll at the end of 1944, when Mayor Tobin left office, amounted to $1,478,189. The largest previous increase was $202,925 under Mayor Mansfield in 1937. Mayor Tobin made a total of 4,578 salary increases which amounted to $888,387 and 278 transfers and appointments, which added $589,802 to the payrolls.

In 1939 the legislature enacted a law which "affords a desirable check upon midnight appointments and salary grabs under the regular mayoral election schedule," says the Bureau. "It provides that city appointments made by a mayor after a new mayor has been elected shall terminate on January 31 following. Salary increases, except regular step-rate increases, likewise lapse on January 31." But Mayor Tobin's election as Governor reveals a loophole. The law fails to provide for the automatic nullification of appointments and salary increases made between a mayor's election to a state or federal office and his subsequent resignation.

Funds, Boards, Tort Liability, Auto Licenses Investigated

Among recent reports by the Research Department of the **Illinois Legislative Council** is *The Suability of the State,* wherein is discussed the much debated theory that "the King can do no wrong." Data for all the states are presented. The effect of constitutional provisions is considered, notes on claims procedure for the states presented, and courts of claim in Illinois, Michigan, New York and West Virginia are described. Another chapter is devoted to state liability in tort. The report concludes that there is no general scheme of tort liability, that it varies from practically zero to almost the same liability as that of a private individual.

Two additional reports of the Illinois Council deal with *Motor Vehicle License Plates,* covering their size, composition, lettering, etc., in the various states; and *Control of Tuberculosis by the State,* which presents the program of a number of states as well as that of Illinois.

Two reports, in addition to those listed in this department last month, have been issued by the **Nebraska Legislative Council.** Both were prepared by the Council's director of research, Dr. Roger V. Shumate.

The first deals with *The Collection, Appropriation and Administration of Cash Funds in Nebraska.* The study grew out of a resolution by the 1943 legislature that the Legislative Council be directed to make a study of fees received by the various state departments and their disposition.

In its report the Council states that it has "attempted to classify the principal types of charges and collections which go to make up the cash funds, and to analyze briefly the legal and administrative problems relating to these funds. In so doing, it is hoped we have presented information which will enable the legislature to determine for itself the policy which it wishes to pursue with respect to the deposit of these funds and the appropriation thereof."

The second report is entitled *The Nebraska State Board of Agriculture and the Nebraska State Historical Society.* It covers the organization and functions of these two boards, their financing, legal status, etc. The practices of other states are also investigated. In its conclusions the Council raises a series of questions which should be considered by the legislature in dealing with the boards and makes suggestions on their possible integration into the state administrative setup.

Consolidation

Consolidation of three inspectional offices which are now relatively independent—electrical, plumbing and building, and zoning—is recommended for Providence by the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau.** These services cost the city 23 cents per capita while St. Paul, says the Bureau, with a consolidated department of inspections, spends 16 cents per capita.

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Modernizing the Courts

The **Cleveland Citizens League** has analyzed the cost of the administration of justice in Cuyahoga County. It states: "That the work is not being done efficiently, economically, and to the satisfaction of the public, is common knowledge." The discussion points out the advantages and need for a "strong, single, centralized county court, adequately staffed."

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Salary Survey

"Should a plan for the payment of overtime be considered independently of the Joint Salary-Wage Survey which has practically been completed?" asks the **Citizens Bureau of Milwaukee.** The Bureau calls attention to the fact that the Common Council seems to be preparing to adopt an overtime payment plan without waiting for the recommendations of the survey now almost completed by the Technical and Policy Committees representing the five units of local government within the city.

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School Enrollment

Several local research bureaus have been checking on school enrollment, comparing present figures with those of other years. The **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research** publishes a table giving the average number of pupils in Rochester schools as of September for the years 1920-21 to 1944-45. Total figures for all schools show a decrease from 38,000 to 34,000.

Looking in the opposite direction, the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** attempts to forecast the number of pupils for which the city must provide as far into the future as 1956. Conclusions are based on birth records with some allowance for such factors as economic conditions etc.

A study of school enrollment trends has been made by the **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council** as an aid to considering the disposal of certain abandoned elementary school buildings by the Board of Education.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Make Plans Now for Citizenship Day

Two Handbooks Available for Citizen Program Committees

OBSERVANCE of a national Citizenship Day, frequently called "I Am an American Day," has been growing each year since its inception in 1939. The third Sunday of May (May 20 this year) has been set aside by Congressional resolution for the occasion and it is annually proclaimed by the President.

For those interested in planning an appropriate program *Community Recognition of Citizenship—A Handbook for "I Am an American Day" Committees* may be secured from the United States Government Printing Office. This helpful pamphlet was prepared by B. C. Harrington, specialist in educational services of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Another excellent source of material, which provides plans for training in citizenship previous to ceremonies of induction, is *Citizenship Training and Induction for New Voters—A Guide to the Wisconsin Citizenship Program,*[1] issued by the University of Wisconsin. The plan described was originated by Dr. R. J. Colbert of the University and first put into operation by him in Manitowoc County, Wisconsin. It is designed to acquaint new voters with their government and with the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. Citizenship Day ceremonies climax a study period in which the new voters—both those just coming of age and those recently naturalized—have participated.[2]

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[1] Copies may be secured by writing to the National Municipal League.

Springfield, Ohio, Group Tackles City Problems

During the past year the **Greater Springfield and Clark County Association** (Ohio) has set up 23 separate projects for study, each under the auspices of a committee which agreed to study its particular problem and present recommendations to the Association's Board of Directors for action.

During 1944 the Association circulated a membership blank on the back of which had been listed about twenty suggested city improvements which the Association might seek to have made. New members were asked to check the five in which they were most interested.

A Water Project Committee has made its report as to where the city may obtain additional water. The report includes the cost of drilling and of a filtration plant, the manner of procedure as to mortgage revenue bonds, etc. This report will be the basis of the Association's willingness to sponsor action which will furnish the city with twelve to fifteen million additional gallons of water daily. Another committee studied sewer needs—both sanitary and storm.

For five years the city attempted to correct a congested traffic situation. Finally, the Association appointed a Traffic Committee and within five months the City Commission had made all changes which it recommended. The Association donated $1,700 to the city to make it possible to secure the latest electrical traffic appliances.

At the insistence of the Association, downtown streets and alleys are now cleaned every night—a rotary sweeper and power flusher working after 3 A.M. All cars must be removed before that time. Four merchants in each block are held responsible for the condition of sidewalks and gutters in their respective areas.

The Association has placed 90 metal drums lined with canvas bags on the sidewalks for scrap paper. The containers are labelled "Help keep our city clean. Greater Springfield Association." The group, in cooperation with the city paint department, has also reconditioned 3,000 residential signs.

The Association has organized a Demobilized Veterans Service. All groups in the Springfield area are cooperating, including the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., draft boards, United States Reemployment Service, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, the U. S. O. and the American Red Cross. There is a paid executive secretary—the only paid staff member of the Association. The Service provides free legal and medical advice, free insurance advice, vocational training and guidance. It places returning veterans in appropriate work or advises further training in specialized courses. It has been instrumental in changing the high school's curriculum to meet practical needs.

The Association has started a housing project for colored people in cooperation with the Federal Housing Agency. It has initiated an extensive park and recreational program.

The Association has found no difficulty in financing its many undertakings. It has several thousand members at the nominal dues of $1 per year. Manufacturing and business establishments contribute substantially to the work. As of January 1, with all bills paid, there was $15,000 in the treasury.

George M. Winwood, Jr., *President*

Greater Springfield and Clark
County Association

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[2] See "Citizenship Day in Manitowoc," by S. V. Norton, the Review, July 1939.

Rochester Takes a Critical Look at Itself

A series of circumstances have combined to make possible the preparation of the recently published *Rochester —A Study in Civic Values.*

First, the will of Henry T. Noyes, a public-spirited citizen of Rochester, New York, contained a bequest to the University of Rochester the income of which was to be used "to promote interest in city and regional planning in the broadest interpretation of those terms." The income of this fund over its first two years was used to finance the study.

Second, a group of civic organizations and individual citizens were keenly aware of the necessity for such a study "to present important facts and conclusions about Rochester to its citizens."

Third, the University considered it an important function to contribute to the welfare of the community and therefore welcomed the opportunity to coordinate funds and interest for civic betterment.

Cooperating with the University were the (then) City Planning Board and the Citizens Planning and Housing Council and numerous individuals. The latter organization made available its office space, files and secretarial staff.

The first three chapters of the study cover the Tax Problem and Real Property, Other Factors Affecting Real Property and Some Suggestions for a Cure.

Included in the last-named are: (1) a broadening of the tax base—"more of Rochester's revenues must be derived from sources other than real property"; (2) proper use of new revenues —"new revenues should be marked for debt reduction and thus ultimately for tax reduction," also "the city should acquire areas for redevelopment and make them available to private enterprise at costs that will encourage investment"; (3) the power to plan—"A master plan for the city, if made effective, could create areas for neighborhood development even exceeding the appeal of the towns. The development of such a plan—a creation of the power in the new Planning Commission to put it into effect—is the most important single step in this program"; (4) citizen concern—"without community understanding of its problems and without pressure to cure them, Rochester will drift slowly but surely toward the deterioration which it now faces."

The last chapter, Window Shopping, is a word picture of a future ideal Rochester with the admonition that "Rochester can be changed *if its citizens will it.*"

Tables present debt figures, per capita operating expenses, assessed valuations, etc. Maps and charts depict proposed development areas.

Program for Citizen Training Part of "Boston Contest" Plan

Included in the plan for the government of Metropolitan Boston which won the first prize of $5,000 in the recent "Boston contest"[1] is a proposal for citizenship training and citizen participation in local government affairs. The plan was drawn up by Dr. Albin R. Goldschmeid and is set forth as follows:

"That civic adult education will be extended greatly in the postwar period is a foregone conclusion. We recommend a plan which is based on the conviction that true 'community education' can be achieved through actual civic participation in matters of community administration and not merely by talking about civic responsibilities nor by confining civic action to the casting of votes. It propounds 'learning by doing,' and claims that this method should apply to civic adult education just as it has become the leading principle in 'progressive education.'

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[1] See "Metropolitan Organization Stressed in Boston Contest," the REVIEW, January 1945, p. 30.

"Community education comprises under this plan two main phases, a preparatory phase and the phase of actual citizen participation:

"A. Preparatory Phase: The universities of the area shall offer a community specialized training program, similar to the Army Specialized Training Program that had been conducted for war training of soldiers. Enrollment would be open, free of charge, to civic volunteers, who would pledge for civic volunteer service within a certain part of their leisure time for a limited period. The remuneration for the institutes offering this program would be provided by the community.

"B. Phase of Actual Citizen Participation: The civic volunteer, after satisfactory conclusion of his short preparatory training, would be assigned to his specific duty within the limits of the obligation he had incurred.

"Responsibility for the realization of this plan, and for the coordination of the volunteers' work with actual requirements would rest with a 'Headquarters for Community Education.' This center would establish contact with all local governments of the area, and would scrutinize with them suitable projects which, either for lack of appropriations or for any other reasons, cannot be furthered within the existing framework of the local administration to the extent that would be desirable in the public interest. Possibilities in this respect are as many and as wide as is the discrepancy between actual and desirable achievements in all fields of public service, such as supervision, planning, fact-finding, and many other projects of community organization.

"This 'community education' would achieve the following ends:

"1. It would open a new field of instruction and education to colleges, universities, and other schools of the area;

"2. It would train large numbers of volunteers in fields of local administration, and thus would raise the general effectiveness of public administration;

"3. It would elicit on a large scale civic responsibility and that type of unselfish cooperation that is as badly needed in peacetime as it has proven its worth in the war emergency."

Here and There

Watching the Legislatures

Civic groups are finding it important to keep a close check on the work of their legislatures. The **Minneapolis Civic Council** and the **Seattle Municipal League** both have observers at their state capitals. Rudolph Lee, manager of the former's Legislative Service Office, reports weekly from St. Paul in a column published in *Civic Council Activities.* C. A. Crosser, executive secretary of the Seattle Municipal League, is spending most of his time at Olympia from where he reports weekly to the *Seattle Municipal News.*

The **Indiana Taxpayers Association** is issuing a weekly *Legislative Bulletin* which lists bills introduced and the committees to which they have been assigned. One of the bulletins reported at length on Governor Ralph F. Gates' inaugural address. The **Civic League of Chicago** is also reporting to its members on new bills.

Mimeographed reports on its legislative program have been issued to the newspapers by the **Citizens Union of the City of New York.** Subjects discussed include administration of justice, selection and removal of judges, civil service and pensions, election law, multiple dwelling law, veterans, schools, state taxation and finance, discrimination in employment, and housing and planning.

Training legislative aides is the practical program of the **Connecticut League of Women Voters.** According to *The Connecticut Voter* a meeting held during January was devoted to a discussion of "the League's program, lobbying and the passage of a bill through the legislature under the new procedure." At a later meeting board members presented bills concerning state aid to education, election law reform, social welfare and the labor relations act. Aides were assigned for further training to the committee chairmen in whose work she was most interested. It is hoped each aide will not only work on her specialty but will also do some general coverage of the legislature for the League.

Lists of state legislators, with pertinent data, have been published by *The Oregon Voter*—which devotes a full issue to "Who's Who in the 1945 Legislature," the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance** and the **Nevada Taxpayers Association.**

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Postwar Program

Despite its temporary setback in securing a modern manager charter for the county,[1] the **Montgomery County (Maryland) Civic Federation** continues its labors for the county's welfare. A recent report, prepared by the Federation's Committee on Public Finance and Budget, deals with "Financing Montgomery County's Postwar Program." It suggests that an integrated program be prepared, with the proposed cost of each project set forth. "This program should then be fitted into the budget for Montgomery County in order that the taxpayers may know how much of the proposed cost can be met from existing and contemplated revenues and how much must be met by bond issues." The report recommended that a long-term budget covering the county's needs for public improvement projects and their financing be prepared to embrace a period of at least five years, and that this capital budget plan should be printed and distributed for thorough public discussion before action is taken.

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Prizewinner

The **New Jersey Taxpayers Association** has announced the winner of the contest for a slogan to be used in connection with the organization's "Taxpayers Meeting of the Air." She is Mrs. Loretta C. Higgins of Hillsdale, New Jersey. The slogan, "Don't be lax—learn the facts—you'll pay less tax," won for Mrs. Higgins a $100 war bond, presented by A. R. Everson, executive vice-president of the Association.

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Sewage

"Drinking Too Much Sewage" is the suggestive title with which the **Chicago City Club's** *Bulletin* heads a warning by its Board of Governors. The statement calls attention to the danger in the continued pollution of Chicago's drinking water and the need for increased diversion from the lake.

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War Memorials

A poll of families of men who have given their lives in the present conflict has been undertaken by the **Municipal League of Toledo** to determine their views on a fitting war memorial.

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[1] See "Machine Beats County Charter," by John F. Willmott, the REVIEW, December 1944, p. 53.

The Youth Betterment Committee of the **Phoenix Citizens' Good Government Council** has adopted a resolution which says, in part:

> We, the Youth Betterment Committee of the Citizens' Good Government Council of the City of Phoenix, in formal assembly, do hereby rededicate ourselves to the task of helping the soldier in peace as in war and respectfully advocate, in commemoration to the men of World War II, the adoption of living and practicable community structures and appropriate scholarships and endowments, which assure by their service perpetual recollection of those who rest in endless sleep, both near and far.

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Strictly Personal

The **Citizens' Committee on Veteran Preference,** sponsored by 23 civic, professional and business groups in New York State, has announced the election of William Dean Embree, president of the New York County Lawyers' Association, as its chairman.

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Planning Bibliography

The two-page mimeographed bibliography on "Organization and Programs for Citizen Planning Groups," issued by the American Society of Planning Officials (1313 East 60th Street, Chicago), should be a welcome addition to the files of all citizen groups interested in their community's future. The price is ten cents.

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With the Women Voters

The **Hamilton County League of Women Voters** has announced its support of the movement for adoption of the council-manager plan in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Mrs. Joseph Lane, president of the League, said the League will conduct a series of group study meetings.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Norris, Tennessee, Holds Ninth P. R. Election

Chooses Nine Members of Advisory Town Council

THE TVA town of Norris, Tennessee, held its ninth proportional representation election on February 3, 1945. Each year since 1936 the citizens of Norris have selected a town council of nine members by the Hare system of proportional representation. As pointed out in previous issues of this REVIEW,[1] Norris is an unincorporated town owned and operated by the Tennessee Valley Authority. The town council possesses no powers of its own but acts in an advisory capacity to the town manager, an employee of TVA.

Although only fourteen candidates were placed in nomination for the nine positions on council, there was considerable interest in the election this year. The total vote cast exceeded by about 45 per cent the vote cast last year. Only two invalid votes were cast, although several ballots became exhausted before the required number of candidates were elected due to the practice of some voters to indicate only one or two choices.

Two candidates received more than enough first-choice votes to be elected; the first-choice votes of one candidate were more than double the quota required for election. A distribution of the surplus ballots resulted in the election of two additional candidates. The fifth member of the council was elected with the elimination of the lowest ranking candidate. The sixth candidate was not elected until three more candidates had been eliminated and their ballots redistributed. The remaining members were of course chosen when the fifth and last candidate was eliminated.

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[1] See, for example, March 1943, p. 160; April 1944, p. 214.

More than 80 per cent of the voters saw their first choices elected to the council, whereas almost 92 per cent of the ballots were effective in the selection of the candidates. All but one of the nine highest candidates in terms of first-choice ranking were finally elected, but of course not in the order of first-choice standings. For example, the fifth member chosen stood eighth in terms of first-choice ranking. The candidate who stood seventh in terms of first-choice votes was not elected whereas the candidate rated eleventh in terms of first-choice votes became the ninth member of the council.

Of the nine members elected to council, two are members of the outgoing council; a third member of the outgoing council failed of re-election. Two of the members are women. Four TVA employees, an employee of the Bureau of Mines, two employees of private enterprise, a housewife, and the town physician make up the new council. This council will advise with management on rental and maintenance policies with respect to housing and other properties, maintenance and repair of streets and paths, recreation, and other community facilities. The council will also be concerned with relationships between the community and the school, and with Anderson County.

M. H. Satterfield, *Chairman*
Norris Election Commission

P. R. in Prize-winning Plan for Greater Boston

Among the proposals made in the plan for the government of the Boston metropolitan area which won first place in the "Boston Contest,"[1] was that for the use of proportional representation in connection with the manager plan. The report suggests that: "The governmental structure of the Metropolitan Authority should be of the city manager type. In other words, a representative council, possibly elected on the basis of proportional representation, with the existing communities as electoral units (federal principle) would choose and appoint a business manager, well paid ($25,000) and chosen on the basis of an open competition."

The prize-winning proposal called for a "Metropolitan Authority." It was submitted by a group of six men headed by Carl J. Friedrich, professor of government at Harvard University.

This contest for a long range regional plan for the Boston area attracted wide attention because of the prominence of its sponsors and participants. The sponsors included the Boston Society of Architects, Boston University, Boston Chamber of Commerce, Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Coos Bay, Oregon, to Hold First P. R. Election in 1946

Although the new P. R.-manager charter adopted by Marshfield, Oregon, which at the same time changed its name to Coos Bay, went into effect in January, the city will not hold its first P. R. election until 1946. The council and mayor elected in November under the old system will continue to serve until that time. The charter prescribes the Hare system not only for the election of the council but also for that of the mayor.

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[1] See "Metropolitan Organization Stressed in Boston Contest," the Review, January 1945, p. 30.

British Liberals Ask P. R. for Local Elections

The Liberal party of Great Britain has published a report of one of its committees on *Local Government Reform*[1] in which one of the reforms advocated is the use of proportional representation for the election of local councils and of aldermen by the members of the councils. The following are excerpts from the report:

"There is no doubt that considerable apathy exists with regard to the election of local government bodies. The interest in the local council depends to a large extent upon the reports in the local press. It cannot add either to the popularity or efficiency of local government if all the members of the council consist of the representatives of one party irrespective of the minority vote, as was the case in 1931 in many of the London boroughs under the present system of voting.

"Better and more representative councils would be obtained and more interest in their election were the principle of proportional representation adopted for the election of councillors. The same method should be followed for the election of aldermen. This would prevent the scandal of a party using their majority to monopolize the aldermanic bench. Proportional representation would enable minorities to be represented and ensure the return of a core of good representatives not necessarily party nominees, and would create a much greater interest in elections."

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[1] *Local Government Reform—Proposals of a Committee of the Liberal Party.* Liberal Publication Department, 8 Gayfere Street, London, S.W. 1, December 1944. 16 pp. 4d.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

U. S. Provides Aid for Postwar Highways

Urban Areas Included in Program for First Time

SPACE considerations last month prevented more than the bare mention of enactment, in December 1944, of an appropriation of $1,500,000,000 to provide the federal government's share of a three-year highway improvement program. The law contains several provisions which make it of special interest.

First of all, it is to be noted that while the law provides for federal grants of $500,000,000 annually for the first three postwar years, to be matched on a 50-50 basis by the states, $100,000,000 of the first year's apportionment is to be made available immediately for planning and design. Otherwise, no part of the grants shall be used to pay costs incurred under any construction contract entered into before the beginning of the first postwar fiscal year. The first postwar fiscal year is stated to be the fiscal year which ends on June 30 following the date proclaimed by the president as the termination of the war emergency, or following the date specified similarly by concurrent resolution of the two houses of Congress, whichever is earliest.

A second feature is a departure from the long-established formula of apportionment based on one-third population, one-third area, and one-third highway mileage. A part of the grant is, for the first time, earmarked for highways in urban areas, which are defined as municipalities or other urban places of 5,000 population or over. The $500,-

000,000 annual apportionment will be distributed as follows:

For projects on the federal-aid highway system, apportioned on the basis of one-third population, one-third area, and one-third rural post road mileage, $225,000,000;

For projects on secondary or feeder roads, apportioned on the basis of one-third rural population, one-third area, and one-third rural post road mileage, $150,000,000; and

For projects on the federal-aid system within urban areas, apportioned on the basis of urban population (places of 5,000 and over), $125,000,000.

A third feature of the legislation is that while in general the states must match the grants on a 50-50 basis, several exceptions are provided. Federal participation in the cost of acquiring rights-of-way is limited to 33 1/3 per cent, and a rather involved formula is provided for grade crossing elimination projects. Under this provision all costs, including land, could be assessed against the federal share but with not more than 10 per cent of such funds being available for projects of this character. In addition, provision is made for assessing railroads for benefits resulting from grade crossing elimination.

Congressman Would Tax Interest on Local Revenue Bonds

According to press dispatches, a bill has been introduced in the House of Representatives to make subject to the federal income tax interest on public revenue bonds issued after January 1, 1945. The bill was introduced by Representative Carlson of Kansas.

The Carlson bill, which is H. R. 2014, and was referred to the Ways and Means Committee, would make taxable the interest on obligations of a state, territory, or any political subdivision thereof "when such interest derives from bonds issued on or after January 1, 1945, with respect to a public utility owned or operated by or for the benefit of a state, territory, or any political subdivision thereof, where the revenues of such utility are pledged as security for such utility's bonded indebtedness, or the rates and charges are agreed to be maintained in amounts adequate to pay such bonded indebtedness under a covenant or other agreement for such purpose, enforceable, in either case, by or in behalf of private holders of its bonds or other evidences of debt."

While the avowed purpose of this provision is to make interest on municipal bonds of the revenue type subject to the federal income tax, it would in fact serve to greatly hinder the financing of improvements and extensions to many existing municipal public service enterprises and to make difficult and expensive (or even impossible) the acquisition of new enterprises by cities. This is because, in many situations, legal limitations on the debt-incurring and taxing power of municipalities make it impracticable or impossible to use the general lien obligation (bond eligible for property tax support) for service enterprise financing, so that revenue bonds must be depended on, while in other situations the pledged-revenue device permits financing at a far lower interest cost to the city than would otherwise be possible. The revenue bond, it is not too much to say, has permitted many communities to enjoy the benefits of public ownership where public ownership would not otherwise have been possible, and there is every reason for believing that enactment of the Carlson bill would greatly handicap many cities in acquiring and expanding their public service enterprises.

It is of course evident that revenue bonds secured by earnings of public service enterprises will net their holders more than will utility corporation bonds, even with the latter generally carrying a higher rate of interest, because of the tax exemption feature attaching to the revenue bonds. This is true also, however, of full faith and credit bonds issued by municipalities and other governmental agencies, and it is reflected in a lower interest cost to the public bodies than is paid by private borrowers. In the case of public service enterprises, the lower interest cost under municipal ownership must in fact be numbered among the various advantages to the public, and a move which would discriminate against revenue bonds as compared with the treatment accorded general lien bonds eligible for tax support could rightly be interpreted—regardless of the motives of the sponsor of the present bill—as another move to obstruct and make more difficult municipal acquisition and expansion of public service enterprises. In other words, if the tax exemption feature of state and local bonds is to be removed, let the removal be equitable and not in a shape to discriminate against one particular exercise of the powers of local government.

The recent decisions of the federal courts upholding the immunity from income taxation of interest on the revenue bonds of the Port of New York Authority and the Tri-Borough Bridge Authority rested essentially on the present statutory exemption of these agencies as governmental subdivisions, the courts having refused to go on to an examination of the constitutional questions which might be involved.

As pointed out in these columns,[1] the courts in these cases and in other cases the last several years have refused to be made a party to the effort to tear local government into a myriad of unconnected parts and have instead insisted on the point of view that local government is to be regarded as a rounded entity drawing its revenues from a variety of sources and performing a variety of services, some of which are not to be segregated as non-governmental merely because they are proprietary in nature or are supported from revenues other than the general property tax. Now apparently the educational process must be extended to the Congress, or at least a part thereof.

Detroit Utility Tax Voided by Court

Detroit's efforts to offset allegedly high rates to gas and electric consumers by imposing an excise tax on the utility companies was held unconstitutional on February 6, 1945, by the Circuit Court at Detroit, according to press dispatches. The city had made no attempt to collect the tax, pending outcome of the litigation.

The tax, proceeds of which were to be used mainly for postwar capital improvements, was set at 20 per cent of gross revenue of the utility companies. It was limited however, to a maximum represented by the federal excess-profits taxes for which the utility concerns would have been liable had there been no city excise. In other words, according to the city's contention, the excise tax was imposed at no net cost to the utility companies or their stockholders.[1]

North Carolina Applies Surplus to Sinking Funds

The North Carolina legislature early in its 1945 session followed the recommendation of Governor R. Gregg Cherry, elected last fall, and transferred $51,585,079 from the state's general fund surplus to the general sinking fund. The transfer, added to assets previously accumulated, raised the general sinking fund to about $57,000,000, an amount sufficient to meet interest and principal payments on the general bonded debt of about $47,500,000. The annual charges on the general bonded debt run between $4,500,000 and $5,000,000 annually through 1950, and at lesser amounts thereafter, and the enlarged sinking fund is expected to make it unnecessary for the state to apply current revenues to meet annual charges.

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[1] Cf. the REVIEW, July 1942, p. 412; July 1943, p. 404; March 1944, p. 154; October 1944, p. 493; and February 1945, p. 94.

[1] See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, April 1944, p. 210.

It may be noted, in connection with the transfer, that while it has been described in many press stories as making North Carolina "debt free," the general bonds involved actually represent less than half the state's bonded debt. At June 30, 1944, when the general bonded debt amounted to $50,405,500, there were also outstanding $55,856,000 highway bonds, paid from highway revenues and $7,335,000 of institutional and veterans aid bonds, accounting for a gross state bonded debt of $113,596,500. The highway bond sinking fund was a little over $13,000,000 at that time, and the sinking fund for other minor bonds $4,500,000.

It is also of interest that the $51,000,000 general fund surplus transferred to the general sinking fund included about $20,000,000 previously earmarked for a postwar reserve fund. This reserve was designed not to finance improvements but to afford a cushion against revenue declines in periods of adverse economic conditions, North Carolina having during the early 1930's suffered chronic deficiency operations from this cause. If the saving in annual budget resulting from the large sinking fund accumulation is conserved, it will perform the function sought in the reserve fund, but if it is used to "reduce taxation" and the possible operating deficits of the postwar reaction period are funded (as were deficits in the 1930's) then little will have been gained.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

County Manager Bill in Oregon Legislature

Washington County Asks Manager Government Also

A BILL to implement the county manager amendment adopted by popular vote in Oregon last November has now been introduced into the Oregon legislature. It provides for a county board of from three to seven members to be the policy-determining body of the county and appoint a manager as executive head. The manager must devote full time to the county's work. He is authorized to make all appointments or delegate such appointing power to subordinate officials.

Under the proposed legislation any county may place a manager charter on the ballot by a petition signed by "not less than 10 per cent of the electors and freeholders who voted at the next preceding January election." A majority of the votes cast is sufficient for adoption.

In the neighboring state of Washington the commissioners of King County (Seattle) also are casting about for methods of improving the administration of their county government. Recently one of the commissioners journeyed to Portland, Oregon, to observe at first hand the operations of the partial manager plan of Multnomah County now in use there. As an adaptation of what he saw, he proposes that King County hire an administrative officer to perform many of the functions which at present constitute a heavy burden on the commissioners. They would include administration of county roads, airport, health department, county parks and property, flood control, veterans' relief, garbage disposal and other duties. The county commissioners recently took one step in this direction by integrating control over all county insurance policies which heretofore had been scattered over several dozen offices, each of which merely sent the bill covering its cost to the auditor for payment.

Although the Municipal League of Seattle is endorsing this plan, it will continue its struggle for a constitutional amendment to permit adoption of true county manager government.

Statewide Library Service Sought in Tennessee

The Tennessee Library Association has requested an appropriation from the legislature of $150,000 for the establishment and maintenance of an adequate library service throughout the state's 95 counties.

State aid was first provided for local library service in 1943 when the legislature appropriated $20,000 per year for the support of the East Tennessee Regional Library.[1] The success of this regional library, which serves thirteen counties, forms the basis for requesting an extension of state aid for library service to other parts of the state. During the past year, approximately 335,000 books were checked out at 267 deposit depots in these thirteen counties.

Local library service is highly inadequate in certain counties of the state. In the first place, there are 26 counties in which there are no public libraries at all. In 46 other counties annual expenditures for library service are less than $1,000 per county. It has been estimated that at least a million people in Tennessee are without any public library service, while the service for another million is inadequate.

Few counties in Tennessee have sufficient taxable wealth to provide adequate library service. For that reason, the regional plan of organization, supported in part by state aid, is being advanced by the Tennessee Library Association and other groups interested in seeing an adequate library service established throughout the state.

M. H. SATTERFIELD

Tennessee Valley Authority

Philadelphia City-County Consolidation Again Proposed

Another constitutional amendment has been proposed in the Pennsylvania State Senate for the consolidation of the city and county governments of Philadelphia. The amendment must be passed by both houses in 1945 and again in 1947, after which it must be submitted to the electorate of the state for final approval. It would become effective immediately upon ratification by the voters.

A similar consolidation plan for Philadelphia was adopted by the state legislature in 1935 and 1937, but it was rejected by the voters in the latter year.

Texas A and M College Studies County Purchasing

The Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas has conducted a study and issued a sixteen-page pamphlet on *Purchasing in Texas Counties,* written by H. C. Bradshaw and E. J. Hervey. The study considers the purchasing methods of four counties in great detail and selects ten additional for sampling.

The authors conclude that of the $60,000,000 spent annually by the 254 Texas counties, 25 to 30 per cent is expended in purchase of materials, supplies and equipment. They estimate that 15 to 20 per cent of the latter expenditure could be saved by improved purchasing methods, although many counties within the past several years already have made such improvements.

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[1] See "East Tennessee Counties Secure Library Service," the REVIEW, December 1943, p. 628.

Virginia County Loses Territory by Annexation

Under the Virginia law of complete city-county separation, which permits cities to annex territory of adjoining counties, Prince George County lost on January first 2.3 square miles of territory, 1,600 residents, and property assessed at $1,200,000 by annexation to the city of Petersburg. Prince George County contested the annexation by the city through court action, but the decision was rendered against it.

This was the fifth annexation by the city and its largest. The largest previous annexation was made in 1816.

North Carolina County Fights Annexation

"That Wilkes County is preparing to put up a vigorous fight against the proposal that a section in the western portion of that county be annexed to Caldwell County," says the Lenoir, North Carolina, *News-Topic*, "is indicated by a spokesman for Wilkes who told a *News-Topic* representative that bitter opposition is in evidence among the people of his county."

A delegation of Wilkes County residents attended a public hearing before the North Carolina legislature's House Committee on Counties, Cities and Towns on February 14 to enter their protests against the bill which the sponsor indicated had been introduced on the request of citizens who reside in that portion of Wilkes which would become part of Caldwell. One reason for the proposed annexation is that the children of the area in dispute must attend Caldwell schools and therefore the community might well be transferred.

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

England Plans Local Elections

Taxpaying Qualification Abolished by New Bill

THE Representation of the People Bill, which received second reading in the House of Commons in December,[1] proposes that local elections in Scotland and borough elections in England and Wales be resumed in November and December 1945, and that county, district and parish elections in England and Wales be held in March and April 1946. The city of London's common councilmen would be elected in December 1946. For the most part these are the times of the year local elections have usually been held. No such elections have taken place since 1936.

For those councils the members of which do not have overlapping terms an entire new body would be elected under the proposed measure. In the case of overlapping terms those seats filled in 1936 and those specially appointed during the war to fill vacancies would be subject to the first election.

One of the important provisions of the bill is the abolition of the taxpaying qualification for local elections. This would be accomplished by the merging of the local franchise lists with the parliamentary list which no longer provides such restriction; some eight millions voters would thus be added to the number of local government voters.

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[1] See the REVIEW, October 1944, p. 497, and *Municipal Journal and Local Government Administrator,* December 15, 1944, p. 2,215.

Although there have been several suggestions that the institution of aldermen, i.e., members of councils appointed by the elected councillors, be abolished, no such provision is contained in the bill.

Compulsory Arbitration Proposed for Five-Year Period

In England the Minister of Labor has introduced a bill in the House of Commons providing for a form of compulsory agreement between employers and employees, including local governments, for five years after the war.[1] Called the Wages Councils Bill, it would require employers to observe terms and conditions of employment no less favorable than those established by virtue of agreements between employers' organizations and trade unions representative of substantial proportions of employers and workers. For local government officers (employees), the provincial Whitley councils would come under the bill, and thus the latter's agreements would be made enforceable. Appeal could be made to the Industrial Court in case of noncompliance by any local authority.

As a wartime measure only a National Arbitration Tribunal had been set up with similar powers. The present legislation extends, in general, this plan for five years after the war. The reason for the establishment of the Arbitration Tribunal originally was to compensate labor for its no-strike pledge during the war. As the National Association of Local Government Officers (government employees) points out, local officers have always regarded the strike as a weapon they could not use except under the most extreme conditions. Therefore, it feels, they are entitled to some form of protection against the bad employer and it will fight to make the plan permanent for local governments.

Whitleyism has continued to grow the last few months; by the beginning of December 1944, 1,025 of the 1,530 local authorities of England and Wales —over two-thirds—had joined provincial Whitley councils, according to the December 1944 issue of *Local Government Service*. Over three-fourths of local government officers are covered by these councils. Only four (out of 83) county boroughs, eighteen (out of 62) counties, 99 boroughs, 180 urban districts, and 204 rural districts remain outside the Whitley framework. In the first eleven months of 1944 local authorities entered the Whitley employee relations system at the rate of nearly one a day.

The central local government employer-employee relations group in Scotland is the Joint Industrial Council. The National Association of Local Government Officers in Scotland has now at least 70 per cent of local government employees belonging to its union, although NALGO's representation on the staff side of the JIC is less than half. This is explained by the fact that since 1937 NALGO in Scotland has almost doubled its membership; consequently, it is pressing for better representation on the Joint Industrial Council. In the first eleven months of 1944, twelve new branches of NALGO were formed in Scotland making a total of 45.

South American Cities in the News

Bogota

It is proposed in Bogota, Colombia, that the metropolitan area be organized differently from the present setup because of its rapid growth and the problems such growth occasions. During the last ten years the city's population has increased from 235,400 to

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[1] *Local Government Service,* January 1945, p. 241. See also the REVIEW, October 1944, p. 495.

395,300—about 60 per cent. Many special problems have arisen one of which is indicated by Francis Violich when he classes Bogota as one of the three cities with the greatest housing activity in Latin America.[1]

Local government areas in Colombia are, in general, the departments and the *municipios* which are territorial subdivisions of the departments. At present in the metropolitan area of Bogota there are about seven separate municipalities. The most frequent proposals heard for reorganization of local government in this area are for the establishment of a capital district or of a special department. The former would require a constitutional amendment since the local government framework is specified in some detail in the Colombian constitution. The latter plan has been proposed by a group of jurists and civic leaders as the most satisfactory.[2] The proposed department would contain the seven municipalities of the area and thus the problems of the whole area could be adequately handled.

An important new thoroughfare in the city of Bogota which will run past the national capitol is to be constructed by the city under agreement with the national government and paid for by a tax levied upon the increase in value accruing to private property particularly benefited as a result. The city will be helped by loans of the Bank of the Republic which will be guaranteed by the national government. (See *Boletin, the Municipal Digest of the Americas,* June 1944, p. 24.)

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Buenos Aires

The municipal *intendent* of Buenos Aires has allowed increases in the salaries and wages of municipal personnel. Extra compensation is given to most employees for each child under fifteen; the amount allowed is higher for lower-salaried workers. In addition, a special bonus is given upon the birth of a child. (*Boletin, the Municipal Digest of the Americas,* April 1944, p. 20.)

A chart of the administrative organization of the city of Buenos Aires is published in the June 1944 issue of *Boletin, the Municipal Digest of the Americas.* Besides the *intendent's* secretariat, the administrative organization of the city is divided into four main divisions: secretary of finance and administration, secretary of public works and industries, secretary of public health and food and secretary of culture, morality and municipal police.

Ten municipal courts have been established in Buenos Aires to deal with violations of municipal laws and regulations.

Brazil

A recently signed Agreement on Primary Education between the state of Goiaz, Brazil, and its municipalities provides that the municipalities devote to public education a gradually increasing percentage of their revenues, starting at 10 per cent in the year 1944. (*Boletin, the Municipal Digest of the Americas,* May 1944.)

The municipal *prefecture* of Porto Alegre, Brazil, has decided to grant financial assistance to private organizations devoted to social assistance and cultural activities.

Peru

During 1944 a Superior Council of Statistics was established in Peru to centralize, standardize and coordinate the work of different public departments and offices of a statistical nature of the municipalities as well as of the national government. (See *Boletin, the Municipal Digest of the Americas,* July 1944, pp. 19-22, and 33.)

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[1] *Cities of Latin America,* Reinhold, New York, 1944, pp. 50-52.

[2] *Boletin, The Municipal Digest of the Americas,* June 1944, p. 22.

Community Services

Edited by Zilpha C. Franklin

Communities Plan Living War Memorials

Officials and Civic Groups Prepare for Postwar Action

WHEN this war is over the people who live in New York and Chicago and those who live in towns at the cross roads are going to build memorials to the men who went out to fight. Municipal authorities in great metropolitan centers, in towns of five thousand population and in wayside villages, already are aware of the nation-wide surge of sentiment for commemoration and they know the home folks are planning the building of "living war memorials."

The demand for commemorative monuments is as old as war itself and doubtless controversies over their form enlivened the casual and formal gatherings of artists—and maybe the politicians too—in Athens and Rome. But it was not until the close of World War I that one heard much about living war memorials. A few communities broke away from the traditional arches and statues then and built memorial halls, memorial parks, memorial stadiums.

We of America have built statues and fountains and tablet-bearing shafts by the thousands to commemorate our heroes. Many still stand proudly in our parks; but too many—whose pedestals almost cover some little triangle of ground grudgingly left them and still others standing forlornly in the shadow of warehouses or in some section ear-marked for "slum clearance"—are all but forgotten. Guidebooks help to identify them as monuments to the heroes of Indian Wars, the American Revolution, or the conflict between the North and the South, or to those who stood at El Caney or stormed San Juan Hill. The men who went out in 1917 and 1918 have shared in this bronze and granite commemoration. Some of this is good art, some of it is bad, and much of it is grotesque. How meaningful is it?—the municipal authorities of hundreds of cities and towns have had from the people a negative report.

It is a revolt against this exclusive, and not always effective, emphasis on the symbolic that the municipal authorities are facing. Without organized leadership, with little publicity or other promotional aids, the American people who have remained on the home front, millions of them working in war plants, began talking about living war memorials. The men at city hall can testify that the people are calling for memorials that are community-usable.

In this movement the Federal Security Agency, which coordinates the activities of about a dozen government programs, including those of the Social Security Board, the Office of Education, and the U. S. Public Health Service, has become involved. Its involvement grows out of the inclusion in its list of constituent units of the Office of Community War Services and the Committee on Physical Fitness. Their concern is with recreation and the physical well-being of the population, especially in communities affected by the war, which by now means just about every community in the United States.

The Committee on Physical Fitness has established the American Commission for Living War Memorials to head up its activities in this field. A voluntary group made up of leaders in the world of sports and athletics, the Commission has had substantial cooperation which has enabled it to provide architectural counseling and to issue a comprehensive brochure entitled *Memorials That Live*.

The Office of Community War Services includes a Recreation Division which works with states and communities through regional offices and some 70 field men. Since the early days of the war these men have been giving a personal service of guidance and counseling to communities that want to develop recreational programs.

Advice Asked

By early autumn letters by the hundreds were arriving at the Federal Security Agency headquarters in Washington and its regional offices, asking for information about living war memorials. The writers of these letters asked for advice not only as to types of memorials but also for advice as to their financing and even for technical architectural planning. By the end of the year the correspondence files of the Agency contained letters from every state in the Union.

The Federal Security Agency has instructed its recreational and physical fitness people to furnish the information sought and to give communities the benefit of their experience in planning and financing such structures. It has gone so far as to make available, to communities requesting them, typical floor plans of memorial structures, but it has been explicit in its instructions not to furnish any community with detailed architectural plans or perform for them any service which should come from engineers and architects not on the federal payroll.

The Agency's representatives do not take the initiative in memorial planning. Upon request they will help to survey local conditions, examine the project the community has in mind, and make available to them their exexperience and that of cities and towns where such memorials have been planned or built. They have been cautioned to make it plain that it is the responsibility of the communities to determine the kind of memorial they want and to find the money for its construction and maintenance.

In many communities the initiative has been taken by a citizens' committee or other civic group, but in perhaps 90 per cent of the cases the municipal authorities have found that the responsibility of carrying the project forward has become theirs.

A study of the plans brought to the attention of the Federal Security Agency reveals wide diversity. They range from plans for huge stadiums such as that being considered by Congress for Washington, D. C., to simple playgrounds or swimming pools. The Agency's representatives are warning communities that they should build to meet the needs of their people and always with due regard for their capacity to finance their projects—both the original construction and maintenance.

Although cities and towns and villages throughout the country have been caught in this rising tide of sentiment that seeks to memorialize the men and women who have gone to war, little actual building has been undertaken and perhaps will not be until the war is over. In most communities there is a tendency to give the returning veterans the final word, but already letters from thousands of soldiers have indicated a heavy vote against jeeps in marble and groups of GI Joes and Janes done in bronze. From every city and town approximately 10 per cent of the population has been drafted for the armed services and the home folks are convinced that when they return they will throw their weight in favor of the living war memorial.

In many cities the memorial idea has been made a part of postwar community planning. Pueblo, Colorado, has a ten-million-dollar program in which a number of memorial features are included. Colorado Springs, Seattle, Milwaukee, and St. Paul are other cities with ambitious postwar plans that will call for the expenditure of millions of dollars. The war memorial idea is running through these plans.

Some Community Plans

A listing and description of all the plans which communities have brought to the attention of the Federal Security Agency would run into thousands of words. Here are brief summaries of a few:

Boston, Massachusetts. Plans are being considered for erecting a huge granite shaft facing a lagoon along the sides of which will be two large athletic fields. In the shaft will be a large circular room on the walls of which will appear famous scenes in various wars. In the center there will be a bronze urn on a granite block, housing a perpetual flame in memory of those to whom the memorial will be dedicated.

San Diego, California. Plans for an auditorium and convention hall are being considered. The initiative was that of the Chamber of Commerce.

Nashville, Tennessee. Plans being considered for a living war memorial, dedicated to service men not only of the city but of the state, provide for a concrete amphitheatre seating approximately 15,000 persons. Installed in this amphitheatre would be the name plate of every Tennessean serving in the war.

Paducah, Kentucky. A tract of land—two city blocks—has been purchased as a site for a recreation center, including baseball and softball fields, a cinder track and other sports facilities.

Coral Gables, Florida. A group of individuals have organized the War Memorial Association, Inc., which already has raised more than half the amount needed to begin the building of a community war memorial youth center.

Wierton, West Virginia. This community has approximately $300,000 available for the construction of a multiple-use community recreation building.

Hartford, Connecticut. Plans are being considered for the building of a stadium and field house, providing for both outdoor and indoor athletics. The cost will be approximately $2,500,000.

Trenton, New Jersey. The Garden Club of New Jersey plans for the planting of thousands of flowering dogwood trees along the five-mile section of Route 29 between North Plainfield and Mountainside, this section of the highway to be known as Blue Star Drive.

Toledo, Ohio. Consideration is being given the building of an auditorium with rooms for veterans organizations.

Saco, Maine. The city government has appointed a commission to raise funds for a war memorial field—9½ acres—to cost approximately $200,000.

New York City. Queens Borough is planning, on the site of the World's Fair, a memorial building and a carillon tower in Flushing Meadows Park.

Correction

The following corrections should be made in the tax rates published in the REVIEW for December 1944:

In Bridgeport, Connecticut, (No. 60 in tabulation) county rate should read $.20, not $20.

In Springfield, Illinois, (No. 128) city tax rate should read $27.70 instead of $37.70. City rate includes $3.70 town, $2 park, $3.68 sanitary sewer and $1.50 airport authority tax rates.

Books in Review

Curbing Inflation Through Taxation. A Symposium. By Marriner S. Eccles, etc. New York, Tax Institute, 1944. ix, 261 pp. $2.50.

This is the eighth volume in the Tax Institute's excellent series of annual tax symposia. Most of it is concerned with the problem of control of inflation during wartime, but some observations are made also on the problem during the postwar period.

Milton Gilbert opens the discussion with the observation that price inflation in this country has been relatively moderate despite a colossal expansion in military expenditures and a 15 per cent increase in the flow of goods and services to consumers. He attributes this to the effectiveness of our rationing and price controls rather than the wisdom of our tax policies. Seth D. Sims forecasts an inflationary farm land boom after the war and urges, by way of a check against it, the levy of a heavy tax on profits from the sale of farm land held less than six years. Homer Hoyt sounds a comforting note as to the unlikeliness of a similar boom in urban lands, while Irving Bussing expresses concern over the potential inflationary influence of the present expansion in bank deposits and other circulating media.

Alvin Hansen argues that the inflationary potentialities of the public debt are far from being as great as is commonly assumed. He makes the broad assertion that debt creation can be really inflationary only under conditions of substantially full employment, as if it was not equally inflationary after a war under conditions of mere unbalance and partial scarcity of resources. The existence of a large debt, he says, may have deflationary just as well as inflationary effects. He fails to differentiate the degrees of likelihood of these conditions. He also disregards the political implications of a large debt which generate certain types of governmental financial policies. The gist of his argument is that the magnitude of the debt is *per se* unimportant.

James F. Hughes reaches the exactly opposite and, in the opinion of the reviewer, more correct conclusion that "ultimately the continued expansion of the public debt to create bank deposit purchasing power will result in some kind of catastrophe." It will produce inflation because "the public debt is going to get political rather than economic handling."

Marius Farioletti restates the Treasury's oft repeated but not altogether convincing arguments against the levy of a retail sales tax in times of war, namely, that it would interfere with price and wage stabilization, generate inflationary as well as deflationary pressures, and would be difficult to administer. He fails to mention the Treasury's most important reason for opposing the levy—its fear that once it is introduced it would tend to persist beyond the duration of the war, thus adding a permanent regressive feature to our tax system. Godfrey Nelson urges the adoption of this levy during both war and postwar times. Alfred G. Buehler reviews critically the Treasury's ill-fated proposal of 1942 for a spendings tax. The proposal, he says, had some merit but required considerable additional perfection.

Roy Blough argues that the individual income tax under current payment and withholding plans is an effective anti-inflationary instrument and can be applied more extensively than any other anti-inflationary tax. He fails to mention, however, the fact that there are limits to its application and that consequently a justification exists for a resort to other such anti-inflationary taxes as supplementary devices.

Carl Shoup discusses theoretically the effects of various types of forced loans and the reasons for their unpopularity during the present war. He concludes that they may yet be used in some countries after the war as an alternative to a capital levy. Seymour Harris urges increases in social security taxes, both for their anti-inflationary effects and the assistance they may render in financing future increases in pension liabilities.

The experiences of Soviet Russia, Italy, Canada, and Great Britain in controlling prices through taxation and other means are sidelighted by A. Z. Arnold, G. A. Tesoro, A. K. Eaton, and Mary E. Murphy.

The problems of postwar inflation are discussed by Marriner S. Eccles and J. W. Oliver. Mr. Eccles argues for the continuance of the excess profits tax at a slightly lower rate and the maintenance of high rates of taxation generally, while Mr. Oliver proposes to abolish all taxes on corporate income and capital gains and to reduce sharply the high surtaxes of the personal income tax.

There are enough of noteworthy ideas and facts in the book to make its reading worthwhile to any student of war finance.

PAUL STUDENSKI
New York University

Third Wartime Conference on Municipal Problems. Proceedings of the 21st Annual Conference of the American Municipal Association. Chicago, The Association, 1944. 102 pp. $2.

Problems facing the American city during and after the war were the chief topics of discussion at the Third Wartime Conference of the American Municipal Association in Chicago, October 25, 26 and 27. Addresses and discussions covered such subjects as disposition of war housing, slums and blighted areas, low-rent housing, zoning, urban highway needs, public works planning, surplus war property, municipal finance, air legislation and airports. Resolutions adopted by the Association at its business session are included in the volume.

Airports and the Courts. By Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1944. viii, 222 pp.

Shall we build an airport? This is the question asked by communities large and small in considering postwar needs. This volume helps to pave the way for an answer to that question. It is a complete collection and analysis of all reported court decisions involving acquisition, operation, maintenance and zoning of airports, together with an analysis of the federal, state and local legislation in the airport field. The air space rights of landowners, aviators and airport operators are analyzed in the light of applicable legislation and legal principles. The information was compiled chiefly from the files of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, with additional material from those of the Civil Aeronautics Administration.

Police Unions and Other Police Organizations. Washington 4, D. C., International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1944. 30 pp. 50 cents.

The International Association of Chiefs of Police has gathered together in this pamphlet a record of action taken in various jurisdictions on police unions. It discusses the Boston police strike of 1919 in detail as well as the police union movement in other municipalities, bans on police unions, and the legal aspects of unions of public employees.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Boards of Review

Newly Created Engineering Board of Review for Chicago. By Edward J. Kelly. Chicago, Western Society of Engineers, 1944. 7 pp.

Circus Regulation

Circus Regulation by Municipalities. By Charles H. Burton. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1944. 32 pp. $2.

Education

Regents Plan for Postwar Education in the State of New York. Albany, The State Education Department, University of the State of New York, 1944. 64 pp.

Housing

Building America's Houses. New York City 18, Twentieth Century Fund, 1945. 12 pp. 5 cents.

Housing Costs. Where the Housing Dollar Goes. Washington, D. C., National Housing Agency, 1944. 48 pp. 10 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

Housing Facts and Goals. Charts on the statement of Administrator John B. Blandford, Jr., before the Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Development of the Special Senate Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning, Washington, D. C., National Housing Agency, 1945. 35 pp.

Statement on Private Financing of Large-scale Housing. Before the Committee on Public Building and Grounds, House of Representatives. By Frederick H. Ecker, Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1944. 8 pp.

Management

Administrative Management in the Army Service Forces. By Lieutenant General Brehon Somervell, Major General C. F. Robinson, Lieutenant Colonel John D. Millett, Colonel John D. Witten, Colonel Oliver A. Gottschalk, and Brigadier General H. A. Barnes. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1944. 62 pp. $1.

Population

World Population in Transition. Edited by Kingsley Davis. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* January 1945. viii, 257 pp. $2.

Postwar Planning

The Bay State Takes Stock. An Account of the Public Hearing on Postwar Problems of the San Francisco Bay Region August 23 and 24, 1944. Sacramento, California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission, 1944. 20 pp.

The First Step and the Unfinished Task. Summary of a Report on *Postwar Planning—San Bernardino County, California.* Sacramento, California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission, 1944. 32 pp.

A Postwar Program for North Carolina's Forest Industries. By Egon Glesinger. Raleigh, N. C., Divisions of Commerce and Industry and Forestry, 1944. 42 pp.

Your Detroit—A Finer City in Which to Live and Work. By Mayor's Postwar Improvement Committee. Detroit, The Committee, 1944. 38 pp. maps, charts.

Reconversion

Problems of Mobilization and Reconversion. First Report to the President, the Senate and the House of Representatives by the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945. 58 pp.

Recreation

Community Recreation Comes of Age. The Story of One American Town. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Office of Community of War Services, 1945. 30 pp. (Apply U. S. Government Printing Office.)

Surplus Property Disposal

A Plan for the Disposal of Surplus Property to Local Governments and Non-Profit Institutions under the Surplus Property Act of 1944. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Governmental Purchasing, Inc., 1944. 10 pp.

Surplus Property Disposal and The Cities. A Report Submitted to the Surplus Property Board by The United States Conference of Mayors. Washington, D. C., The Conference, 1945. 10 pp.

Social Security

How Many Jobs for Californians? Based on Report, *Estimates of Wartime and Postwar Employment in California.* Sacramento, California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission, 1944. 26 pp.

Jobs and Security after Victory. By Charles W. Eliot and Cecil L. Dunn. Los Angeles, The Haynes Foundation, 1944. 44 pp.

The Quest for Economic Security Through Guaranteed Employment. By Merryle Stanley Rukeyser. 1945. 24 pp. (Apply author, 35 Trenor Drive, New Rochelle, N. Y.)

Taxation and Finance

Federal Corporate Taxation. Papers Presented at the Session on This Subject of the Fifty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Institute of Accountants, October 1944. New York 17, The Institute, 1944. 134 pp.

Federal Tax Legislation in 1943 and 1944. By Mabel L. Walker. New York, Tax Institute, 1934. 6 pp. 25 cents.

Financing Through Revenue Bonds. By S. B. Robinson. Washington 6, D.C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1944. 55 pp. $2.

Governmental Debt in the United States: 1944. By Wylie Kilpatrick. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1944. 8 pp.

State Tax Legislation in 1944. By Mabel L. Walker. New York, Tax Institute, 1944. 9 pp. 25 cents.

Transit

Coordination of City Planning, Highway Development and Urban Transit, by Charles Gordon; **Practical Applications of Coordinated Transportation Planning,** by Charles E. DeLeuw. Addresses before the Conference Committee on Urban Problems of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. Washington, D. C., 1945. 16 and 6 pp. respectively.

Eight Points That Are Suggested for Consideration by State Highway Departments in Preparing a Legislative Program in the Light of Conditions Created by the Passage of the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944. Presented by G. Donald Kennedy to the Conference Committee on Urban Problems of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. Washington, D. C., 1945. 2 pp.

Urban Redevelopment

Some Basic Redevelopment Problems—Interrelation of Agencies Affecting Development Projects in New York. By The Committee on Civic Design and Development. New York City, New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, 1944. 15 pp. charts.

A Summary of Studies and Proposals in the U.S.A. on Assembly of Land for Urban Development and Redevelopment. Washington, D. C., National Housing Agency, Urban Development Division, 1944. 77 pp.

Vending Machines

Mechanical Amusement Devices—Juke Boxes—Cigarette Vending Machines. By Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1944. 28 pp. $2.

Veterans

Municipalities and the Soldier Bonus. By Herzel H. E. Plaine. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1944. 57 pp. $2.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

161

Those State Surpluses

Editorial

New Constitution for Missouri

Tess Loeb

March Toward Home Rule

Nathaniel L. Goldstein

Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Citizen Education in Britain

Marjorie Tait

Early Planning Pattern Found

Many Cities Consider Manager Plan

H. M. Olmsted

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Contents for April 1945

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS 162

EDITORIAL COMMENT .... *Alfred Willoughby* 163

NEW CONSTITUTION FOR MISSOURI .... *Tess Loeb* 165

MARCH TOWARD HOME RULE .... *Nathaniel L. Goldstein* 168

CITIZEN EDUCATION IN BRITAIN .... *Marjorie Tait* 172

EARLY PLANNING PATTERN FOUND 176

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 179

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST 184

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 188

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 194

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 198

LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROAD .... *Edward W. Weidner* 200

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION .... *George H. Hallett, Jr.* 205

BOOKS IN REVIEW 207

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

— **Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps** —

The League's Business

Guide for Charter Commissions

The League has formed a Committee on a Guide for Charter Commissions to meet a widely encountered need for a simple pattern of procedure for local charter commissions. The committee is tentatively planning to point up the major issues which should be resolved by a commission, the basic needs of a sound charter, pitfalls to be avoided and principles to follow in charter drafting.

Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Council, will serve as chairman of the committee. The other members are: William Anderson, chairman of the Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota; E. A. Cottrell, chairman of the School of Social Sciences, Stamford University; John N. Edy, city manager of Houston, Texas; Herbert Emmerich, associate director of the Public Administration Clearing House; Arnold Frye, attorney, chairman of the Subcommittee on Style and Draft, Model City Charter Committee; John B. Gage, mayor of Kansas City, Missouri; C. A. Harrell, city manager of Schenectady, New York; Herman Kehrli, director of the Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon; George R. Sidwell, staff attorney and charter consultant of the Michigan Municipal League; and Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary of the National Municipal League.

California Reclaims Dykstra

C. A. Dykstra, president of the League from 1937 to 1940, has resigned as president of the University of Wisconsin to become provost of the University of California at Los Angeles. Mr. Dykstra, who went to the University of Wisconsin after achieving wide fame as city manager of Cincinnati, has a long record as an educator and public administrator. He was formerly director of personnel and efficiency of the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, professor of municipal administration at the University of California, director of Selective Service, and chairman of the National Defense Mediation Board.

Death of Alfred Bettman

Alfred Bettman, chairman of the Cincinnati Planning Commission, and for many years active in municipal affairs and closely associated with the League, died January 21 at Altoona, Pennsylvania, while enroute to his home after attending a conference on planning in New York. At the time of his death Mr. Bettman was also chairman of the American Bar Association's Committee on City Planning and Zoning and vice chairman of the Regional Planning Commission of Hamilton County, Ohio. He had served the League as a member of the Council and was a member of its Committee on Revision of the Model City Charter.

Two New Publications

Postwar Planning for Metropolitan Utilities, a series of articles by Dr. John Bauer appearing in the REVIEW, is now available in pamphlet form. The study, based on a nation-wide survey, analyzes the steady march of public utilities toward organization and operation on a metropolitan basis, forecasts peacetime needs and problems and suggests patterns for future utility districts.

A completely revised edition of the League's pamphlet on *The County Manager Plan* relates the success stories of the eleven counties now operating under the manager plan and describes the headless, loose-jointed, ramshackle, inefficient organization of the great majority of the counties. An appendix details the progress in overcoming constitutional, statutory and judicial barriers to county reorganization since 1910.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, *Executive Secretary*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Those State Surpluses

THE states are sitting very smugly on their surpluses these days, nobly resisting the "natural" temptation to indulge in spending sprees with the "extra" funds which grew not from economical management but from improved tax collections and lower costs of relief, fewer capital expenditures and other war-born reasons.

The self-satisfaction with which state administrations are pointing with pride to their accumulated funds is something less than becoming, especially in view of the fact that, at least inferentially, it is implied that the cities, less fortunately situated in this respect, are delinquent in management.

State legislatures and state administrations are largely to blame for the plight of the cities, much more so than the cities themselves—even those which have been notoriously badly managed. The chief "crimes" for which the states stand indicted are:

1. Failure to grant large cities fair representation in the legislatures;
2. Coupling grants in aid with mandatory expenditures on the part of cities which increase rather than decrease the municipal financial burden;
3. Gobbling up every new source of tax revenue and virtually limiting municipalities to the tax on real estate.

Even at a time when our armies have spread throughout the world to fight for the preservation of democracy, rural-minded legislatures continue cold-bloodedly and cynically to keep their cities hog-tied with underrepresentation, hanging on desperately to the undemocratic rural advantage of two generations ago.

Mayor Curtiss E. Frank of Yonkers tossed the "state aid" challenge vigorously into his state's lap when, appearing recently before the fiscal committee of the New York legislature, he said: "There is not a single form of state aid, as distinct from shared taxes, received by the city of Yonkers which does not depend upon the expenditure by the city of at least an equal amount from its own sources of revenue."

Thus the good intentions of the states become financial strait-jackets and, by tying restrictions and rules to the administration of the aid, conspire to destroy the local autonomy and sense of responsibility which our communities should have.

There appears to be a rising tide of protest against the way cities are being treated. The authoritative report to the Secretary of the Treasury on federal, state and local fiscal relations[1] boldly stated that much of the blame for the cities' difficulties can be placed on the states. There is increasing demand for the sharing of state revenues with cities in place of state aid. A basic principle was expressed in a statement by the Municipal Finance Officers Association, which said: "Where the state shares a tax with the municipality it should be shared because the locality has a right to a share of the tax and it should not be given merely as a dole or a privilege. Stimulating grants for narrow activities tend to distort the service structures of the local governments."

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[1] *Federal, State and Local Government Fiscal Relations*—a Report Submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury by a Special Committee.

The Mayor of Yonkers demanded a share of the state surplus for cities. He said: "With the state treasury bulging with accumulative surpluses which presently will exceed $300,000,000 it is entirely logical that the cities and other local governments in financial distress through no present fault of theirs should share to a greater extent in these excess tax collections by the state government. It would be far better for the state to give temporary assistance now out of its abundance of revenue than to throw open new fields of taxation with the consequent effect which this might have on business within cities."

The Mayor might have added that the majority of the people who are paying more money than is actually needed now to the state are the very ones who are paying other and needed taxes to the municipalities in which they live. He might have asked, "Just whose money is this, anyway?"

The question of whether states should redistribute some of their surpluses to enable local governments to put their houses in order for whatever will come after the war merits study. In any event, their comfortable financial condition should encourage the states to consider the whole problem of municipal-state relationships much more realistically and honestly than they have done in the past.

Missouri Steps Ahead

THE people of Missouri have adopted a revised constitution which, while farther from perfection than it might be, makes notable progress in several basic fields, especially in provisions for home rule for cities and counties.

Voters showed a commendable degree of discrimination after a campaign in which many of the false claims and questionable methods which defeated New Jersey's proposed constitution last November were employed.[1]

Some of the delegates to the constitutional convention provided high-minded, statesmanlike leadership which is all too rare. It is a pity others were unable to rise above petty temptations to insert some regressive, undemocratic provisions in the document. Despite this, however, impressive gains were made.

The National Municipal League is gratified that its National Conference on Government of 1941 in St. Louis played some small part in this progress. The League brought a group of authorities on constitutional problems to the conference, the final day of which also witnessed the launching of their campaign organization by Missourians.

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[1] See "New Constitution for Missouri," by Tess Loeb, p. 165 this issue.

New Constitution for Missouri

Coordinated court system, city and county home rule, state administrative and legislative streamlining, registration of voters over entire state among its progressive features.

By TESS LOEB*

IN spite of bitter opposition, icy weather and the customary apathy, Missouri voters adopted a new state constitution by nearly two to one at a special election on February 27th. The constitution of 1875 was replaced by a new and greatly improved charter, the first constitution of any state in 36 years to be revised completely. The campaign was watched with envious interest by numerous other states including nearby Illinois, and the "Show Me" slogan has now become "Show How."

The people of Missouri demonstrated the power of democracy to revitalize itself by adopting a new instrument for self-government in the midst of the war and despite a campaign of misrepresentation unparalleled in the state's recent history.

Chief opponents of the new code were small loan interests whose monopoly in this lending field would be broken by the constitution's approval, and state and local politicians who feared the loss of patronage and jobs. They employed many of the methods used in defeating New Jersey's constitution, although their timing was not so effective. More than a million leaflets containing gross misrepresentations designed to appeal to the illiterate, the prejudiced and selfish voters were sent out, but most of them were circulated far enough in advance for proponents to counteract their effect by presenting the facts.

A great blunder was made by the opposition just a few days before the election in circulating a statement that the new constitution would place added taxes on war bonds. U. S. Treasury officials demanded that this charge be retracted publicly and obtained the admission that it was false. Other groups called attention to the falsification and made similar demands for retraction of other misstatements concerning taxes, education and social security and unemployment compensation funds.

The new constitution had the vigorous support of the metropolitan press, and the large cities gave overwhelming majorities to it. Rural newspapers for the most part supported it also and the favorable vote from the country districts was higher than anticipated. Each of the three leaders of the opposition lost his own county. There was much mystery surrounding the opposition and the source of the campaign funds which were estimated at over $100,000. The small-loan interests, however, were thought to have contributed most of the sum.

---

*During the sessions of the recent Missouri Constitutional Convention Mrs. Loeb served as a special writer for the *St. Louis Star-Times.* She has long been active in the League of Women Voters and was a member of the National Municipal League's council and of its Committee on the Revision of the Model City Charter.

One of the chief assets of the proponents of the new constitution was its support by organizations and community leaders. Governor Phil M. Donnelly served as honorary chairman of the Missouri Committee for the New Constitution. It was endorsed by Vice-President Harry S. Truman, a Missourian, the state's six living former governors, both U. S. senators, the chairmen of both the Democratic and Republican State Committees, and groups representing education, labor, farmers, business, industry, the professions as well as women's groups, religious, fraternal and patriotic societies.

Well Supported Campaign

An intensive campaign for the adoption of the proposed document got under way last December 5 when the Missouri Committee for the New Constitution was set up at a statewide citizens' meeting in Jefferson City. Jacob M. Lashly of St. Louis, former president of the American Bar Association, was named chairman, and Dr. Franc L. McCluer, president of Westminster College, Fulton, who was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, was appointed executive director.

From headquarters in St. Louis the work of raising campaign funds, organizing committees in practically all of Missouri's 114 counties, scheduling of speakers, and preparing and issuing of news releases, literature and advertising was directed.

The Missouri League of Women Voters which had long advocated constitutional revision and had led in the campaign for the calling of the convention and in the election of delegates-at-large was credited with a large share of the success at the election.

The Governmental Research Institute compiled a wealth of material for the use of convention delegates and issued a series of bulletins on the provisions of the new document which were widely circulated.

Acknowledgment must be made of the help given the movement by the National Municipal League. At the League's National Conference on Government in St. Louis, in November 1941, when state constitutional revision was discussed, the statewide committee for the revision of Missouri's constitution was organized and the movement got off to an auspicious start.

The Convention met on September 21, 1943, and, after a year during which there was much debate, discussion and compromise, the new constitution which was signed by all but four of the 83 delegates was offered to the people.

Much of the old constitution containing many provisions which are legislative in character is included in the new without any change. The revised document which is 11,000 words shorter is more logically arranged and better organized than the old. Because the articles are interdependent it was decided to offer the constitution as a whole rather than by separate amendments.

In many instances, especially in the legislative article, the delegates stopped short of attaining the goals desired by more progressive citizens of the state; but in every branch of government there is great improvement.

What are the principal gains to be accomplished for the people in the new constitution? They are:

A completely coordinated court system, with the Supreme Court empowered to shift judges from one court to another whenever necessary to prevent delays in administration of justice;

Speedier, cheaper and surer justice through authorizing the Supreme Court to make rules of practice and procedure instead of retaining that power in the legislature;

Retention of the nonpartisan court plan exactly as the people voted it four years ago, notwithstanding determined efforts of a group of lawyers in the convention to destroy it;

Executive Reorganization

Creation of not to exceed fourteen administrative departments under the governor to replace the 72 agencies now in existence, thus substituting efficiency for uncoordinated, haphazard administration;

Consolidation of the nine agencies assessing and collecting state taxes in one Revenue Department, thus making efficiency instead of political patronage the controlling consideration in revenue collection;

Abolition of the power of committees of the Senate and House to defeat progressive legislation by refusing to report bills for action on the floor, and the abolition of secret votes in committees by which special-interest lobbyists can control legislation;

Abolition of the political election of the state superintendent of schools, taking the school system out of politics by the creation of a bipartisan Board of Education, which will select a state director of education;

Removal of maximum tax rates which cities, counties and school districts may vote, thus removing restrictions which have prevented progress in many communities;

Classification of property for taxation, so that there may be different rates for different types of property. This may abolish to a large extent the perjury which is common in the making of personal tax returns, and should increase tax collections by several million dollars a year;

A mandatory provision for the merit system in penal and eleemosynary institutions;

Authority granted St. Louis to contract with other municipalities, with St. Louis County and even with political subdivisions in Illinois for airfields and other public services;

Authority for counties of over 85,000 to frame their own charters and have the type of government best suited to their needs;[1]

Authority for cities and counties to condemn property for reclamation of blighted and unsanitary areas and for recreational purposes;

Authority for St. Louis and all or part of St. Louis County to organize as a metropolitan district for unified administration of public services common to the area;

Retention of the Conservation Commission setup as it was voted by the people in 1936;

Authority for the legislature to approve use of voting machines;

(Continued on page 178)

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[1] See also page 198 this issue.

March Toward Home Rule

New York's attorney-general traces steady progress, urges broad community responsibility for government problems, lessening of legislature's interference in local affairs.

By NATHANIEL L. GOLDSTEIN*

AMERICA is a government that springs from the people. The ruling power of the state is vested, not in any particular class or group, but in the members of the community as a whole. A government "of the people, for the people and by the people" signifies a democracy, and "a democracy really means," says Lord Bryce, "nothing more or less than the rule of the whole people expressing their sovereign will by their votes."

The Declaration of Independence speaks "of the people." The preamble of our constitution refers to "the people of the United States." Under our system the power of government reposes "in the people" and they are therefore, in political and legal theory, the supreme law givers, law interpreters and law administrators. Our government fundamentally is opposed to the deposit of unlimited power in any single authority. That is why we provide for the executive, the legislative and the judicial branches of government, each with limited and circumscribed powers.

Within our lifetime we have seen government syphoned from the several states into the central reservoir in Washington and by the same process drawn from the subdivisions into the state. The bloodstream of democracy flows in the local units of government—the county, the town, the city and the village. If free government is to succeed, the tenets of democracy must be taught and practiced in the local units of government so that people may be trained to rule and be ruled.

This brings us to the focal point at issue. What quantum of home rule should be accorded to the people of any particular unit of government, for after all home rule in its broadest sense means the power of local self-government. That has been the fundamental question in all home rule controversies which have been agitated in New York and other states. Home rule has ceased to be an academic question to the many people who reside in the county, the town, the city and the village. The manner of government, and the repository of control over their affairs, materially affects the way of life of thousands of people who live and work within a local unit.

Legal tradition vests in the state complete control over its municipalities. The state is regarded as the creator and the municipal corporation as the creature. The state may create a local unit or destroy it, give powers to it or take them away. The only limitation which may be put on this power is by constitutional specification, by the people of the entire state.

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*Public service is no new experience for Attorney-General Goldstein. A few of his many public offices have been deputy attorney-general, consulting statistician to the Naval Affairs Committee of Congress, and assistant counsel to the late Samuel Untermeyer on the Legislative Committee to Investigate Housing.

When the first constitution of the State of New York was framed, economic and political conditions of the time dictated the necessity of no great limitations on the absolute power of the state. But as localities grew in size and importance and also as some of their problems became more singular to themselves and less closely related to the interests of the rest of the state, the need of determining what are the functions of the local community and what of the state arose.

Division of Powers

In its very nature the differentiation is not, and never can be, entirely free from perplexity. Efforts to prescribe a definite municipal orbit, excluding state activity wholly therefrom, bring about confusion, as do the efforts to define the scope of state government without taking into account local government.

There are 62 cities in New York, which has become one of the most urban states in America. The largest, New York, is also the largest city in population in the world, having well over 7,400,000 people—more than half the people in the state.

There are 62 counties in the state, within whose confines are included all the units of local government. To these people home rule becomes important. Their goal is not complete local autonomy but rather a division of governmental responsibility between the state and the local unit.

The desire is to permit local control of matters which are best administered locally, without legislative interference by the state. Home rule in its purest sense is designed to relieve the legislature from the burden of regulating such matters, but does not impair its broad power to make laws for the general welfare of those subject to its jurisdiction or to establish uniform minimum standards which citizens of the state must observe. Including New York, the constitutions of seventeen states grant a measure of home rule to cities.

In New York State some measure of home rule is enjoyed by the cities, the counties and the villages. In this article, however, I shall confine my discussion to city home rule.

The cities of New York obtained the right of home rule by two methods. First, negatively, by constitutional prohibitions against interference by the legislature in matters of purely local concern and, second, affirmatively by constitutional grants of powers of local legislation.

From 1821 to 1923 only the first method was in use. The city home rule constitutional amendment of 1923 and the city home rule act of 1924 made the second method available. The New York State constitution was amended in 1821, 1846 and 1874 to impose restrictions upon the enactment by the legislature of certain types of law affecting cities.

The constitution of 1894 contained a provision (Article XII, Section 2) conferring upon the mayor of a city of the first class and upon the mayor and legislative body of every other city a "suspensive veto power" over

Library Kansas City, Mo.

special city laws passed by the state legislature. This concession did not appease the demand of cities for home rule, although it indicated an awareness of the problem. The struggle continued for an affirmative grant of powers of local legislation.

First Grant of Home Rule

It was not until January 1, 1924, when the city home rule amendment adopted in 1923 (Article XII, Sections 2 to 7) became effective, that the cities themselves were able to legislate. Briefly, the amendment reserved to the legislature the power to enact *general* laws whether or not they related to the "property, affairs or government" of cities, and *special* laws which did not relate to such matters. The legislature could free itself from this restraint, for upon an emergency message from the governor and a two-thirds vote of the Senate and Assembly it could enact a "law relating to the property, affairs or government of cities, which shall be special or local either in its terms or in its effect" (Section 2).

In Section 3 there is an affirmative grant of power to cities "to adopt and amend local laws not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the state" relating to certain specified subjects, but curiously enough it did not authorize them to adopt local laws in relation to their "property, affairs or government." On the other hand, the legislature, under Section 2, could not invade the field of "property, affairs or government" of a particular city, except by the "emergency message" route. Thus a "no man's land" was created in the segment of the field of "property, affairs or government" of a city not covered by the specific subjects enumerated in the constitutional grant of legislative power to the cities.

Under Section 3 of that city home rule amendment the legislature was further directed to provide machinery for the exercise of the power to adopt and amend local laws granted to cities, and under Section 5 it was authorized by general laws to confer on cities such further powers as it might from time to time deem expedient. These amendments gave the legislature some discretion in defining its power in this regard, as well as laying down procedural rules for its exercise. They tended to give some elasticity to home rule, for otherwise the legislature would have been compelled to define the power to adopt and amend local laws strictly in accordance with the constitutional grant.

To complete the picture, the city home rule law was enacted by the state legislature in 1924 pursuant to the direction contained in Section 3 of the city home rule amendment of 1923. It limited the legislative powers of cities to the subjects specified in the constitution. A definite procedure was prescribed for the exercise of the power to adopt and amend local laws.

In 1928 the city home rule act was amended to confer upon cities the "power to adopt and amend local laws in relation to the property, affairs or government of a city including, but not limited to the" subjects specified in the constitution which somewhat cured the defect existing heretofore in this "no man's land."

As the city home rule act existed prior to January 1, 1939, various restrictions were imposed upon the local legislative powers of cities. It forbade the enactment of certain types of local laws; certain laws were made subject to a referendum; a local law could not supersede a general law relating to the property, affairs or government of a city or any law, general or special, which did not relate to the property, affairs or government of a city; no local law could supersede special city legislation enacted upon an emergency message from the governor.

Local Powers Expanded

As a result of the amendments submitted by the 1938 constitutional convention and approved by the voters, and subsequent changes in the city home rule law, the local legislative powers of cities have been considerably expanded. Under the 1938 constitution power is granted to every city to enact "local laws not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the state relating to its property, affairs or government" instead of a limited list of subjects. In addition the constitution confers upon cities the power to adopt local laws "not inconsistent with this constitution and the laws of the state" with respect to a lengthy list of subjects, whether or not such local laws relate to the property, affairs or government of the city. Thus the language of the constitution, while it gives the state prior rights in this field, gives to the cities the right to act to the extent that the state has failed to exercise its rights.[1]

We arrive now at the answer to the query: "What quantum of home rule should be accorded to the people of any particular unit of government?" In my opinion if we are to continue building our form of democracy, we must, as McQuillin in his work on *Municipal Corporations* points out, leave each community free to choose the kind of local government best suited to its needs, for with full responsibility resting upon them the people would become educated in the principles of local government and develop a common interest in community affairs.

Unhampered local control would permit prompt action in dealing with local governmental problems as they arise from day to day. The state legislature would be relieved of the details of local government and avoid uncertain and conflicting legislation relating to what the community can or cannot do. It would tend to simplify local organization. It would remove from the state legislature the temptation to interfere with city affairs for reasons of partisan politics. Just as all advances in government take time, so will greater home rule continue to wend its weary course, and eventually the desideratum will be obtained.

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[1] Under the 1939 revision of the city home rule law the legislature has to a certain extent surrendered rights to the cities that were not required by the constitutional amendment of the year before. It has, for example, given cities the right to supersede any state law not general in its effect which refers to the property, affairs or government of a city. Cities are also given specific control over local transit matters. See "Refining Home Rule for Cities," by George H. Hallett, Jr., the REVIEW, June 1939, p. 456; also "City Home Rule Extended in New York," the REVIEW, June 1944, p. 304.—EDITOR

Citizen Education in Britain

Association mobilizes groups and individuals to promote study, discussion and action on democratic citizenship among youth and adults at home and in the armed forces.

By **MARJORIE TAIT***

BRITAIN'S Association for Education in Citizenship was founded in 1935 "to advance training in citizenship, by which is meant training in the moral qualities necessary for the citizen of a democracy, the encouragement of clear thinking in everyday affairs and the acquisition of a knowledge of the modern world."

The association is non-party and non-sectarian and membership is open to all in sympathy with its object. Members are attached to their local branch or, where there is no branch, to headquarters in London. There are four types of membership: individual; student (with nominal subscription); corporate, open to schools and colleges, school and college societies and to local branches of national associations; affiliated, open to organizations, carrying the right to representation on the Association's council. The Association derives its funds entirely from members' subscriptions and donations.

From its founding most though not all of the Association's members have been professionally concerned in the educational system as teachers, lecturers, directors, inspectors or in some other official connection with an educational authority. Recently, however, the vast and rapid spread of informal education among adolescents in youth organizations and among adults in and out of the armed forces has stimulated a general inquiry into informal methods of educating for citizenship, and youth leaders, leaders of civilian discussion groups and those taking part in the services' educational schemes join the Association in increasing numbers.

In 1939 an Advisory Committee of Voluntary Organizations, representing 33 national voluntary groups, was set up by the Association to provide assistance for such organizations in training their members in citizenship.

The Association attempts to achieve its object in six stated ways:

1. *It collects information in regard to training in citizenship in schools, colleges and voluntary organizations at home and abroad.*

2. *It arranges for the publication of books and pamphlets.*

The Association through its members is in touch with every kind of educational institution and is able to record progress and to relay information about successful experiments in all methods of education for citizenship. Individuals and organizations can and do enrich each other's experience by way of the Association files of school experiments, youth parliaments, discussion group methods, etc. From time to time books and pamphlets are published which incorporate the most valuable material so collected.

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*Mrs. Tait is secretary of the London Union Girls Clubs (250 groups) as well as organizing secretary of Britain's Association for Education in Citizenship. She has been active in social and youth work for a number of years; was formerly a lecturer for the Workers Educational Association.

Major publications have been *Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools,*[1] *Education for Citizenship in Elementary Schools,*[2] symposia by distinguished and experienced teachers. A third book in this series, *Education for Citizenship in the Universities,* is in preparation. Some records of educational experiments in schools were collected and published as *Experiments in Practical Training for Citizenship* in 1937. *A Bibliography of Social Studies* is being revised.

The first book specifically dealing with informal methods appeared in 1940, *Roads to Citizenship,* a lucid and attractive account of the many techniques in use. In 1941 Mrs. Eva M. Hubback's *Discussion Groups for Citizens* examined and advised upon the technique of leading and organizing discussion groups, particularly among adults, and provided a bibliography for their use.

Discussion Handbooks

The great call for help in this field is further being met by the publication of a series of pamphlets entitled *Unless We Plan Now—,* handbooks for discussion groups. These cheap and attractive pamphlets, written by specialists on subjects of concern to every citizen, have been called for widely. On its appearance the series was placed in army bibliographies.

3. The Association issues a journal, The Citizen, containing articles, reviews and schemes of work.

The question of publication of new works and revision of existing ones is rendered difficult by the acute national paper shortage. This has also temporarily affected the usefulness of the Association bulletin, now reduced to two or three issues yearly.

4. The Association arranges conferences and meetings on questions affecting education in democratic citizenship, to promote discussion in the press and elsewhere.

It is the policy of the Association to cooperate closely with other voluntary organizations and with the statutory educational authorities in promoting conferences, courses of training and all kinds of discussion of public affairs.

In Autumn 1943 a nine-lecture course in Educating Young People for Citizenship was introduced into the training course for youth leaders of the National Association for Girls' Clubs.

In spring 1944, at the request of a County Education Authority, a ten-lecture refresher course was organized for teachers on Education for Citizenship—through History, Geography, Economics, etc.

Later in 1944 a residential weekend school was planned and directed at the request of a county youth organizer for 80 boys and girls, young workers of fifteen to eighteen years, to study the housing, schools, industries, local associations and government of a chosen district, to discuss the responsibilities of the young citizen in his neighborhood and the wider implications and more complex demands of that national and world citizenship to which he must proceed.

In a London area a group of 30 girls, members of the local branch of the National Union of Girls' Training Corps, studied local government with an expert in a ten-week, leisure-time course, forming themselves into a town council, drawing up schemes for rehousing and industrial replanning, appointing their own housing and education committees and studying especially the problem and responsibility of allocating public moneys.

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[1] Oxford University Press, 1935.

[2] Oxford University Press, 1939.

In an industrial town of the Midlands 90 boys and girls from different youth organizations listened to a series of lectures, followed by open discussion, on Clear Thinking, the Formation of Public Opinion, and How Public Opinion Works in a Democracy. In cooperation with the British Council a course has been initiated on The Government of Britain for refugees in the British Isles.

Army Discussion Groups

Much interesting work has been done in cooperation with the Education Corps of H.M. Forces. Lecturers have been supplied on request to units and educational courses organized by officers of the Corps. In the summer of 1943 four one-week training schools for potential leaders of army discussion groups were held. In these courses lectures on social problems were combined with study of the nature of knowledge, opinion and belief, the function of the press and cinema in a democracy, the individual's responsibility as a unit of public opinion. Practice was given in leading discussion groups.

These are sample activities undertaken in collaboration with other organizing bodies. In addition the Association continues to provide some types of meeting which are planned and administered entirely by its own officers and members.

Two of its conferences have been conspicuously successful. In April 1943 and again in January 1944 conferences on reconstruction, under the title Unless We Plan Now—, were organized for school boys and girls over fifteen years of age. Many hundreds of young people attended each of these conferences, which were held in London, the first for four and the second for five days. So many applications for places were received that hundreds had to be disappointed.

Speakers were frankly delighted and sometimes amazed by the keen interest, the extent of information and, chiefly, by the solid sense of social responsibility shown by these young people still at school. After all conferences efforts are made to follow up in the schools by assisting in the formation of current affairs groups, by providing book lists, lending books, advising on films or supplying speakers.

The 1944 conference has had one scarcely anticipated result. Its main subjects were Educational Reconstruction and the Beveridge Report. The session on education in the U.S.A. roused such a vociferous demand for more information that arrangements were made through the *New York Herald-Tribune* to put as many of those present as possible in touch with American school boys and girls.

In the summer vacation of 1943 a school was held for teachers on The Teaching of the Social Studies. The school was held in London, in the partially destroyed Morley College.

5. The Association maintains a

library and an information service for advice on schemes of work, sources from which speakers may be obtained and suitable books.

Much of the day-to-day work of the staff involves answering inquiries from varied sources. A young mother writes to say she has gathered a small group of parents together in her neighborhood to study the educational system in which their children will grow up. She asks for suggestions about books, speakers and how to obtain films.

A group of youngsters who have formed their own club asks for advice on drawing up a constitution. The clerk of a Youth Parliament asks for news of the activities of other such groups in different parts of the country. A soldier inquires as to how he can begin to prepare himself to take part in the work of adult education after demobilization. A civilian discussion group in a lonely village asks for study schemes for the coming winter.

6. The Association makes representations with regard to training in citizenship to appropriate educational bodies.

The Association is in constant touch with the Board of Education and its staff has given oral evidence and prepared memoranda for two of the Board's departmental committees, the McNair Committee on the Training of Teachers and Youth Leaders and the Norwood Committee on Curriculum and Examinations. Written and oral evidence was also submitted to the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, and an appreciation of the work of the Association appears in the Council's report on *Training for Citizenship* (1944).

Early in the war the Association, in common with so many other organizations with headquarters in London, suffered considerable losses. Premises, equipment, records and much of the library were destroyed, and for a considerable time work proceeded under great difficulties in temporary premises.

Interest Despite War

In June 1943 a central office was re-opened in Westminster. In spite of handicaps indissociable from war, many factors have contributed during this period to promote the work of educating the citizens. An acute general sense of the individual citizen's tasks in a national emergency, recognition of the complexity of decisions which will have to be taken by young people now growing up to citizenship, a general interest in education stimulated by a series of excellent Government Papers and the Education Bill passed in 1944 by Parliament, the conception of national responsibility for leisure-time provisions for youth—all promote a state of the public mind favorable to educational enterprise.

The principal officers of the Association are the president, Sir Richard Livingstone, Hon. D.Litt., Hon. Ll.D., President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, author of *Education for a World Adrift* and *The Future in Education;* the chairman, Sir Ernest D. Simon, M.A., former Lord Mayor of Manchester and Member of Parliament, author of *A City Council from Within, The Smaller Democ-*

(Continued on page 204)

Early Planning Pattern Found

How the experts of 3300 years ago boldly blocked out master plan to minimize destructiveness of Nile River and maximize social benefits told by ancient records.

AUTHOR UNKNOWN*

IN THE third year of the reign of the gracious and merciful Nwab'i Ch'ow it came to pass that the Nile was angered, and began to rise above his banks. Up the stream many peasants were drowned and many houses were carried away by the dark waters, but at Cairo the palace of the Pharaoh was protected by a large dike with retaining levees, so the court was not much concerned about this flood.

One day, however, a palace guard came breathless before the Pharaoh and reported that the dike around the palace was weakening, and that it would not last many more days. So the Pharaoh cut off his head for being a harbinger of bad tidings, and called his planning board.

"Gentlemen," said the Pharaoh, "we are faced with a limited emergency. The dike outside the palace is in some danger of collapse, and I would like to have you make plans for strengthening it. I don't want any of your landscaping on top of the dike, and I might as well tell you that you cannot keep the Nile out by zoning this as 'dry land': you must get to work on something fundamental. If you succeed, I will reward you well, I will even make you permanent; but if you fail I will personally with my own hands tie you to a tree and watch the water rise over your heads." And with those words he turned back to his lyre and lotus brandy and a dark-skinned lady from up near the Second Cataract.

So the Planning Board hired some offices and got an allocation from the treasury and they appointed regional consultants in remote sections of Egypt and they assembled a great technical staff from the leading universities, and then they sat down with some scratch-papyrus to figure out a program.

"Our first need," they cried, "is for Basic Data. We cannot plan without facts." So they set up a Committee to Correct Deficiencies in Hydrologic Data, and the Committee sent out field agents to interrogate the oldest inhabitants as to the behavior of the river, what was the highest flood crest within their memory, what was the secular trend, if any, and what was the periodicity of recurrence. Since many of these old gaffers had bad memories, their stories did not always click, so the Committee hired a lot of statisticians who reconciled the conflicting accounts by establishing a standard deviation. This was multiplied by the square root of pi, and was called The Index.

In the meanwhile another subcommittee had been set up to investigate the causes of the weakness in the existing dike. "If we cannot profit by past mistakes," the Board announced in the *Egyptian Planning Quarterly,* "we might make the same mistakes again." The Committee on Past Mistakes, realizing the need for Comprehensive Planning, appointed several study groups to deal with Engineering Aspects, Social Aspects, Human Aspects and Fiscal Aspects; and a special group of sociologists considered Community Life in a Planned Monarchy.

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*This manuscript describing an example of ancient planning procedure is said by the League member who submits it to be a translation from an original papyrus of approximately the twelfth century B. C.

Ignore the Positive

The reports of these groups attracted wide attention in planning circles; the Engineering group reported that the dike was leaking because of defective riprapping and excessive seepage, but nobody paid any attention to them because they were so pedestrian and obviously had the narrow, biased viewpoint of an "Action Agency." It was the other reports that really made a stir.

The Social group informed the Board that there was not enough play-space on the dike for the underprivileged children of the nearby marshes; that four out of seven dike families were spending less than twenty sesterces per capita per annum for leafy green vegetables; and that the dike itself acted as an arbitrary social barrier between the river-boat people and the marsh-dwellers. It recommended a sweeping investigation of relief administration, and advocated the exportation of aliens who were public charges.

The group on Fiscal Aspects brought out the fact that all the bonds on the dike had not yet been amortized, and that at the present rate it would take twenty years to do so. It also discovered that the dike, which was government property and therefore tax-free, was in no less than four overlapping tax districts (the Kingdom of Egypt, the county of Cairo, the city of Cairo, and the Lower Nile Conservancy District). The group recommended a drastic overhauling of "our antiquated tax system, the elimination of obsolete units of government, and curtailment of excessive governmental expenditures."

All this time the dark waters of the Nile were rising, and the seepage through the dike was faster. The Pharaoh had moved his lyre and lotus brandy upstairs, and sent his girl friend home in a skiff, and the Planning Board sent him an Interim Progress Report calling for more basic data, comprehensive approach to the problems, and coordinated effort at all levels of government.

The next step of the Planning Board was to make a Master Plan. This Plan provided for the comprehensive development of the Nile all the way from Lake Tsana to the Delta—it was a social as well as a physical plan for the wise conservation and utilization of all Egypt's resources—both human and natural. At the last minute one of the despised Engineers got them to include the strengthening of the dam around the palace, but they would have preferred to exclude it, since it was a small detail that could be filled in later in accordance with "the broad principles and objectives blocked out with a bold hand in the master plan."

After the master plan had been "boldly blocked out" it went through several revisions which carefully emasculated anything that might offend the land-owners upstream or that might not meet the approval of the "cooperating agencies." The Master Plan was then printed up in a tentative form and circulated "for technical review" among the leading scholars and public officials of the country, while the Board went on a short vacation trip on a steamer up the Nile to rest from its labors.

Everybody said they were crazy to go out in a boat when the river was in flood, and the Pharaoh reminded them of the punishment that awaited them if they did not arrange for buttressing the dike. But they said that there was no use in devising hasty plans without adequate basic data, nor in failing to see the wood for the trees, so they left their comprehensive plan for criticism by the experts, and they left their regional officers in charge of integrating anything that came up, and off they went, up the angry Nile.

The day after they left the dike gave way, and the Nile poured over the city of Cairo, and everybody was drowned—including the Pharaoh—except for the planners. When they came back, and found their plans had washed away with everything else, they said, "Well, it wasn't a very good plan anyway." And they sat down and started to draft another.

NEW CONSTITUTION FOR MISSOURI

(Continued from page 167)

Authority for the legislature to provide for statewide registration of voters. Registration was limited under the former constitution to cities of more than 10,000 population and counties of more than 100,000;

Revision of the plan for apportionment of State Highway Department funds, giving the Highway Commission discretion as to where the money shall be expended. All Highway Department expenditures now are in rural areas. Under the new constitution a part of the money could be used to build the highway system through St. Louis, Kansas City and other cities.

The new constitution went into effect March 29, but the General Assembly has until July 1, 1946, to bring the statutory laws into conformity with its provisions. Many changes will be required and it is expected that the legislature will take at least a year to make revisions.

A joint committee of the Senate and House was created some weeks ago to prepare a program for the legislature, the purpose being to prepare the bills which are mandatory. Most of the preparation of the bills will be by the Committee on Legislative Research whose director is Charlton F. Chute on leave from his duties as director of the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis.

There are several shortcomings in the new constitution, and one or two headaches such as the provision for a double preaudit. The initiative is a popular method of achieving reforms in Missouri, however, and it will probably be invoked some time in the next few years in behalf of a unicameral legislature and a short ballot.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Many Cities Consider Manager Plan

All Sections of Country Seek Local Improvement

DESPITE preoccupation of the voters with the war effort, numerous communities throughout the country, looking forward to the postwar era, are interested in the council-manager plan as a means of making local government more efficient and financially sound.

The City Manager League of **Springfield, Massachusetts**, has resumed activities looking to the adoption of Plan E, which provides for a manager chosen by a council elected by proportional representation. A petition had been prepared for the purpose in 1941 but the movement was suspended because of the unsettled situation caused by the World War. Leaders of the movement believe that the voters should have an opportunity to choose a new type of government, in place of Springfield's bicameral council and mayor, to meet postwar problems. It is planned to circulate petitions for a vote in November. Even if Plan E is adopted then two more years will elapse before it will become effective.

The Plan E Club of **Revere, Massachusetts**, has inaugurated a series of meetings in various districts of that city in a campaign to foster the adoption of the council-manager plan and proportional representation.

The **North Adams, Massachusetts,** *Transcript* notes the success of the manager plan in other cities and predicts a future move for its adoption in that city, although thus far an organized opposition has defeated previous attempts for its adoption.

The voters of **Chester, Vermont,** approved the town manager plan on March 6.

The **Burlington, North Carolina,** Civic Committee has filed with the Alamance County Board of Elections a petition of 2,000 names calling for a special election on the council-manager plan. It has also presented to the representatives of the county in the State Senate and House a bill to amend the Burlington charter to include the manager plan.

Support for a bill in the state legislature that would permit a local referendum on the manager plan for **Kingston, North Carolina,** was withdrawn after the authority of the manager to discharge employees was eliminated from the proposed plan.

In **Spartanburg, South Carolina,** interest in the council-manager plan has become active. The Spartanburg *Journal* is editorially championing a movement to bring about adoption of the plan, and a group of business men has been formed for that purpose. The United Commercial Travelers Council, at a meeting in February attended by 50 business men, adopted a resolution favoring the plan and a public campaign of education. At a meeting of 200 citizens on March 2 a resolution was adopted calling for a referendum on the manager plan at the May 8 general election.

The **Anderson, South Carolina,** *Independent* praises the manager plan and suggests a local referendum on its adoption.

The mayor and council of **Cairo, Georgia,** have deferred action on setting a date for an election on a city manager proposal contained in a city charter amendment enacted at the current session of the state legislature with a referendum provision. Further study of the proposal was suggested by council members.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Tampa, Florida,** voted overwhelmingly on February 8 its approval of committee recommendations for a manager form of government for Tampa. It decided recently to take a poll to obtain a cross-section of local opinion on the manager plan.

Eight of eleven women who are heads of representative organizations in Tampa have endorsed the manager plan.

Final recommendations provide for a council, or board of representatives, of seven, to be elected by city-wide vote. The city would be divided into six districts, with a representative chosen from each, but voted on by the entire city; a seventh member would be elected strictly at large, and would act as chairman and mayor.

The previous idea of holding preliminary district elections to nominate two candidates from each district was discarded in favor of a provision that "if no candidate in any of these seven groups polls a majority in the first election, then the two candidates receiving the greatest number of votes in that group will go into a run-off election to determine the winner" (a complication which proportional representation would obviate).

A bill providing for a referendum vote in **Chattanooga, Tennessee,** in November 1946, on the question of adopting the council-manager plan has been passed in the state legislature and signed by the governor. A bill has also been introduced by Representative Robert A. Morrison of Chattanooga which, without a referendum, would substitute appointed executives as operating heads of the various departments now under each of the five members of the city commission, who would remain in general charge of the city administration. Although not so stated in the bill, its author claims that the commission could establish a form of manager plan by placing all existing departments in an executive department headed by a manager; but the bill does not require this, and the commissioners would retain some administrative duties including personnel matters. This bill for a so-called "true commission plan" was put forward to provide a different form from the present Chattanooga government to compete with the manager plan that will be voted on next year.

Rogers City, Michigan, a newly incorporated city, adopted a council-manager charter on February 13 by a vote of 662 to 72. The charter provides that it shall take effect immediately after canvass of the votes by the charter commission, but the entire incorporation procedure is in litigation and until this is cleared the charter cannot become effective, according to the International City Managers' Association.

A vote is to be taken in April on the manager plan in **Howell, Michigan.**

In a vote on March 5 to advise the charter revision commission, 696 citizens of **Mount Clemens, Michigan,** favored the manager plan and 822 preferred the present commission plan. Less than one-third of the registered voters participated.

A movement is under way looking toward an election this spring on manager government for the village of **Morton Grove, Illinois.**

A charter commission in **Crookston, Minnesota,** is considering the advantages of drafting a manager charter.

The *Kansan* of **Kansas City, Kansas,** applauding the movement for the manager plan in Independence, Kansas, where it was adopted on January 23, laments that its own city has not done the same.

Petitions calling for a special election on the manager plan have been circulated in **Herington, Kansas.**

Parsons, Kansas, defeated a proposed council-manager charter on February 20 by a vote of 2,002 to 960.

The **La Junta, Colorado,** city council has endorsed a bill in the state legislature to simplify procedure for cities desiring to change from the mayor-council form to commission or council-manager government.

The tax and legislative committee of the Chamber of Commerce of **El Paso, Texas,** has recommended a charter amendment to provide the manager plan.

Proposed amendments to the charter of **Reno, Nevada,** which have been prepared by the city administration and introduced in the legislature, include power for the city council to employ an administrative assistant for the mayor, to take over administrative duties but with no authority to hire or discharge personnel. Another constitutes an authorization for a local referendum, at the 1947 election, on the council-manager plan, with the manager to have the right to hire and fire subject to civil service regulations.

Clifford Clinton, candidate for the mayoralty nomination at the April primary in **Los Angeles, California,** advocates the council-manager plan.

The International City Managers' Association reports that at the end of 1944 there were 587 managers in service, thirteen of whom were serving two communities and one was serving three. Of this 587, 88 had served more than one city—57 were serving their second city; sixteen their third, thirteen their fourth, and two (John N. Edy and C. M. Osborn) were in their fifth manager job. The average tenure was seven and a half years, but there are eleven managers with a quarter of a century of management. There were 97 appointments to manager positions during 1944—22 were to cities just beginning to operate under the manager plan. Seventy-one per cent of these appointees had had some experience in government previous to their appointment. There were ten promotions from one city to another, nine former managers came back into service, 31 were promoted from administrative positions within the city, while eighteen held administrative posts in governments outside the city. There were eighteen appointees with no governmental experience and eleven whose experience is unknown. There were 64 separations in 1944—eight deaths and 56 removals or resignations; three went into military service, five took federal positions, two went to state governments, nine to other city positions, two have since returned to manager posts, eleven entered private business, two are unemployed, eight retired, and the occupation of fourteen is unknown.

San Diego Installs Cooperative In-Service Training Plan

The city council of San Diego, California, in cooperation with the school system, has inaugurated a comprehensive in-service and pre-entry training program for municipal employees, reports the International City Managers' Association.

It will be administered by a full-time "training officer" under supervision of the municipal personnel director.

A training advisory committee was set up to evaluate existing programs, develop training policies and procedures and assist in getting training units started. This committee consists of the personnel director representing the city manager, the training officer representing the vocational school, the head of the department for which a program is being prepared and a representative of the city employees.

The training policy, which has been submitted to all employees, sets forth the following principles that are considered essential to a sound training program:

1. Training to be recognized as an important and essential part of operations;
2. All training taken by the employee to be made part of his personnel record and to be given definite consideration relative to promotions;
3. Lines of promotion to be clarified and publicized;
4. Training facilities to be made available for all employees desiring preparation for better jobs and capable of benefiting therefrom;
5. Pre-employment and induction training facilities to be made available;
6. Training courses may be organized wholly or in part on city time when authorized.

The training program has been started with department heads, supervisors and foremen, to secure understanding and cooperation at the top; this will be done through a continuous program of foremen conferences and job management instruction.

New Mexico Municipal League Reorganizes

A meeting of representatives from 26 of the 64 incorporated cities, towns and villages and from 12 of the 31 counties of New Mexico, in Albuquerque on January 27, resulted in reorganization of the New Mexico Municipal League which had become inactive. J. R. Kastler, mayor of Raton, was elected president; Roy H. Daniels, acting mayor of Roswell, vice-president; and Manuel Lujan, mayor of Santa Fe, secretary-treasurer. An executive committee of nine members in addition to the three officers was also named. Four city attorneys were appointed as a committee to draft legislation.

At a meeting of the executive committee on February 24 a constitution and by-laws were unanimously adopted and a tentative budget approved. A legislative committee was chosen. The legislative policy of the League was expressed as in favor of laws tending to give municipalities more control of their internal affairs.

RUPERT F. ASPLUND, *Director*
Taxpayers' Association of
New Mexico

Employee Unions Add 51 Locals in 1944

Municipal employee unions affiliated with national labor groups were organized in 102 cities with populations of 10,000 or more in 1944 while 51 locals disbanded, leaving a net increase of 51 for the year, according to the International City Managers' Association. The number of locals of the four major organizations operating in the governmental field was reported as 944 at the end of the year in cities of that size.

In addition local employee organizations unaffiliated with any national group were stated to be functioning in 124 such cities.

The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL) reported new locals in 38 cities, disbanding of twenty and a year-end total of 221. The State, County and Municipal Workers of America (CIO) reported organization of new locals in 25 cities, disbanding in twelve and a total of 83.

The International Association of Fire Fighters (AFL) organized new locals in 31 cities and five were disbanded; the total was 477.

The Fraternal Order of Police (unaffiliated) reports that "lodges" were organized in eight cities in 1944 and were disbanded in fourteen, the total being 163.

Half of Wisconsin's City Employees in Retirement Plan

Employees of 24 additional cities and villages were brought under the Wisconsin municipal retirement fund on January 1, 1945, bringing to 43 the total number of municipalities participating in the system, according to the American Municipal Association. It is estimated that approximately half of all the potentially eligible municipal employees are now included. Other cities are planning to come under the plan in the near future.

Constitutional Revision at Issue in Kentucky

Kentucky is seeking to change her 54-year-old constitution. At the 1944 session of the General Assembly a resolution calling for a constitutional convention was passed by both houses. However, with that initial step, the fight for a new constitution has barely begun. The constitution of 1891 provides that before a constitutional convention can be called, such a resolution must pass by a majority of all members elected to each house in two successive sessions and then be approved by a vote of the people.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that only two amendments can be submitted by the General Assembly in any biennial period, and that the present constitution contains many restrictions which seriously hamper the operation of state and local government. Examples of the latter are the five-thousand-dollar limit on officials' salaries and the five-mill limit on general purpose county tax levies.

Since the passage of the resolution considerable interest in constitutional change has been manifest in the state. A series of radio broadcasts, conducted weekly by the University of Kentucky, has been devoted to the subject. Other broadcasts are planned and a few of the state's scholars are making comprehensive studies of the subject. Up to now interest seems to have been confined to college professors, political reporters, constitutional lawyers and the like. There has been some talk, however, of creating an organization which would attempt to stir up interest at the grass roots.

The Committee on the Constitution and Organic Laws of the State Advisory Commission on Postwar Planning is making a thorough study of state constitutions with a view to having a program developed, or at least started, if the present movement for a constitutional convention should eventuate in the actual calling of a constitution.

J. E. Reeves

University of Kentucky

Four States Reject, One Approves Federal Tax Limit

The movement fostered by several organizations to place a 25 per cent limit on federal income and inheritance tax rates[1] has added New Hampshire to the list of seventeen states in which one or both houses of the legislature have adopted resolutions calling for a federal constitutional amendment to that end.

The legislatures of Arkansas and Wisconsin, however, which had previously adopted such resolutions, rescinded their action.

In Illinois the lower house on March 13 also rescinded its approval given in 1943 to a resolution for the 25 per cent limit.

In the New York Senate the first of two similar resolutions failed by a tie vote. It was largely a party issue, supported by the Republican majority leader; but enough Republicans, led by Senator Thomas C. Desmond, joined with the Democrats to defeat the move. Senator Desmond stressed the revenue loss of $6,000,000,000 or more which such a tax limit would entail, and called inconsistent an attempt by New York to limit the revenues of the federal government while the state has been accumulating handsome surpluses for postwar use.

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[1] See "The Tax Limitation Delusion," the Review, February 1944, page 64.

In the last week of the session a second attempt was made and succeeded, although three Republicans joined Senator Desmond in opposition. The Assembly, however, on March 23, defeated the resolution 94-41.

The Maryland legislature had the subject under consideration also in the latter part of March.

State Employees at Five-Year Low

The Bureau of the Census has announced that the number of employees of state governments in July 1944 was 471,000, as compared to the high mark of 571,000 in July 1941. The 1944 number is the lowest in five years.

The highest number among the states last July was 51,576, in New York, followed by 42,175 in Pennsylvania, 27,934 in California, 22,285 in Illinois and 19,678 in Ohio. The smallest number, 818, was in Nevada.

The drop in personnel, according to the Census Bureau, was due to continued shortages of manpower and materials and also to taking over of the state employment services by the federal government. Payroll costs, however, are substantially higher than before the war because of longer working hours, overtime pay and higher compensation including cost-of-living bonuses.

Researcher's Digest

Los Angeles Town Hall Investigates Civil Service

Makes Recommendations to Improve City's Personnel

THE Municipal and County Government Section of **Town Hall, Los Angeles,** has completed a study of certain aspects of personnel administration in local government—*How Can Civil Service Personnel Methods Be Improved?*

The report, which represents about ten months' work by the Section, deals with open competition versus promotion from within, residence requirements, preferential credits, internship programs, in-service training, transfers between governmental jurisdictions and exchange of personnel for training purposes between government and private business.

The Section finds that, for the most part, the local civil service is a closed service. Entrance is usually possible only through the lowest ranks. Charter provisions calling for the filling of vacancies by promotion "whenever practicable" have been rigidly construed by the California courts. The accepted legal rule is that if there are persons in the service eligible to take a promotional examination, the Civil Service Commission must give such an examination before it can determine whether it is practicable to fill a vacancy by promotion.

Advantages and disadvantages of both the closed promotional system and open competition are analyzed. The study concludes that the legal requirement of either system to the exclusion of the other is unwise. It recommends, therefore, that the Civil Service Commission be entrusted with complete discretion, both as to over-all policies and as to the procedure to be followed with respect to particular vacancies. "The Commission," says the Section, "is least likely to be moved by personal considerations in connection with particular vacancies and is in the best position to guide over-all policies."

The report next turns its attention to related problems, particularly personnel at the supervisory and administrative levels.

The Section's analysis culminates in a series of recommendations. Implicit in these is recognition of the fact that most supervisory and administrative positions will continue to be filled by promotion from within. All of the recommendations have, therefore, a common purpose: to permit and encourage the entrance into the service of the best qualified personnel obtainable and to provide within the service the best possible training for supervisory and administrative posts. The recommendations are as follows:

1. That residence within a particular jurisdiction as a prerequisite to eligibility be eliminated entirely;
2. That in both open competitive and promotional examinations, preferential credits for seniority, efficiency or military service be added only after a passing grade has been attained;
3. That each jurisdiction have an internship program designed to provide appropriate training for both college graduates and promising persons already in the service who may or may not have had college work;
4. That a training division be established within the personnel unit of each jurisdiction, such division to be responsible for stimulating and coordinating training programs for the development of administrative, management and supervisory capacities, as well as for the development of specific skills;
5. That the necessary legal steps be taken to permit transfer of civil service personnel from one jurisdiction to another without loss of seniority or retirement rights;
6. That appropriate procedures be developed for temporary transfers for training purposes between governmental jurisdictions and between government and private business.

PAUL BECKETT, *Editor*
Town Hall, Los Angeles

Litchfield Voters Make 'Self-Survey'

"This is the first study conducted in Connecticut involving fact-gathering by public-spirited citizens and its interpretation by competent experts," says Roderic M. Cross, president of the **Litchfield (Connecticut) Voters' Club.** Eighteen members of the Club supplied basic information on nineteen different aspects of the town and two borough governments under the guidance of the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** whose staff members then wrote the report.

Findings of the investigation have been published in an attractively illustrated booklet, *A Report to the Voters' Club, Town of Litchfield, Connecticut,* which states that its "first and perhaps greatest value lies in an awakened interest in local affairs and a much clearer understanding on the part of many persons of the operation of their local government . . . . That stimulation is needed is obvious," it adds, pointing out that attendance at town meetings varies from ten to one hundred and that only a row or pressure of some group with an axe to grind brings even a modest turnout. Representative town meetings are suggested if people will not attend town and borough meetings.

The report points out that the performance of relatively minor public functions by the boroughs of Bantam and Litchfield, coupled with low citizen interest in borough affairs, indicates that "there is little reason, except tradition, for maintaining the boroughs as separate governmental units."

The study suggests that instead of a highway system divided into five separate districts with responsibility for administration divided between five selectmen, a single department be established under a professional superintendent who would be, in effect if not in name, town manager. Another possibility is to place responsibility for the conduct of the highway department on the first selectman. "Either would be a great improvement," concludes the report.

State Administrative Agencies Listed in New Texas Guide

The **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas** has published *A Layman's Guide to the Texas State Administrative Agencies* prepared by Dr. Dick Smith. Each agency, board or commission of the state government is listed on a separate page with information as to how it was established—by constitution or legislative act, its date of establishment, method of selection of officials, qualifications, term of office, compensation and major duties and powers.

One by-product of the publication is the evidence it provides that "the Texas state administrative system is a good example of disintegration. At this writing," states Stuart A. MacCorkle, director of the Bureau, in the book's introduction, "there are 170 agencies, departments and institutions supervised by 122 administrative bodies . . . . The disorganization which exists in Texas administrative machinery is the result of a more or less haphazard growth with little over-all planning. . . . There are many examples of duplication and overlapping of functions, and many agencies have duties so diverse that they are unable to give sufficient attention to their primary functions, if indeed some can be said to have a primary function."

Reapportionment for Illinois Called an Urgent Need

The latest publication of the **Illinois Legislative Council** discusses reapportionment. Covered are redistricting in Illinois for Congress, the State Senate and the Supreme Court.

The report quotes from a message to the legislature this year by Governor Green, who said: "I call to your attention your obligation and mine under the constitution and the law to reapportion the congressional and senatorial districts in accordance with the federal census of 1940. There has been no such reapportionment since 1901. Certainly there is a pressing need to correct the inequalities of our congressional apportionment under which Illinois now has both the largest and smallest congressional districts in the United States, one nine times the size of the other."

The study presents tables of population and maps of present and proposed districts. It raises and discusses numerous questions as to what basis of apportionment should be used but makes no recommendations.

A New Program for Kansas Elementary Schools

The Research Department of the **Kansas Legislative Council** has followed its publication on *School District Reorganization* with another entitled *The Elementary School Problem.* In it the Council presents detailed statistical information setting forth problems which Kansas faces in modernizing its elementary school system.

Kansas has too many school districts, states the report, for the number of pupils to be educated. The major reason for the situation, it is held, lies in the fact that district organization goes back to its establishment in the period 1858-1880, despite the numerous important changes which have occurred since.

The school bill which the council has prepared for the legislature provides a comprehensive reorganization of the school district system and a new plan of elementary school support based on classroom units and a two-mill county levy both of which features the report describes.

New Constitution

The series of articles which appeared in *Dollars and Sense in Government,* publication of the **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute,** on the proposed new constitution for Missouri — since adopted by the voters on February 27 —is now available in a single bound pamphlet. Covered are provisions for the state executive branch, the legislature, the court system, state finance, taxation, local government and local finance.

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Hunt for New Revenues

Stating that the city is "on the brink of financial chaos," Robert E. Leyton, director of the **Research Department of the Zanesville Chamber of Commerce,** has issued a mimeographed pamphlet on *Increasing Municipal Revenues.* Possible sources of revenue for the city's general fund are listed in two divisions: those requiring state action and those available without state action. Estimated receipts for 1945 and bond and interest requirements for 1945 are set forth at the end of the leaflet.

* * *

Legislative Committee

Membership on its legislative committee is open to any citizen who expresses an interest and will participate in the meetings, announces the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc.** The Bureau selects the most significant bills from the mass of legislation introduced at Albany for action by the committee. Bills covering civil service and related subjects, workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, housing, education, assessment and taxes, government expenditures and changes in the state constitution are of greatest interest to the committee. It tries also "to consider as many as possible of the 'gimme' and special privilege bills and registers its disapproval. Legislation forcing mandatory expenditures or other compulsory actions upon municipalities is carefully scrutinized."

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Legislators Listed

The **Minneapolis Research Bureau** has published a Roster of the 1945 Minnesota legislature "as a public service." Chairmen of committees for Senate and House are listed also.

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Schools Compared

For the information of its Public Schools Committee, the **Municipal League of Seattle for Governmental Research** has prepared comparative statistics for eight school districts scattered through the country. Seattle is compared with Indianapolis, Kansas City (Missouri), Louisville, Minneapolis, Providence, Rochester (New York) and Denver. Listed for each are total population, total enrollment, daily attendance, number of buildings, teachers' salaries, average number of pupils per teacher, number of nonsupervisory positions, property tax levy, other sources of revenue and expenditures—the latter broken down into five categories.

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Mayor's Message

The **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research** has issued a resume of Mayor Laphan's annual message to the supervisors on the state of affairs of the city and county. In closing the Mayor remarked: "If democracy as we know it is to survive, we must strengthen local government and not look to Washington for our daily bread—hoping it will come to us well buttered."

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Budgets

Your Tax Dollar, issued by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.,** comments on "The State's Budget Proposal for the 1946-1947 Biennium." The Commission emphasizes that "considerable study of the state's budget presentation is necessary, as usual, in order to understand just what really is proposed" and states that the purpose of its report is to clarify the budget proposal and to indicate again how the state's budgetary practices should be improved. It calls the new budget incomplete and confusing and declares that action by the "Governor, the General Assembly and state administrators on the recommendations already presented by this Commission need not be delayed."

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Imaginary Cities

"Constitutional prohibitions against local and special legislation make it impossible to clothe Philadelphia in up-to-date laws that fit," comments the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** in *Citizens' Business*. While there is only one city of the first class, Philadelphia, "draftsmen have always had to pretend that there might be other first class cities and have had to avoid provisions that might not be appropriate for them. And while thus writing laws for imaginary cities, they had to ignore actual conditions in Philadelphia because they would not exist in the imaginary cities."

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Woman's Foundation Holds First Workshop

Citizen Activity for Family Stressed at Rye Conference

ONE of the major fields of discussion of a four-day workshop in Rye, New York, March 1–4, sponsored by **The Woman's Foundation, Inc.,** was citizenship and methods of stimulating the woman's participation in community, state and national affairs as a way of supporting and advancing family life.

The workshop, first organized activity of the newly announced foundation, brought together authorities in the fields of housing, citizenship, religion, the family, community service and the woman in industry, who studied problems of the American woman and the American family and developed proposals for their solutions.

In the group of men and women who served as co-chairmen of the various study areas were: Dr. Edna N. White, director of the Merrill-Palmer School; Lawrence K. Frank, consultant on child development and human conservation; Howard Vermilya, housing research director, John B. Pierce Foundation; C. W. Farrier, technical director, National Housing Agency; Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse, congresswoman from Connecticut and managing director of Institute on Women's Professional Relations; Dr. J. Hillis Miller, associate commissioner of education, New York; Mrs. Harper Sibley, president of the United Council of Church Women; Dr. Kenneth I. Brown, president of Denison University, Granville, Ohio; Dr. Robert G. Sproul, president of the

University of California; Murray Seasongood, former mayor of Cincinnati and present president of the Hamilton County Good Government League; Dr. George B. Cutten, former president of Colgate University; Mrs. Eugene Meyer, author and newspaper woman; and Dr. Leonard Mayo, president, Child Welfare League of America.

Citizen Activity

Reporting for the committee on citizenship, Dr. Cutten announced that his committee had endeavored to draw up a workable chart which would outline for women what they should know about their community, state and federal governments, how to keep well informed, what contributions they could make to good citizenship in their own areas, how these contributions could be made and what the resultant benefits would be.

In addition to the chairmen the members of the citizenship committee included Mr. Seasongood; Mrs. Marguerite J. Fisher, associate professor of political science, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of Syracuse University; Robert Davidson, Stephens College; R. W. Morrison, Texas civic and business leader; Arthur T. Vanderbilt, former president of the American Bar Association; Mrs. Frederick K. Weyerhaeuser, civic leader of St. Paul; and Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary, National Municipal League.

It was announced at the close of the conference that material developed by the workshop will be used as the basis for pamphlets which will be made available to interested organizations and authorities.

In addition to the report of the group on citizenship other recommendations of the committees included: community responsibility for adequate living services to the woman who must work; greater consideration of the house from the standpoint of human values and as a tool for adequate family living; a network of services in the community which would include members of the family and provide "a fuller, richer and wider participation in community life for the adult and juvenile alike"; a program which will stimulate parents to provide for the religious hungers and needs of their children.

Purposes of Foundation

Plans for The Woman's Foundation were revealed in an announcement of the board of trustees. The statement declared: "The foundation is established in the belief that promotion of the welfare of the home and the family group is the most effective means of insuring the preservation of the American way of life. The foundation seeks the fullest development of the American woman in all aspects of her life. It is deeply concerned by the rise of delinquency, by the growing divorce rate, by the widespread uncertainty, by the unrest and discontent that come with hasty and crowded living and the widening area of problems that confront the American woman. It believes that there are in America resources and agencies for solving these problems, and it purposes to develop these resources and to serve these agencies."

Dr. James M. Wood of Columbia, Missouri, chairman of the board, emphasized the fact that the foundation will in no sense attempt to duplicate programs of existing agencies, but will correlate available information from these sources and provide cooperative assistance, at the same time developing new fields of activity. The organization will derive its support from gifts and endowments from individuals and corporations and from memberships.

Women Voters Celebrate 25th Birthday

The **National League of Women Voters**, organized in February 1920 by a group of women meeting in Chicago, is this year commemorating its 25th anniversary. No national meeting is contemplated, but state and local leagues throughout the country are planning local celebrations.

Under the title "Let's Take a Look at Ourselves," *Action*, monthly publication of the National League, has this to say:

"In the beginning the League's task was to teach women how to mark a ballot and to use their newly won vote. The League pioneered in magnificent get-out-the-vote campaigns. But it soon became evident that lack of citizen interest in 'government by the people' could not be cured by simply urging people to the polls. They had first to recognize their dependence on government, learn how it touched their lives. Only then were they ready to become effective forces for improving and participating in their government. The goal of the League then became the much larger one of helping to make democratic government work, of creating responsibility for government in as many individual citizens as possible. The League acts, as an organization, not only on government issues for the public welfare but also to provide an opportunity for citizens to participate in their government with responsible help and leadership.

"When a member has examined for herself the bad housing of a slum area, when she has found out for herself or with the help of others how such an area can be reclaimed, when she has actually gone to a public hearing and asked her councilman for action to wipe out those bad living conditions, she has not only acted in the public interest, she has participated in government. When she has written her senator a letter, interviewed him, made him aware in any way of her considered judgment on any issue, she has participated in government.

"But members of the League go further than participation in government; theirs is the task of showing others how to use their democratic rights. Theirs is the challenge of clarifying issues until the average citizen can understand them, of dramatizing them to catch his interest, of making it easy for him to become an *active* citizen.

"The League of Women Voters is not a pressure group in the usual sense. Its purpose is to let the people know, make the people care, and help the people act, so that the majority of the whole people, taking an intelligent interest in their government, can make democracy fulfill its great potentialities.

"On this our twenty-fifth anniversary it is entirely fitting that we take a few moments to rededicate ourselves to the task of helping the people of the United States provide for themselves a government which will serve their needs."

The same issue carries congratulations from Senators Arthur W. Vandenburg and J. W. Fullbright.

Middletown Women Voters Win Fight for Secret Ballot

A really secret ballot for the election of the school board has been attained by the **Middletown (Connecticut) League of Women Voters** after nearly eight years of work, reports the *Connecticut Voter*. Heretofore the slate of nominees, presented by the school board itself, lay on a table in the open and the voter, if he preferred an opposition candidate, was forced to write in a name in public view.

At the last election the League planned a last-minute assault with a candidate in opposition to one of those offered on the slate. The plot failed, but it brought to the attention of the public the fact that the system was such that any small group of people might, at the last minute, be successful in electing a thoroughly undesirable member to the school board.

Previously the League questioned all members of the legislature—and candidates also—as to whether they would favor a bill enforcing a truly secret ballot for all elections within the city, including the school board. All agreed to work toward this end. The results of the poll were published in the local newspaper.

The school board is now prepared to change the system to present nominees in alphabetical order on a single slate and to furnish voting booths in which the actual voting may take place.

Citizen Groups Aid Youth Programs

"Teen Towns," youth centers and other methods of combatting juvenile delinquency are receiving the cooperation of various civic organizations throughout the country. The **Civitan Club of Sparta, Tennessee,** has been active in this direction, according to *Civitan*, official publication of Civitan International.

A member of the Sparta club, learning that a group of young people were interested in securing a recreation center, discussed the subject with them and placed their cause before the local Civitan Club by means of a petition signed by many of the young people as well as their parents. The petition asked permission to use the auditorium of the Community Building. The Club endorsed the proposal and appointed a committee to study the situation. The Rotary Club also endorsed the idea. On presentation to the City Council and to the trustees of the building, permission was finally secured.

The young people have formed their organization and named it "Teen Town," for which they have elected a mayor and city council.

But the Civitan Club's recreation committee felt that the youth needed something better than this temporary headquarters. One club member offered to furnish a minimum of $25,000 for the purchase of land for a recreation center for youth and adults. The committee has now purchased land and is laying plans for building as soon as materials are available. Club house, swimming pool, tennis courts, baseball diamond, etc., are planned. Presidents of the Civitan and Rotary Clubs, American Legion, Parent-Teachers Association and the Women's Club are members of a committee to work with the young people.

Johnson City, Tennessee, Civitan Club has formed a Junior Civitan group in the Science Hill High School.

In an address before the **Phoenix Municipal League**, Howard J. Smith, executive secretary of the **Phoenix Citizens' Good Government Council** said: "The Council is proud of its Youth Betterment Committee. This group of public-spirited men and women have engaged in or sponsored so many worth while activities even to list them is a task. Together with the Community Activities Board, the identity of which is difficult to distinguish from the Youth Betterment Committee, the two are responsible for spiritual, cultural and recreational projects within a wide range."

The Citizen, published by the **Citizens' League of Port Huron, Michigan,** says that the city-sponsored Youth Center in the Old Taylor School, leased last winter from the Board of Education, will open as soon as a trained supervisor is secured. Civic groups have aided the Youth Advancement Committee in equipping the center.

Here and There

A New Civic Group?

According to the *St. Louis Star-Times,* there is interest in founding a good government council for St. Louis and St. Louis County. The newspaper has published, for the benefit of interested citizens, a series of feature stories on civic groups in other cities organized to investigate and publicize the records of candidates for public office. Described in the articles are the **Detroit Citizens League,** the **Municipal League of Seattle** and the **Citizens League of Cleveland.**

* * *

Watching the Legislatures

Philadelphia civic groups are sponsoring a series of weekly legislative luncheons. Speakers include prominent legislators and at each luncheon Miss Esther Lee, legislative representative of the Public Charities Association, presents a report on the progress of important bills.

Some four thousand bills are introduced annually into the New York State legislature, says the **New York League of Women Voters** in its *Monthly News.* It suggests that the responsible citizen can more easily find a path through the maze if he will keep in mind the sources of the bills, listed as follows: (1) administration bills, (2) bills of the minority party, (3) bills of important legislative committees, (4) departmental proposals, (5) bills originating with local government officials, (6) bills proposed by citizen groups, (7) bills of small importance introduced by legislators at the behest of constituents.

"Don't be a civic 'kibitzer,' deal yourself in," says the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy.** "You don't have to be a member of the Pennsylvania state legislature to take an active hand in important state civic affairs." The Committee lists certain important bills before the legislature which all Philadelphians should actively support. One of these would consolidate the city and county governments of Philadelphia. "The combining of our overlapping agencies within the city," says the Committee, "will give you better government for less money."

* * *

Paper in a Paper

The **City Manager League of Yonkers, New York,** has begun publication of the *City Manager League News* by the simple method of buying a quarter-page once a month in the *Yonkers Herald Statesman,* a daily newspaper which has such complete coverage of the community that it is assumed it goes not only to League members but also to many other prospective members and to citizens in general. Officers of the League found, in addition, that with the elimination of paper, printing and postage costs, it was more economical to use newspaper space.

* * *

Municipal Forum

The **Young Men's Chamber of Commerce of Yonkers** will conduct weekly forums to inform young men and women of the city on the fundamentals of their municipal government. A series of thirty or more meetings is proposed at which the city manager and the heads of city departments will discuss the functions of each department. The *Bulletin* of the **Yonkers Committee of 100** commends the Chamber "for its civic-mindedness and its sound and constructive proposal."

* * *

New Budgets

Civic organizations on the state level are interesting themselves in the budget figures now being presented to legislatures for consideration. The **Califor-**

nia Taxpayers' Association reviews Governor Warren's proposals for 1945-47 in *The Tax Digest* for February; the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance** covers figures for that state in *The Wisconsin Taxpayer.*

* * *

New Sources of Revenue

A special citizens committee on new sources of revenue for Madison, Wisconsin, has suggested a 1 per cent income tax similar to that now levied in Philadelphia, special charges for sewage disposal, further study of acquisition of the Madison Gas and Electric Company, a greater share of the income and highway taxes collected by the state. A pay-as-you-go basis for future city improvements and consolidation of the city's sixteen departments into nine are also suggested in the interest of efficiency. Members of the committee consist of private citizens and city officials. Charles K. Alexander, research director of the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, is secretary.

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When Are We Old Enough?

Eight young people recently addressed the Ohio Senate Elections Committee on the question of lowering the voting age to eighteen. Six were in favor of the change, two opposed it. One of the six argued that "if young people are responsible enough to give their lives for their country in the war they are qualified to vote."

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Clubs Study City Improvements

A special committee of the **Florence, (Alabama) Civitan** and **Exchange Clubs** has reported to its organizations on a suggested study of municipal needs by the civic groups of the community. Its report, which was adopted unanimously at a joint meeting of the two clubs, recommended a permanent committee composed of one representative each from the Exchange, Civitan, Rotary, Lions and Kiwanis Clubs, the Chamber of Commerce, the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the city commission, with the judge of Lauderdale County as the ninth member. The report listed sixteen projects for study, including the council-manager plan, public school facilities, improved water system, city employees, garbage collection, promotional plans for the city, etc. Service clubs, labor organizations, church groups and civic organizations were invited to submit to the steering committee the names of men and women from their groups willing to serve on committees to carry out the studies.

* * *

Civic Fund Drive

The **Minneapolis Civic Council** has just completed its eighth annual drive for funds to sustain its seven affiliated agencies and itself. These groups include: Associated Industries of Minneapolis, Better Business Bureau of Minneapolis, Hennepin County Good Roads Association, Hennepin County Safety Council, Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association, Minneapolis Research Bureau and the Minneapolis Taxpayers Association.

Five hundred volunteer workers added 797 new members to the list of over 3,000 firms which subscribed in 1944. The goal of $240,000 was oversubscribed by $24.658.

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Correction

This department was in error in stating that the plan of civic education and participation of Dr. Albin R. Goldschmied, described in the March REVIEW, was part of the plan for the government of metropolitan Boston which won first prize in the "Boston Contest." Dr. Goldschmied's suggestion was part of the plan offered by Boston University faculty members which was awarded a special third prize.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Michigan Tax Committee Makes Report

Recommends Improvements in Local Government Finance

A SPECIAL tax survey committee appointed by the Michigan legislature in 1944 reported in January to the 1945 legislature. It has made a number of recommendations for far-reaching changes in the state-local tax system. The changes urged look toward increasing revenues, distributing funds more equitably among local units, and simplifying procedures and eliminating badly-working provisions of existing laws.

The recommendations regarding the state sales tax have caused perhaps the greatest interest both within and without the state. The present sales tax of 3 per cent goes entirely to the state. Amendment of the law to share part of the collections—perhaps 25 per cent—with the cities had been urged in some quarters. The survey committee decided, however, that the proposals did not encourage local "self-help" and that some cities under such a scheme would get more revenue from the sales tax than they actually needed. It recommended that the rate of the tax be reduced to 2½ per cent and that cities be authorized to impose a supplemental local sales tax at the rate of ½ of 1 per cent to be collected for the city by the state.

Another important recommendation was with respect to the fifteen-mill tax-limit amendment to the state constitution. Under this amendment all property taxes for county, school district and township purposes are limited to fifteen mills. The fifteen-mill limit does not affect taxes of cities and incorporated villages unless they specifically vote to have them included—and only eleven cities have done so. In the jurisdictions to which the limit applies taxes outside the levy may be voted, but a two-thirds majority is required and the special levy cannot extend for a period of more than five years. This is an insufficient period in most cases to finance important improvements, either by direct levy or by authorizing taxes to retire bonds, and the two-thirds vote requirement is a further hurdle. The committee recommended that the constitutional provision be amended to permit the voting of levies by simple majority vote for a period not to exceed fifteen years.

The committee recommended another constitutional amendment to alter substantially the present uniformity clause, but in language which would appear to make a state income tax inadmissible. The language recommended was as follows: "The legislature may provide by law for the levy of taxes. It may confer by law upon units of local government such authority to levy taxes as the legislature may deem desirable. All taxes shall be uniform on the classes upon which they are imposed."

The committee also attached the problem of the state gasoline tax and motor vehicle weight tax, and without suggesting any changes in the rates recommended a simplified formula for the distribution of the proceeds. Instead of the present complicated formula of priorities for various funds and conditional allocations, which is claimed to penalize the cities in favor of rural highway debt contributions, a simple three-way distribution is recommended: the proceeds of the two taxes to be comingled and then divided 40 per cent to the state highway department, 35 per cent to the counties and 25 per cent to the incorporated cities and villages. No recommendation was made as to how the county and city shares might be allocated to the individual units.

Other recommendations were for state equalization of property valuations as determined for purposes of taxation; thoroughgoing revision of the intangibles tax act to increase its productivity, eliminate inequalities and provide the full yield to the local units instead of two-thirds as at present; elimination of technical and procedural defects in the mining assessment law; replacement of the inheritance tax with a "modern" estate and gift tax whose proceeds would go into the primary school interest fund; and amendment of the truck mileage fee law to insure that trucks from states not granting reciprocity in this form of taxation actually be made subject to the mileage fees.

The several recommendations, if adopted by the legislature and in the appropriate cases by the people through constitutional amendment, obviously would considerably improve the revenue position of many of the local units, especially cities, and it is not surprising that the entire report of the tax survey committee was approved by the legislative committee of the Michigan Municipal League (league of Michigan municipalities).

States Cooperate on Tax Auditing

Announcement through the Federation of Tax Administrators of fruitful results of audits made in the New York City area by auditors representing five states brings to light an interesting example of interstate cooperation footnoting James W. Martin's article, "Federal-State Tax Cooperation," in the January REVIEW.

Alabama, California, Colorado, Iowa and Michigan have pooled their facilities for auditing out-of-state concerns in connection with sales tax and income tax investigations, with a considerable reduction in time and much less inconvenience to the taxpayer. In the New York area 54 audits were completed, with an average return of nearly $19 per man-hour expended. In an earlier venture in Chicago, with seven states represented, nine audits yielded about $98 per man-hour. Had the states made separate investigations, 32 separate audits would have been required.

Engineering Construction Plans Exceed Six-Billion Mark

Construction amounting to nearly six and a half billion dollars was in the design stage February 1, according to the Committee on Postwar Construction of the American Society of Civil Engineers, which reports that in all, postwar construction worth sixteen and one half billion dollars has been reported as *under consideration.* The Committee had set a goal of fifteen billion dollars of construction in the design stage by mid-1945, and while the "under-consideration" figure now exceeds the ultimate goal, the work that has progressed to the design stage represents only 36 per cent of the goal.

The Committee's original goal had called for ten billion dollars of private construction and five billion of public works. To February 1, the work in the design stage comprised $5,720,613,000 of public works and $742,632,000 of private works, to give a total of $6,445,245,000.[1]

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[1] See also the REVIEW for September 1944, p. 429, and November, p. 565.

Texas Defeats Homestead Exemption Bill

A bill to submit a constitutional amendment providing for a $3,000 homestead tax exemption was killed in committee by the Texas House of Representatives earlier this year after vigorous opposition by the Texas League of Municipalities. The state already has a homestead tax exemption of $1,000, but this applies only to taxes for state purposes; the proposed amendment would have exempted property from local taxation.

A brief submitted in opposition to the proposal in behalf of the cities by Bill N. Taylor, city manager of Port Arthur and former president of the League, showed that a $3,000 exemption would reduce Port Arthur's taxable valuations by nearly 39 per cent, and cause the loss of $222,300 of taxes annually. Port Arthur has predominantly a modest-type home development, with the average assessed valuation of homesteads estimated at $1,800.

The brief estimated that some of the other cities would be even harder hit. In Highland Park and University Park, well-to-do suburbs of Dallas, a check made several years ago showed that a 50 per cent loss in valuations would result from homestead exemption of the type proposed. Said Mr. Taylor: "In effect, the net result of this legislation would be a knockout blow to practically every town in Texas under 10,000 population."

Borrowing Terms to Local Units More Favorable than Ever

The cost to municipalities of borrowing long-term money reached an all-time low on March 1, according to the index of municipal bond yields compiled monthly by *The Daily Bond Buyer*. The index for twenty representative issues fell to 1.46 per cent, and that for eleven first grade bonds to 1.17 per cent, figures comparing with the peak yield of May 1933, of 5.69 per cent for the twenty-bond group and 4.9 per cent for the selected group.

For a time last fall local borrowing costs were rising, but prospects of continued high federal income tax rates (enhancing the tax-exemption feature of municipal issues), the continuing need of the federal government for large-scale borrowing at low interest rates and the generally strong position of finances in a large number of local units have all combined to drive the cost of local borrowing further downward.

The drop in interest rates—which have been at unusually low levels for some years now as judged by rates prior to the late 1930's—has been accompanied by a considerable volume of municipal bond sales. Many of the issues sold have been bonds authorized last fall in connection with projects which will not be undertaken until after the war, put out now to take advantage of low rates.

In many instances part or all of the money borrowed has been temporarily invested in federal obligations. In many cases, also, the borrowing unit will begin within a year to make repayments on the principal borrowed, so that by the time actual construction begins part of the project will have already been paid for and part of the interest cost will have been offset by income from the investments.

While the situation is extremely favorable to cities, counties, school districts and other units taking advantage of it, some of them, because of ignorance, are not going to reap the full benefits the bond market is prepared to offer. The larger municipalities, which sell bonds frequently, understand in the majority of cases how to "package" their securities and present their case for the most favorable consideration from those who lend the money. Unfortunately, many smaller units, selling bonds at infrequent intervals, make costly mistakes.

Municipal bond defaults in the early 1930's, while presenting on the whole a creditable picture of municipal fiscal capacity in the overwhelming majority of United States municipalities, did nevertheless bring home to the buyers of municipal bonds the fact that obligations of some units were better investments than those of others. More important, the experience of the 1930's helped develop a greater understanding in financial circles of some of the more elemental factors of municipal finance, and led to the increasingly wide use of statistical and other tests designed to enable the buyer to buy intelligently.

The "full disclosure" rules of the S.E.C., while not legally applicable to municipal bond trading, had the inevitable effect of practically requiring that municipal securities be in their way as fully documented as securities of private corporations, while bank members of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation were informed by that agency in considerable detail of the information which they should have in hand when adding municipals to their holdings.

Further, much educational work has been done by fairly voluminous writings on problems of municipal borrowing and finance, and by the increasingly detailed scrutiny of the credit of borrowing units by financial services.

These are developments now generally well known and understood to most of the local units which borrow money with some regularity and frequency. These units understand that bidders on new municipal issues expect to have available for analysis reasonably detailed statements of debt and sinking funds, of annual revenues and expenditures, of year-end balance sheets, of the operations of any public service enterprises owned by the city, and of much corollary information bearing on the unit's powers of taxation, method of operating, etc.

Many of the units now coming on the market, however, are in ignorance of the practical necessity of making a "full disclosure" of their finances and plans, and fail to make adequate information available, with the result that bids are few and interest rates higher than would be the case if competition were keener.

Smaller communities are the common sufferers from ignorance of current borrowing practices, since they may have to borrow only once or twice in a generation for a given improvement, and may sell a fairly sizeable issue only once in a decade. There is no good reason, however, why these infrequent borrowers should not benefit by the present favorable seller's market if they take the pains to do so, but there are at least two prerequisites:

1. They must take the trouble to inquire about and then offer their obligations in the "package" which will attract the most favorable bids.

2. They must make available to those from whom they would receive bids the information necessary to permit marketing the bonds in competition with well known bonds of equally high standing.

To meet these conditions, no hiring of "agents" or others to manage the sale is necessary; the cost to the city, in fact, normally will not extend beyond a little postage and perhaps train fare to the nearest banking center, but this nominal expense will be more than recouped by attracting more bids and getting a lower interest rate. Next month, some of the simple things local units can do to borrow money cheaper will be noted here.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

County Home Rule in New Missouri Constitution

County Consolidation or Dissolution Also Provided

THE new Missouri constitution, adopted by the voters on February 27,[1] removes the shackles of rigid uniformity from all the counties of the state. Significant improvements in county government are expected to result from this new freedom. The more populous counties now are given the opportunity for the first time to solve their problems based on a home rule constitutional guarantee.

Under the new constitution the General Assembly is authorized to establish not more than four classes of counties, each fundamentally different in its organization and powers. Alternative forms of government can be provided in each class, from which the voters of the county can choose.

The only county officers specifically required in the new constitution are the three members of the elective county court (representative body) in those counties which do not choose an alternative form or which do not draft their own charter. Even in such counties the voters may choose to reduce the membership of the county court to two or one.

Counties with populations in excess of 85,000, of which there are four at present, may frame and adopt their own charters. Such charters are initiated by petitions signed by 20 per cent of the voters. The circuit and probate judges are then required to appoint a bipartisan commission of fourteen freeholders to draft the charter, which must be approved finally by the voters at a special election.

Such charter must provide for the form of county government and for the exercise of all powers and duties prescribed by the constitution and state statutes. It may provide also for functions such as public health, police and traffic, building construction, and planning and zoning outside of cities. It may provide for county performance of services, other than school, for any municipality or other political subdivision upon approval of the voters of such subdivision.

The electors of two or more counties can achieve complete consolidation of such counties by a majority favorable vote in each. By a two-thirds vote in favor of the proposition the electors can dissolve a county, whereupon all or parts of it will be annexed to adjoining counties in a manner provided by law. Provision is made also whereby from two to ten contiguous counties may unite to achieve functional consolidation of some of their services by majority vote in each county. Joint employment of specific county officers is another alternative.

The new constitution provides further solutions for the St. Louis metropolitan area. The old constitution permitted extension of the boundaries of St. Louis County to include the city, thus reestablishing the framework in existence before the city-county separation in 1876. Such proposals were rejected in 1925 and 1930. The old constitution permitted also city-county consolidation and city annexation of part of the county. The new constitution provides, in addition, for the establishment of metropolitan district agencies to render services necessary in the territory included. The board of freeholders of eighteen members, equally divided between city and county, that could be appointed to adjust city-county relations is increased to nineteen, the additional member being appointed by the governor of Missouri.

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[1] See "New Constitution for Missouri," by Tess Loeb, p. 165 this issue.

The fee system of compensation in criminal matters is abolished with but few exceptions. Its retention is permitted in civil matters.

In summary, the opportunities of home rule and local government reform now rest entirely in the hands of the state legislature and with the counties themselves.

A New "Manager" Proposal for Montgomery County, Md.

A bill to create a county "supervisor" for Montgomery County, Maryland, has been introduced in the Maryland House of Delegates. The measure provides for appointment of a supervisor by the county commissioners to be removable at their pleasure. He would receive a salary to be determined by the commissioners but not to exceed $10,000 a year, and would be a fulltime official. Qualifications for the position would include substantial education, professional and business training and experience, etc.

Acting as administrative agent for the county commissioners, the supervisor would have responsibility for daily routine administrative functions of the general executive and administrative agencies under jurisdiction of the county commissioners. The commissioners would express their advice or declare policy on routine administrative matters to the supervisor by formal resolution.

The supervisor would be empowered to appoint all employees included in the county civil service system. Under the proposed bill he would have authority to suspend or discharge such employees, but would have to file the reason for his action with the civil service commissioner. All policy-determining or public relations officials of the county, with the exception of the counsel and assistant counsel to the county commissioners, would be required to be responsible first to the county supervisor and then to the commissioners.

The proposed official also would be required to prepare an annual budget for all county departments as well as an annual statement summarizing all capital projects planned for the succeeding five years.

The bill is supported by the present county administration. It does not have the backing of the Montgomery County Charter Committee which was responsible for the proposed county manager charter submitted to the voters last November.[1]

More Counties Consider Manager Plan

The county manager plan for **King County,** (Seattle) **Washington,** proposed by Commissioner Sparkman and previously discussed in this section[2] received a setback when on the legislature's adjournment a bill authorizing appointment of a manager by the county commissioners had failed to get out of committee. A similar fate was met by S. J. R. 6 which would have given Washington counties the right to adopt home rule charters.

County government officials of **Muskegon County, Michigan,** and the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Greater Muskegon are discussing the advantages which would derive from the adoption of the manager plan for their county. They recognize, however, that such a plan cannot be adopted until there is first a constitutional amendment permitting the manager form of government for counties.

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[1] See the REVIEW, December 1944, pp. 583, 634.

[2] See March issue, p. 149.

As a result of its study of the government of the county, the 1945 **Santa Clara County, California**, grand jury has come out with a strong recommendation for adoption of the county manager plan. The Citizens' Planning Council has an active committee at work formulating plans for the election of a Board of Freeholders to draft a manager charter for submission to the voters next fall.

Buffalo Mayor Urges City-County Separation

Mayor Joseph J. Kelly of Buffalo, New York, has stated that separation of the city from Erie County is the "only solution" to the city's financial problem. He said: "Buffalo has reached the limit of the amount it can raise by taxes on real estate for operation and maintenance costs. The only solution in my mind is to make the city a county by itself. Under such an arrangement the city, which now pays better than 75 per cent of the taxes raised in Erie County, would get a share of the state-controlled taxes which now go direct to the county and stay there. If Buffalo is established as a county, it would be one of the largest in the state, with a population in excess of 600,000. Erie County would not suffer since it would still have 27 towns and two cities."

Madison-Dane County Personnel Office Proposed

Since neither the city of Madison, Wisconsin, nor Dane County have sufficient personnel to justify the employment of a full-time personnel officer, the City Finance Committee has proposed that a joint personnel office be established. The proposal was suggested by county officials, but it must be submitted to the city common council.

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Housing—Worldwide Problem

Central, Local Governments Take Steps to Supply Needs

IT IS doubtful if there is any greater problem confronting local governments all over the world than that of housing, regardless of whether there has been damage by enemy action or whether countries are at war.[1]

Certain general facts stand out. The problem seems of such magnitude that all levels of government must cooperate in its solution; the central governments in some cases are the ones principally in the housing field; in almost no country is central activity lacking.

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Russia

The most dramatic housing problem in the USSR is that caused by war damage. There are also problems of war center housing, however, and housing shortages resulting from curtailed wartime construction. As an example of war damage experience in the first 40 districts liberated in the Polesye Province of the Byelorussian Republic may be cited: 209,000 houses were completely destroyed in addition to public and commercial buildings.

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[1] Material on housing in foreign countries may be found in various issues of the *Municipal Journal and Local Government Administrator* (London). See especially articles by S. Henry Kahn, May 26, June 2, July 7, September 8 and 22, and November 17, 1944, issues. A summary of low-cost housing in Latin American countries can be found in *Boletin* (the Municipal Digest of the Americas) Havana, July 1944. See also "Local Affairs Abroad," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, November 1944 (England) and January 1945 (Australia).

To meet the problem the Academy of Architecture, a centrally-controlled agency created over ten years ago, has drawn up plans for the reconstruction of "blitzed" and blighted areas of towns. Some of this work is already under way; for example, construction has begun in Stalingrad. In most war-damaged areas temporary housing has been erected until permanent structures can be built. The central government gives grants to the local units for wartime repairs to houses. Some of the localities instead of using the money for repairs have put the money aside for postwar use. As houses are publicly owned in the USSR, primary responsibility for their repair is on the local authority.

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Spain

The housing shortage in Spain today is still largely the result of the civil war. The principal program adopted has been one which provides for eventual individual ownership. Local and central governments pay 90 per cent of the cost of a house and the tenants 10 per cent. Local governments have contributed varying amounts. In the richer provinces they have contributed a large proportion if not the whole of the public cost, while in the poorer areas they paid little.

The total cost of the program for 1944, estimated at 161,290,010 pesetas, represents an increase of 1,068 per cent over 1942 and 663 per cent over 1943. Less than 10,000 houses have been built thus far.

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Italy

There have been many press accounts of the destruction of houses and apartments in Allied-held Italy and the steps taken to relieve the shortages temporarily. Similar destruction has occurred in northern Italy, especially in industrial cities such as Milan. It is estimated that about 60 per cent of the apartments and houses there are uninhabitable. Even in Milan, however, postwar planning is under way, according to reports reaching Switzerland. Architects, anticipating the defeat of Germany and foreseeing future economic difficulties for Italy, are planning to use marble in liberal quantities in rebuilding the city since there is an abundance of it in the country while steel probably will be scarce.

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France

According to official statistics about 1,500,000 French homes have been wholly or partially destroyed because of the war. Damage was, of course, unevenly distributed. Four-fifths of Caen was destroyed. Other cities, especially those liberated by the underground, suffered little damage.

To meet the situation people have been housed in barracks, barns, house ruins or other shelters. Temporary houses have been built in many areas; within a few months after liberation 3,000 were provided for Toulon and Marseilles. Although the central government has announced that local governments must take responsibility for solving an important part of the housing problem, the former has appointed a minister of reconstruction and city planning to help. Many local governments—Paris, Lyons and Grenoble, for instance—replanned their cities before liberation. Some features of these plans are expected to be followed by the new municipal authorities.

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Northern Ireland

A bill providing for state and local subsidies for housing has been introduced into the House of Commons of Northern Ireland. Contributions would be made on an annual basis and a centrally-controlled housing trust would be created to coordinate and cooperate with local authorities. The object would be to provide cheap working-class houses. The bill would establish a single housing code for all urban and rural areas.

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Scotland

Over 33,000 temporary houses have been allotted to Scotland to make up for war shortages. Local authorities must acquire and prepare sites for these houses and select the tenants. The houses are centrally manufactured, prefabricated, and delivered to localities. By their use it is estimated that new housing accommodations will be double what they would be with new permanent housing only.

For permanent postwar housing local authorities have been advised to prepare sites immediately so that no delay may occur when manpower and materials become available. The Scottish Housing Advisory Committee has issued a report calling for the expansion of villages after the war, the dispersal of industry to create towns up to an "optimum" population of fifty to sixty thousand, and the building of neighborhood units of five to ten thousand persons. The Housing (Scotland) Act, 1944, has authorized the Scottish Special Housing Association, centrally controlled, to build houses for workers with state assistance. The Association is to consult with the local governments involved before it undertakes to build in any area.

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England and Wales

Official figures show that up to March 31, 1944, 3,000,000 houses had been given "first aid" repair because of war damage and 102,700 badly-damaged houses had been restored to use. In some cities nearly every house has been damaged. Dover reports 10,000 houses damaged out of a total of 11,400 including nearly 1,000 totally demolished. The Ministry of Works and the local authorities, cooperating, do most of the repair work. More manpower is now being assigned to building and repair work.

Ninety thousand temporary prefabricated houses have been allocated to England and Wales as part of the same program that exists in Scotland.

For the postwar era the Minister of Health has estimated that five hundred to six hundred thousand permanent houses can be built in the first two years after the end of the German war. Much of the land for these houses has already been acquired by local governments; by October 1944, 48,605 acres of land—enough for about 486,000 houses—either was held by local authorities or was included in programs submitted to the Minister of Health. At present about 10 per cent of the houses in England are owned by local authorities.

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Chile and Panama

Chile has recently established a central fund under control of the Department of Labor from which loans are to be made for housing. Loans may be made to municipalities for the building of houses for their employees and laborers.

The Panamanian Republic is considing deconcentrating its capital city of Panama because of overcrowded conditions. Twenty per cent of the country's population lives there.

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New Zealand

Although not directly damaged by enemy action, New Zealand is experiencing a housing shortage. The central government is undertaking some housing projects directly while local governments are also active. The latter have used abandoned army and navy facilities such as hospitals and rest camps for temporary relief of Housing shortages.

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South Africa

The National Housing Commission has established a new ratio of national to local contributions to make up the difference between rentals and cost of low-cost public housing. The ratio is two to one, five to two, or three to one depending upon whether rent collections are over 6 per cent, between 5 and 6 per cent or less than 5 per cent of capital cost.

Local Reorganization in Canada

A committee has been appointed in the province of Saskatchewan to study the desirability of larger rural municipal units and larger school districts.[1] As a first step the chairman of the committee visited Alberta and studied the reorganization of rural local government in that province during the last four years.

During the last four years Alberta has reorganized its school, hospital and municipal district boundaries to create larger rural units. One hundred and forty of the previous municipal districts, each comprising approximately nine townships, were consolidated into forty enlarged units varying from eight to sixty-three townships. Most of the new districts range from thirty-six to forty-five townships. Only twenty districts remain unchanged.

The chairman of the committee reported: "The public generally approves of the large municipal units and government and municipal officials visited were unanimous in declaring that the larger units are definitely a success. Road planning and construction has improved. General administration is very good and is improving as better organization is developed."

Little evidence of reduced costs or tax rates was found. "Administration costs have not been reduced to any pronounced degree so far. This is due to the expense of installing new tax rolls and equipment and the extra work involved in consolidating tax and other records. There will, however, be a substantial saving following complete office reorganization; in fact, this is already evident in the units which have been in operation for three years or more."

What Government Is Doing in Australia

Regionalism

In an article entitled "Regionalism Linked with Greater Local Government"[1] Guy Kable puts forward the idea that a healthy regionalism will result in strengthening local government in Australia. The author cites the Tennessee Valley Authority as an example of what can be done regionally, but states that a beginning should be made by "the formation of regional committees consisting solely of representatives of local government authorities, with the object of securing continuous cooperation in dealing with all matters and problems of a regional nature" rather than by adopting the TVA principle of a centrally-appointed administrative agency.

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Powers

By means of a questionnaire circulated in January 1943 it has been disclosed that between 40 and 80 per cent of the local government councils in the various counties of New South Wales have asked their member of the state parliament to support early legislation for increased powers of local government.

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[1] *Western Municipal News,* August, September, October and November, 1944, pp. 181, 226, 245-6 and 284-5.

[1] *Public Administration* (London).

Housing

In Victoria local governments have experienced considerable difficulty in trying to get the state government to respect local housing regulations for houses built by the state. An unsuccessful effort was recently made in the state parliament to make it compulsory that such local regulations be observed.

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Compulsory Voting

In New South Wales a bill to provide for compulsory voting in municipal and shire elections was defeated by the upper house after being passed by the assembly. In Tasmania the House of Assembly has likewise passed a bill making voting compulsory.

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Roads

A uniform code of traffic regulation for the rural parts of Victoria has been adopted by the state, after consultation with the local governments involved. This supplements the code which has been in force since 1936 for municipalities. In Tasmania the state government has taken over maintenance of many of the roads formerly controlled by local governments.

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Voting

In Tasmania the day for local elections has been changed from Thursday to Saturday. Also, a law has been passed providing that the ordinary means of absentee voting shall apply to municipal elections.

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Planning

New South Wales recently established regional planning committees. The premier has announced that half the six members of each committee will be nominated by the shires and municipalities in each region.

CITIZEN EDUCATION IN BRITAIN

(Continued from page 175)

racies and other works; the Honorary Secretary, Mrs. Eva M. Hubback, M.A., Principal of Morley College for Working Men and Women, to whose imagination and untiring energy the Association chiefly owes its inception and continuance. Sir Ernest Simon and Mrs. Hubback are joint authors of the basic book of the Association—*Training for Citizenship.*[3]

The Council of the Association consists of affiliated organizations, all of which are bodies with an educational concern, and of distinguished individuals, scholars, teachers, social workers, politicians and others who support the aims of the Association.

In all its plans the Association looks further than the immediate future—proposals for the raising of the school-leaving age, the establishment of Young People's Colleges and the extension of the Service of Youth call for reconsideration of curriculum and organization and for new ideas in the training of teachers and youth leaders.

Demobilization will release great numbers of men and women who have formed a habit of discussion and of acquiring information. The market for education is extending and must be served. It is the chief concern of the Association to develop contacts wherever possible among all kinds of people and to experiment in education in all kinds of circumstances, in the hope that it will be able to make a positive contribution of some value to postwar society.

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[3] Oxford University Press.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Yonkers Progresses with P.R.-Manager Plan

An Appraisal by City's Good Government Mayor

YONKERS, a city of 142,000 population, faced in rather intense measure the problems confronting other large cities in the depression years. With its large working population, its concentration of employment in a few large industries, its combination of industrial and suburban-residential community centers, it experienced an exceptionally heavy relief load and a correspondingly heavy tax burden on real estate. Its large area and diversity of population made a cohesive attack upon the problems of government difficult.

In 1938, because of increasing dissatisfaction with governmental and fiscal conditions, a city manager–proportional representation charter was adopted to become effective January 1, 1940, by popular referendum. It replaced the mayor-council government which had existed for many years. Under the new charter the mayor was chosen by the councilmen from among their number, which number varies in accordance with the popular vote cast. Under existing population conditions the number would ordinarily be five.

There have now been three elections by proportional representation—November 1939, 1941 and 1943. At the first election two organization Democrats, one organization Republican and two candidates endorsed by the City Manager League—which had been active in promoting the city manager form of government in Yonkers—were elected. The two organization Democrats combined with the organization Republican to elect the latter as mayor and thereafter formed a working majority which controlled the appointment of the city manager and major municipal policies. The manager selected was a man of some experience in city manager work.

In 1941 two organization Democrats were elected to the Council; the other three chosen were a Democrat who had renounced the organization and had been thereafter endorsed by the City Manager League, a candidate endorsed solely by the City Manager League and another endorsed by both the Republican organization and the City Manager League.[1] Shortly after the election the Democrat who had bolted the organization and had been endorsed by the City Manager League demanded of his City Manager League colleagues, as a price of his continued cooperation, that he be chosen mayor. When that was refused him he formed a coalition with the two Democratic organization-supported councilmen, was elected mayor and with his Democratic colleagues formed a working majority. That majority retained in office the city manager who had been appointed by the previous Council.

In the summer of 1942 one of the Democratic majority entered the armed forces and a special recount of the ballots cast at the 1941 election resulted in the election of a Democrat who had been endorsed by the organization. The new councilman immediately announced his independence of the Democratic organization, however, and formed a coalition with the two City Manager League councilmen to replace the then city manager. The newly selected manager was an elderly attorney reputed to have been one of the best mayors Yonkers had ever had and an expert in municipal law. It was distinctly understood that his appointment should be for a limited period.

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[1] Author of this article.—EDITOR.

The new manager appointed some excellently qualified persons to certain key administrative positions, the new comptroller being a financial executive of outstanding qualifications.

In the fall of 1942 two propositions seeking to abolish P. R.—one offered by the Republicans, the other by the Democrats—were defeated by the voters by a two-to-one vote.

In the fall of 1943 a proposal to amend the charter by making the councilman with the highest number of votes in a majority preferential recount of the P. R. ballots automatically the mayor was overwhelmingly adopted at the polls. At the same election the council majority was reelected, along with two organization Democrats.

In the fall of 1944 two of the Council majority decided that further and more rapid progress was necessary in improving the city's condition and accordingly, necessarily in this instance with the support of a Democratic member of the Council, elevated the comptroller to the position of city manager.

Financial Improvement

The progress made since the inception of city manager government has been substantial, as reflected in these statistics:

Total debt of city reached all-time high of $38,232,986 on December 31, 1940. On March 15, 1945, total debt was $25,897,200, a reduction of $12,335 786.

Assessed valuations on December 31, 1939, were $302,412,477. Assessed valuations on December 31, 1944, for year 1945, were $284,168,367, a reduction of $18,244,110.

Deficit on December 31, 1939, was $4,008,000. Deficit on December 31, 1943, was $904,621. (It is believed that there has been a further reduction in 1944, but the amount is not yet known.)

Number of employees on payroll on December 31, 1939, was 3,619; Number on December 31, 1944, 2,539.

Operating expenses per budget were $9,817,740 in 1939. In the 1945 budget they are $8,315,870.

Purchases for 1939 totaled $1,519,939 including welfare and WPA. In 1943 they were $268,279. In 1944 they were $255,260 plus $134,524 which included six new trucks and paving of streets.

Tax rate has been gradually declining:—

1940	39.77 per $1000 of valuation
1941	39.70
1942	39.40
1943	39.16
1944	39.06
1945	38.07

There can be no doubt that city manager government has been more efficient and effective than was the earlier form of government. This has been due in large measure to the efforts and qualifications of the city managers who have served the city. Even greater progress could have been made and will be made, in the writer's opinion, if a solid majority of councilmen are elected who are entirely disinterested, who will give full freedom of action and authority to the city manager, and who will work in complete harmony and unison for the sole objective of improving the city.

As already shown, in the three elections thus far held the Council majority has always consisted of a coalition. Such coalition government is too unstable to permit sound and permanent planning and improvement. The difficulty has been that there have been three "parties"—Republicans, City Managerites and Democrats.

P. R. requires a great deal of a candidate. He must be elected from the city at large, must be well and favorably known and must appeal to a large group of voters. It is difficult to

(Continued on Page 208)

Books in Review

Tomorrow's Business. By Beardsley Ruml. New York City, Farrar & Rinehart, 1945. 238 pp. $2.50.

Beardsley Ruml has been an important man for some years. In this little volume he takes on the stature of greatness. It is no mean feat to provide a diagnosis and prescription for our major economic and governmental ills. To do so with clarity, courage and common sense is a substantial and praise-deserving achievement.

Dr. Ruml's logic burns through the surrounding fog on many current issues. With rare courage he points out evils and virtues in both business and unionism and foresees some happy future when each, having been properly purified, will find its place in an orderly world of freedom.

The philosophy in this volume is needed even more than the program, important and challenging as that is. A new, and more inclusive, goal of freedom than that to which we have been accustomed is set up. His concept of public and private government (with the family, church, business and unions as the chief examples of the latter) is a helpful contribution to our thinking. Rule-makers there are and rule-makers there must be; and in an orderly society each will operate in its appropriate sphere. There is no anarchy in Dr. Ruml's Utopia. Neither is there dictatorship. Not freedom for business but business for freedom, he declares. The same formula is implied for unionism.

We shall be hearing a great deal about the Ruml fiscal program during the next year or two. It merits careful study, but covers too much ground to be summarized here.

Dr. Ruml's suggestions concerning public works also merit close attention. He is not the first person to point out the crying need of rationalization in the construction industry. Anyone who has had any contact, first- or secondhand, with -the building industry is likely to have his own little collection of tall tales. When construction affects so vitally the well-being of all of us, why do we tolerate the present chaos? Dr. Ruml is not of the company of idle viewers-with-alarm. He wishes to do something about it, and the first thing on his program is a "congressional investigation of the industry with recommendations that would result in its reorganization. Such an investigation should be of the same dignity and competence as that of the National Monetary Commission following which the Federal Reserve System was established."

Tomorrow's Business is noteworthy in many respects not the least of which is the tremendous scope and outstanding clarity of the volume contrasted with the limited number of pages. The Ruml style of writing is wonderful for wartime conservation of paper but it would put a lot of journalists on the breadline. He has the rare gift of saying a great deal in a few words and saying it clearly and effectively. Perhaps English, as well as government and economic teachers, will be making *Tomorrow's Business* required reading.

MABEL L. WALKER
Tax Institute

River Resources—Use and Control. Chicago, Council of State Governments, *State Government,* February 1945. 20 pp. 35 cents.

"In the midst of America's greatest war, the consequences of a century of mismanaged resources are leading to a crisis in the nation's water supply," states the introduction to the February issue of *State Government,* devoted entirely to this subject. Articles are contributed by Ellwood J. Turner, who writes on the place of the state in watershed development; David E. Lilienthal, on the TVA; C. Herman Pritchett, on control of water resources; Kenneth A. Reid, on pollution control; and George F. Yantis, on the Columbia River Basin. A bibliography on the control of water resources is also published.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accounting

Governmental Accounting Bibliography. 1945 Supplement. Chicago, National Committee on Municipal Accounting, 1945. 13 pp. 25 cents.

Budgets

State Budgets for 1946 and 1947. Biennial and Annual Budgets Presented to 1945 Legislatures. By N. B. Gerry and Howard S. Ryan. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 10 pp.

Federal Government

American Handbook. Prepared by the Office of War Information. Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1945. iv, 508 pp. $3.75.

Personnel

Counseling in Personnel Work 1940-1944. A Bibliography. By Paul S. Burnham. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1944. 38 pp. $1.

Planning

Planning for Los Angeles. Recent Plans and Background Materials Relating to the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area (A Bibliography). Los Angeles, Municipal Reference Library, 1945. 11 pp. 10 cents.

Planning for Schenectady. Progress Report of the Interdepartment Postwar Planning Committee. Schenectady, N. Y., 1945. 24 pp.

Racial Relations

The Prevention and Control of Race Riots. A Bibliography for Police Officers. Los Angeles, Municipal Reference Library, 1944. 12 pp. 10 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Balances in State General, Highway, and Postwar-Reserve Funds in 1944. By N. B. Gerry. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 7 pp.

Distribution of Motor Fuel Taxes Among Counties in Washington. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1944. xx, 336 pp.

Should There Be a Constitutional Amendment Limiting Federal Income, Estate, and Gift Taxes? (Forum Pamphlet Three). By D. E. Casey, Robert B. Dresser, Harold M. Groves and William Anderson. New York, Tax Institute, 1944. 26 pp. 50 cents.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from Page 206)

obtain candidates of the calibre required, to make the personal and financial sacrifices which are necessary, as long as there is this three-party system and resultant coalition government. The Democratic organization is fairly solid and unified. Unless there is a joinder by the Republican party and City Manager League in the support of at least three candidates of merit, the progress which should be made cannot be expected.[2] If such joint support is forthcoming the opportunity for progress and improvement in Yonkers is almost boundless.

Curtiss E. Frank
Mayor of Yonkers

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[2] As this article goes to press we are informed that a resolution has been filed with the City Clerk, sponsored by the three Democratic members of the Council, to oust the City Manager.—Editor.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

61

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Worth Fighting For

Editorial

Apprentices in Citizenship

Marguerite J. Fisher

States Profit in Liquor Trade

Lewis B. Sims

Cleveland Plans on Area Basis

Christian L. Larsen

By Their Own Bootstraps, IV

William M. Tugman

County Manager Law for Oregon

Elwyn A. Mauck

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Contents for May 1945

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR 210

EDITORIAL COMMENT .... *Alfred Willoughby* 211

APPRENTICES IN CITIZENSHIP .... *Marguerite J. Fisher* 213

STATES PROFIT IN LIQUOR TRADE.............*Lewis B. Sims* 218

CLEVELAND PLANS ON AREA BASIS .... *Christian L. Larsen* 223

BY THEIR OWN BOOTSTRAPS, IV .... *William M. Tugman* 230

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 237

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST 243

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 246

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ...... *George H. Hallett, Jr.* 251

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 254

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 259

LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROAD .... *Edward W. Weidner* 263

BOOKS IN REVIEW 267

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

I read with considerable amusement and some annoyance your article entitled "Early Planning Pattern Found" by some sissy who signs himself "Author Unknown." (Why doesn't he come out and fight like a man?) The unknown author is apparently also unknowing as far as the functional relation of planning to government is concerned.

Please convey to him my thanks, however, for having Pharaoh drowned in the flood which resulted from the dike's breaking. Usually there is not as happy an ending to the administrative mistakes of modern Pharaohs. I have never known the modern Pharaoh, however, to carry his lack of comprehension to the extent of asking a planning board to design a dike.

It is the custom in many communities to refer to the planning board any matter which nobody else wants to tackle. In a mistaken attempt to ingratiate themselves with the powers that be, many planning boards tackle these odd and alien jobs often with results as disastrous to the community as was the breaking of the dike. In these instances the planning board is to be condemned for accepting the assignment, but the Pharaoh is even more to be condemned for his misuse of the planning board.

Obviously, shoring up a dike is a job for an engineer and the planner that tackles it will probably make as bad a job of it as most engineers would if they tried to develop a comprehensive plan.

Although my program for making unnecessary a dike at Cairo might not include certain of the studies outlined by the planning board of that city, I feel that the proper approach to it would be somewhat similar to that taken by them. In other words, Pharaoh should have first called in his structural engineers to shore up the dike, then called in his planners to set up a plan for coordinating the agricultural, hydraulic, social and economic activities in the valley of the Nile. Thus the danger of floods at Cairo might have been eliminated and the people of the valley enabled to live such pleasant and lucrative lives that their daughters would not have to go to Cairo to pay off the mortgage on the old homestead.

T. Ledyard Blakeman, Planner

Princeton, New Jersey

To the Editor:

I do not know to what extent the footnote on page 176 of the April issue of the National Municipal Review discloses the full extent of your editorial knowledge of the origins of the very amusing article on early planning. In case it has not been brought to your attention through other sources you may be interested in knowing that the article first appeared in the *Engineering News-Record* for January 30, 1941, where it was given in somewhat expanded form with illustrations.

It was published anonymously at that time because the author was still in the employ of the National Resources Planning Board, but both he and the Board have since died. His name was Steve Helburn and he really deserves credit for some excellent satire.

Tracy B. Augur

Norris, Tennessee

Thanks to these and other well informed readers. Apologies to the *Engineering News-Record.* We were in the dark on the author's identity and the fact of prior publication.—Editor.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Worth Fighting For

Private Alexander W. Beckett is "drafted" as the Review's editorial writer for this month. His letter to the editor of the Yonkers (New York) *Herald Statesman,* republished here, is a significant contribution to the current discussion of the problem of "readjusting" the returning veteran.

Private Beckett lost a leg in Belgium when a high explosive shell burst near him. He was the only member of his patrol to survive.

By way of explanation for those not acquainted with the Yonkers situation: The city has been plagued for years by political spoils machines. The good citizens have won apparent victories over these machines at times only to be frustrated by interparty deals and by councilmen who went back on their pledges. In March three of the five members of the city council (two of whom had promised they would support him) voted to suspend the notably capable city manager.

Private Beckett's reference to beer hose and sewers harkens back to one of the more odorous tricks of the prohibition era when a Yonkers brewery owned by "Dutch" Schultz smuggled real beer out through fire hose laid in the city's sewer system. The political boss who later acquired the brewery is the same man who, some weeks ago, walked into the manager's office and attempted to dictate appointments. The manager defied him. The manager was suspended.—Editor.

To a wounded veteran returned from the hell of war the prospect of settling in peace in his home town is most important in his own self-rehabilitation program.

Contrary to many so-called experts, the problem of readjustment will not be difficult. The average American citizen-soldier desires only a chance to live decently and in honor among his people. But all of them will fight to prevent the repetition of another horrible war, a war caused by the greed and lust for power of a few.

This sentiment is shared by all of the soldiers with whom I have had the honor to be associated. Most of them seem to have found a new political consciousness, and are interested in their local government as never before.

"Shooting the Breeze" is one pastime which does not tire a soldier who is forced to remain in bed for months. Consequently the boys discuss everything from Betty Grable's baby to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. And boys from Philadelphia, Albany, Madison, or even a whistle stop like Wounded Knee, Oklahoma, seem to be agreed on one change that is necessary to a better America.

And that is that politics have to be cleaned out of local government.

I have heard some bitter and unfortunately unprintable remarks passed about the political situation in towns and cities from Maine to California. If only the pork-barrel impresarios and their ward heeler puppets could sit in on one of those sessions! How their ego would suffer!

The soldiers are agreed that the old time political machines are detrimental to progress and an insult to the intelligence of Americans.

Recently I came back to America, and my joy at seeing the shores of this wonderful land is difficult to describe. I was banged up a little by a German royal tiger tank, but my injuries did not prevent me from reading the *Herald Statesman.*

At Halloran General Hospital in Staten Island, and later at this hospital, I have had an opportunity again to get a glimpse of the doings of Yonkers. And what a disappointment!

I had an idea that when I returned the good work done by the citizens would have borne fruit and the old regime of beer hose fame would have been driven back to the sewers!

But it would seem that I, along with thousands of others in Yonkers, have been kidding myself. The old gang is still in there pitching. And pitching strikes. They are doing a wonderful job of discrediting the manager form of government.

The latest move by Sullivan, Sheridan and Whalen in ousting Mr. Montgomery is part of the grand strategy planned to create confusion in the minds of the voters at the coming election. I could almost write the future speeches of the two political parties now.

The action of the trio is a challenge to the people of Yonkers. It is a challenge that should be accepted. We who sailed to fight the greatest military machine in world history accepted a challenge. Current news shows how that turned out.

Now is the time for the citizens to leap out of the lethargy which has permitted the political triumverate to strike boldly.

At the coming election men or women should be elected who will give the manager form of government a chance. It has not had a decent opportunity as yet. This, too, is worth fighting for.

ALEXANDER W. BECKETT

England General Hospital,
Atlantic City

Opportunity Knocks for Michigan

MICHIGAN faces an opportunity to modernize its state legislature which comes to few states. One year ago, following the disclosure of improper practices in the legislature, the governor of Michigan appointed a committee to study legislative procedure and suggest improvements. Recently a subcommittee was appointed to study the one-chamber legislature. The strength of meaningless tradition is so great that it appears to take a major scandal or the inspiration of a great leader to make it clear that governmental affairs have lagged far behind not only normal progress but the positive desires of the people for better conduct of the public's business.

While some of the imperfections of the bicameral legislature are fresh in the public mind, it is to be hoped something substantial in the way of improvement will be attempted. Opportunity comes even less frequently than lightning strikes.

Apprentices in Citizenship

Course in politics sends Syracuse University students out into real life "laboratory" as doorbell-ringing assistants to party district leaders and aids to local civic groups.

By MARGUERITE J. FISHER*

TOO often training in "citizenship" has been based on the assumption that knowledge about government automatically results in active participation in the democratic process. This fallacy has been particularly evident on the college level. Courses in "Citizenship," "Problems of American Democracy," and the like, are generally confined to the presentation of subject material through lectures and readings, but only rarely is an effort made by either the instructor or the students to apply this material in actual experience.

Pedagogical experts have for years been telling us that the best way to learn is by "doing," and the laboratory sciences have long based their teaching techniques on this principle. Such methods, however, are generally distinguished by their absence in the teaching of government and democracy in the colleges. College teachers in the latter field have not seemed to appreciate that knowledge is often sterile unless accompanied by a drive to act and actual training in the desired action.

To provide practical citizenship experience for students in a college course in American politics offered by Syracuse University, various projects have been worked out which are now requirements. During the year the students participate in a series of laboratory experiences in as many fields of citizen action as are feasible. It should be noted that this course is designed for upper-class students who have had little or no work in standard government courses.

First of all, each student is required to do twelve hours of practical political work in the party of his or her choice during the month preceding the annual fall election. After the student has chosen his party he applies to a local party official who is familiar with the purpose of the project. This official has a list of election district committeemen and committeewomen who are willing to use the students as assistants. Each student is assigned to such an election district leader. The leader plans a schedule for the student which must include at least six hours of work at the polls on registration days and election day and three hours of canvassing or "door-bell ringing" in the given district. The student may work longer than this but nine hours are

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*Dr. Fisher is assistant professor of political science at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, and teacher of the course she describes here. She has been president of the Onondaga County League of Women Voters and legislation chairman of the New York State Federation of Business and Professional Women. With Dean M. Eunice Hilton she is founder of a new course at Syracuse entitled "The Status and Responsibilities of Women in American Society" and is author of chapters in *Introduction to Responsible Citizenship* by William E. Mosher and associates.

required as a minimum. After the campaign is over the election district leader sends in a report on the character and quality of work performed by the student assistant so that the instructor may check on the student's work.

Political Party Work

As the reader might surmise it was difficult at the outset to persuade some of the election district leaders to take the students as assistants. Or, if they did accept them, they were unwilling to entrust them with responsible tasks. Some leaders looked askance at the prospect of "snooping" college students invading the premises sacred to seasoned party workers. Fortunately, however, invaluable assistance in overcoming this attitude was rendered by two prominent local political leaders who understood and sympathized with the aims of the experiment. They called in some of their election district leaders, explained the project to them, and pointed out that here was a chance to get some useful help during the campaign, help which would not have to be paid for.

The first year the students were on trial and the election district leaders cooperated with mental reservations. They soon came to see, however, that the students could offer valuable help, and since the first year there has been no difficulty in finding party workers who are ready to cooperate. In fact, during the last presidential campaign the instructor was deluged with calls from Republican and Democratic workers who wanted student assistants.

Each year student workers have been entrusted with more responsible tasks. On registration and election days they sit at the polling places, armed with lists of party members whom they check off as they come in to vote. As the day wanes they are sent out to contact the dilatory voter at his home, with instructions to mind the baby or watch the dinner while the housewife goes to vote. Until the advent of gasoline rationing some students drove cars to bring voters to the polls. In some districts they have been allowed to serve as party watchers or challengers after preliminary coaching by party workers. The instructor well remembers the smug superiority of several co-eds who came to class last November 2 decorated with official watchers' certificates and badges.

Partly because of the manpower shortage, two co-eds were given more responsible jobs in the last election than anyone in the course had previously attained. One girl who lived in the city was asked to serve as Democratic committeewoman for her district, and a second girl was given the job of election inspector after the regular inspector had fallen down and broken her leg just before registration day. Needless to say, both girls were duly impressed by their rapid rise in politics. The girl serving as Democratic committeewoman is continuing in the post and is already making plans to build up the party in her district with the aid of all the student assistants she can get from next year's class.

Both the major parties now make use of the students in canvassing. The apprentice canvassers meet in advance with a party worker who coaches them in the correct things to say and do when they go out to ring doorbells. Since the students look young and innocent, housewives are inclined to assume a maternal attitude and ask them to come in.

In addition to the nine hours of party activity outlined above at least three hours of work at party headquarters is required of each student. A party official is apprised of their impending appearance. He assigns them to tasks which include answering telephones, operating an information bureau for first voters, running errands, delivering messages and, most important of all, at one of the party headquarters the students have been put in charge of a demonstration voting machine. At certain hours each day they explain the voting machine to new voters, timid housewives and anyone who wishes to brush up on the operation of the machine, which still appears formidable to many citizens.

In addition to the twelve hours of party work each student is required to attend four political rallies or campaign meetings not more than two of which may be in one party. These meetings are written up in a term paper in which the arguments of the speakers are subjected to analysis and comparison. Since 1944 was a presidential year there were a number of major rallies available for the class, including a personal appearance by Republican candidate Thomas E. Dewey. The students were asked to serve as ushers at some of the larger rallies and as a reward a special bloc of seats labelled "Political Science 99" was reserved for them in the front of the auditorium. The highlight of the campaign meetings last fall, from the students' point of view, was an invitation to meet Governor and Mrs. Dewey personally after the rally.

Experience with Civic Groups

The laboratory experience during the first half of the course is confined to work for the political parties in connection with the fall election. During the second semester, however, other types of citizen experience are assigned as projects. For several years the Syracuse League of Women Voters has furnished a laboratory for participation in a civic organization. Inasmuch as the draft law has now resulted in a class of all girls this organization has provided a convenient outlet. Last year each student took part in a project involving the "broadsides" which were being distributed by the League. These broadsides are single-page discussions of vital public questions written in popular language. Each student was required to get together a group of eight to ten people and to distribute the broadsides regularly to each member of the group. After each broadside came out the student organized an informal discussion meeting on the topic involved. This was the type of group activity the League of Women Voters hoped to stimulate through the publication and distribution of the broadsides.

As part of its educational activity in connection with a campaign for a county manager charter several years ago, the Syracuse League of Women Voters published its own broadside summarizing the advantages of this type of county government. Students from the class were stationed in rotating squads in a booth at a downtown department store, handing out the broadside and answering questions from the public concerning the proposed county manager charter.

This year another project has been organized with League of Women Voters' cooperation. The League is now engaged in a nation-wide campaign to stimulate public understanding of the Dumbarton Oaks proposal for postwar international organization. The Syracuse League has set up a speakers bureau and league members are trained to deliver brief talks on Dumbarton Oaks to clubs, church groups and other meetings of citizens. The students are participating in this program. They prepare their talks on Dumbarton Oaks and then appear before women's groups to lead a discussion on the subject. On such occasions they appear as representatives of the local League of Women Voters.

Local Governing Bodies

During the year each student is required to attend several meetings of the city council and the county board of supervisors. When there is a meeting of special importance or a public hearing the class usually attends as a body. Several years ago the board of supervisors scheduled an important public hearing on the type of civil service system to be established by the county. The hearing was an occasion of some prominence and representatives of civic groups and individual citizens appeared to make statements before the assembled supervisors. The class had studied the problem in advance and elected one of its members to prepare a statement of recommendations. The co-ed elected to carry out this task applied to the supervisors for permission to make a statement at the hearing. Inasmuch as she was a citizen of the county and old enough to vote her request was granted.

Acting on the assumption that one of the causes of civic indifference is the average person's ignorance of the administration of his local government, one of the projects assigned during the second half of the course is a "survey" of various branches of the city and county governments. The class is divided into committees of four or five students and each committee is assigned to study some department of the local government. Suppose, for example, the health department is selected. After doing the necessary background reading on public health administration the committee prepares a list of questions aimed at bringing out facts concerning the operation of the local health department. Armed with these questions, the student committee visits the health department for a series of interviews with various officials. The instructor has previously explained to the department the purpose of the project and thus insured sympathetic cooperation. In the course of the interviews the committee is taken on a tour of the laboratories and other points of interest in the department. Detailed notes are taken during the interviews and afterwards each student writes a report of some ten to fifteen typewritten pages, describing the work of the department and appraising its administration in comparison with standards of good practice as outlined in their preliminary reading.

Last year the class made such a survey of various branches of the county government, using as a guide the League of Women Voters' pamphlet, *Know Your County*. After the student reports were handed in the results were put together and mimeographed as a booklet describing the organization and operation of the county government.

Letters to Legislators

The "good citizen" is supposed to keep informed about legislation being considered by Congress, the state legislature and local governing bodies. But he should also be moved at times to make his voice heard either for or against impending legislation. It has been pointed out with tedious monotony that if the alert citizens wrote more letters to legislators the selfish pressure groups would not have things so much their own way. As some one has said, the cure for bloc pressure lies in pressure by informed citizens acting in the general interest rather than for special interests.

But how many citizens without a selfish axe to grind bother to go to the trouble of writing a letter to their representatives? To give each student some experience along this line, each year the class selects some bill pending either in Congress or the state legislature. After studying the background of the proposed legislation, each student is required to write a letter to his or her legislator requesting that he vote for or against the bill, depending on the conclusion to which the student has come after studying the merits of the question. The average student approaches the prospect of a first letter to a congressman or state legislator with awe and trepidation. After the ice has once been broken, however, some of the students have not only continued to write letters on other bills but also have hounded parents and relatives to write letters. In one case a co-ed who objected strenuously to a certain bill inveigled all her sorority sisters into writing letters to their surprised state assemblymen.

The various projects outlined above represent some effort to furnish laboratory experience in activities commonly involved in the democratic process. Citizenship in our urban industrial society has become sufficiently complicated to require apprentice training, involving not only book-learning but actual experience and practice. Marguerite M. Wells, former president of the National League of Women Voters, once pointed out that citizens are often not so indifferent or irresponsible as they are confused and bewildered, not knowing what to do about the problems which beset them. To help them meet this problem our college training would do well to provide some actual experience and apprenticeship as well as factual information.

States Profit in Liquor Trade

Sixteen which use monopoly system add $96,000,000 to revenues in one year—five per cent of total incomes; dangers seen in pressure group demands for earmarking.

By **LEWIS B. SIMS***

PUBLICLY operated businesses often are commercial activities essential to the population but not sufficiently profitable to attract private capital. Not so the sixteen state liquor enterprises. Here state government operation is merely an alternative to public regulation.

Some idea of the relative importance of state alcoholic beverage monopoly systems may be gathered by making three comparisons. First, as to state general revenue: The amount contributed by the sixteen monopoly systems to their respective state governments, totalling $96,000,000 in 1943, accounted for 4.7 per cent of the total revenue of the sixteen states and over 1.5 per cent of the revenue of the 48 states.[1] Second, as to other enterprises: The operating revenue (sales of goods) of the sixteen monopolies is about the same as the total operating revenue of all enterprises of the 92 cities having populations over 100,000 and is considerably more than twice as great as the operating revenue of all the water supply systems of the same group of cities. Third, as to volume of sales: The dollar volume of sales now is equal to almost a fifth of the dollar sales of all the chain stores in the sixteen monopoly states in the peacetime year 1939.[2]

State alcoholic beverage monopoly systems are relatively young. When in December 1933 the 21st amendment to the federal constitution was ratified, repealing the eighteenth amendment, state governments set about to devise methods of controlling the liquor traffic. Sixteen states went directly into commercial enterprise, establishing state-owned and state-operated systems for dispensing alcoholic beverages. This method of control was outlined in the Fosdick-Scott report and recommended in January 1934 by the National Municipal League.[3] Another state, North Carolina, established a system of county-operated stores under state supervision in those counties voting therefor.

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[1] Bureau of the Census, "State Alcoholic Beverage Monopoly Finances in 1943," *State Finances: 1943*, Vol. 2, No. 5, October 1943.

[2] See Bureau of the Census, *Retail Trade: 1939*, Part 1, Table 11B, p. 122.

[3] Frank O. Lowden, Luther Gulick, et al., "Liquor Control: Principles—Model Law," Supplement to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, January 1934.

Public liquor enterprises are unique. It may be well, therefore, to set down here some of their characteristics:

They are highly profitable, they contribute heavily to state general revenue, they have little fixed plant or equipment, they require only a small number of employees and hence have small payrolls relative to the volume of business conducted, they are monopolistic by definition, they are limited almost exclusively to the state level of government,[4] they deal almost entirely on a cash basis and tend to have but few accounts receivable, they have no long-term debt, they are retail establishments rather than wholesale or service establishments (except in Wyoming which engages only in wholesale trade), they dominate the enterprise group on the state level, being fiscally many times as important as all other state enterprises combined, they constitute an alternative to state regulation and taxation of privately owned liquor business.

Monopoly Profits

The net income or "profits" of the sixteen state liquor systems increased by over one-quarter from 1942 to 1943—to $108,000,000. The two outstanding factors making for this extraordinary prosperity are: the increased sale—and presumably consumption—of liquor goods in the monopoly states and the higher retail prices of such goods.

Of the states other than Idaho (for which complete 1943 data are not centrally available) thirteen had greater profits and only two, Iowa and West Virginia, had smaller profits in 1943 than in 1942. Alabama evidenced the greatest increase, 74 per cent, not only because of stepped-up, war-induced industry and the concurrent increase in population but also because the Alabama monopoly system closed its fiscal year on December 31, 1942, before liquor shortages were felt at all. Next in line is Utah with an increase of 53 per cent.

Generally speaking, it may be said that a monopoly system turns over its net income to the general government of the state. The transaction is not quite that simple, however, primarily because of lags in transfer (occasionally accounting lags also) and because of the building up or depletion of surpluses. Thus, the annual contributions from a monopoly system to the general government almost always differ somewhat from the system's annual profit. In only two states in 1943, Ohio and Virginia, did the monopoly contribute to the state general government an amount larger than the monopoly's profit for that year. The Pennsylvania monopoly turned over to the general government the exact amount of its profit.

Income and Expenses

Virtually all income received by the liquor monopolies is accounted for by sales of goods, which from 1942 to 1943 increased almost 40 per cent, as shown in Table I. In the increase is reflected the intensified demand created by the influx of population into war production areas

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[4] Such businesses are maintained by 33 county governments (26 in North Carolina, six in Maryland, and one in Georgia), with a total operating revenue of $7,660,000. A similar system is currently under consideration in Prince Georges County, Maryland.

TABLE I

SALES OF GOODS, COST OF GOODS SOLD AND NET INCOME OF THE SIXTEEN STATE ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE MONOPOLY SYSTEMS, BY STATES: 1943 AND 1942

(Dollar amounts in thousands except per capitas)

State	Date of close of fiscal year of system[a]	Sales of Goods			Cost of Goods Sold			Net Income[b]			
		1943	1942	1943 as a per cent of 1942	1943	1942	1943 as a per cent of 1942	1943	1942	1943 as a per cent of 1942	1943[c] per capita
16-State total		[d]$512,252	[e]$368,930	138.8	[d]$383,171	[e]$265,516	144.3	[d]$108,347	[e]$84,354	128.4	$2.89
14-State total[f]		427,674	315,520	135.5	318,377	226,246	140.7	90,146	71,673	125.8	2.84
Alabama[a],[g]	Dec. 31, 1942	27,301	14,914	183.1	18,689	10,009	186.7	7,400	4,263	173.6	2.66
Idaho[h]	Dec. 31, 1941[i]	4,040	4,040	——	2,692	2,692	——	1,348	1,348	——	2.88
Iowa	June 30, 1943	20,269	18,699	108.4	14,960	13,168	113.6	4,251	4,583	92.8	1.84
Maine	June 30, 1943	13,559	9,391	144.4	9,251	6,067	152.5	3,969	2,978	133.3	4.99
Michigan	June 30, 1943	80,538	[j]49,370	[k]163.1	62,102	[j]36,578	[k]169.8	16,853	[j]11,333	[k]148.7	3.19
Montana[a],[g]	Dec. 31, 1942	8,479	7,104	119.4	5,901	4,718	125.1	1,999	1,537	130.1	4.17
New Hampshire	June 30, 1943	8,121	6,354	127.8	5,806	4,286	135.5	1,856	1,623	114.4	4.08
Ohio[g]	Dec. 31, 1942	84,840	61,359	138.3	68,206	47,918	142.3	13,585	10,585	128.3	1.99
Oregon	June 30, 1943	22,846	13,925	164.1	16,208	9,166	176.8	6,032	4,151	145.3	5.23
Pennsylvania	May 31, 1943	139,136	107,060	130.0	105,943	78,848	134.4	25,659	21,192	121.1	2.71
Utah	June 30, 1943	9,253	5,820	159.0	6,235	3,764	165.6	2,519	1,646	153.0	4.31
Vermont	June 30, 1943	3,254	2,456	132.5	2,947	2,193	134.4	224	190	117.9	.70
Virginia	June 30, 1943	43,475	29,817	145.8	31,329	20,323	154.2	10,617	8,117	130.8	3.83
Washington[a],[g]	Sept. 30, 1942	25,047	18,112	138.3	17,575	12,233	143.7	6,635	5,035	131.8	3.59
West Virginia	June 30, 1943	19,321	18,550	104.2	12,969	11,891	109.1	5,095	5,500	92.6	2.91
Wyoming[g]	Sept. 30, 1942	2,773	1,959	141.6	2,358	1,662	141.9	305	273	111.7	1.31

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census, *State Finances: 1943*, Vol. 2, No. 5, page 1.

[a] The fiscal years of the alcoholic beverage monopoly systems of three states end on dates different from the fiscal years of the general government, which end as follows: Alabama, September 30, 1942; Montana, June 30, 1943; and Washington, March 31, 1943.

[b] Income and expense data used to arrive at net income are shown in detail in Bureau of the Census, "State Alcoholic Beverage Monopoly Finances in 1943," *State Finances: 1943*, Vol. 2, No. 5.

[c] Per capitas are based upon the estimated civilian population as of March 1, 1943.

[d] Composed of 1943 data for fifteen states and 1941 data for Idaho. See footnote h.

[e] Composed of 1942 data for fourteen states and 1941 data for Idaho and Michigan. See footnotes h and j.

[f] Excludes data for Idaho and Michigan. See footnotes h and j.

[g] Data for these five states are for the fiscal year ended in the latter half of the preceding calendar year because statistics contained in the Bureau of the Census series on *State Finances* are for the most recent fiscal years ending between July 1 and the following June 30, which conforms to the practice of the great majority of states.

[h] For both 1943 and 1942 data for the fiscal year ended December 31, 1941, are used; 1943 data were not available when compilation was made.

[i] See footnote h. Effective July 1, 1942, the date of close of Idaho's fiscal year was changed from December 31 to June 30 for both the general government and the alcoholic beverage monopoly system.

[j] Data are for 1941; because of a change in Michigan's fiscal year, twelve-month data are not available for 1942

and military centers of those states in which most of the larger monopolies are located. Several of the state monopolies adopted their own rationing plans in an effort to conserve stock and assure just distribution. Apparently if the supply of liquor goods had been ample monopoly income would have been even greater in 1943 than it was. Every state showed an increase in income from sales of goods.

Cost of goods sold by the monopolies rose more than 40 per cent in 1943. No data are available to indicate the turnover of merchandise, but the increase reflects to a great extent the monopolies' payments of the new federal taxes, as well as the rise in distillery prices resulting chiefly from the fact that ceiling prices (as of March 1942 but made effective in May 1942) were in effect during the entire 1943 fiscal year for most states, whereas less than ceiling prices were in effect during much of the previous fiscal year.

Owing to the nature of the business operating expenses for alcoholic-beverage monopolies constitute a lower proportion of total costs than for any other state enterprise. These costs, however, increased one-tenth primarily because of salary increases granted employees.

The outstanding balance-sheet characteristic of the state alcoholic beverage monopolies, as compared with other publicly operated enterprises, is the high proportion of current assets to total assets. Because the state operated systems are primarily designed for retail selling, plant and equipment constitute only a negligible portion of their assets. For this reason no long-term debt has been incurred for any system.

Reflecting the monopolies' difficulty in replenishing their stock was a 15 per cent decline in the value of inventory—a decline which only partially represented the depletion of merchandise since the mark-up resulting from federal taxes paid by the monopoly systems and from higher distillery prices inflated the 1943 inventory figure.

General Revenue from Liquor

Contributions from the monopoly systems amounted to $96,000,000 in 1943, rising 25 per cent from the previous year. As shown in Table II the sixteen states operating monopolies also received alcoholic beverage revenue from selective sales taxes and licenses.[5] Of this amount, which was only 6 per cent less than the revenue received from the monopolies, four-fifths was produced by selective sales taxes and the remainder by licenses. The combined revenue from these two sources increased almost 10 per cent from 1942 to 1943, the rise being occasioned by the increase in alcoholic beverage sales taxes, with a virtually unchanged return from licenses.

Total revenue from these three main alcoholic beverage sources for the sixteen state governments[6] was 18 per cent greater than in the preceding year and accounted for more

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[5] The amount derived from alcoholic beverage sources which is contained in state general revenue from general sales taxes, property taxes on plant and equipment, corporation income taxes, unemployment compensation taxes, etc., is not separable.

[6] The federal government and some local governments also exact revenue from the liquor trade.

TABLE II

State General Revenue from Main Alcoholic Beverage Sources: 1937-1943
(In Millions)

Year	*Total*	*Contributions Received from Alcoholic Beverage Monopoly Systems*	*Alcoholic Beverage Sales Taxes*	*Licenses on Alcoholic Beverage Businesses*
1943	$431	$96	$280	$55
1942	388	76	256	56
1941	340	68	216	56
1940	318	63	193	62
1939	279	51	174	54
1938	280	53	175	52
1937	272	51	177	44

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census, *State Finances: 1943*, Vol. 2, No. 5, page 5.

than two-fifths of the total general revenue of the 48 states from alcoholic beverage sources. This is of interest since the total civilian population of the sixteen states constitutes less than one-third of the total population of the 48 states. Revenue from alcoholic beverage sources for the 32 state governments without monopoly systems amounted to $245,000,000, of which 85 per cent was derived from selective sales taxes and the remainder from licenses. Revenue from these two sources increased 7 per cent, the rise consisting entirely of a greater return from selective sales taxes.

General revenue of the 48 states from the three sources combined has grown considerably in the past several years. In 1937 the combined total was $272,000,000, whereas in 1943 it was $431,000,000. Monopoly contributions and alcoholic beverage sales taxes accounted for the rise, for licenses have remained relatively stable.

Social Control

No reliable quantitative data are available regarding the extent to which the monopoly method has accomplished its main purpose—more effective regulation of the liquor trade and better control of liquor consumption than under the licensing method. Statistics compiled by the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Kentucky[7] in 1941 indicated that, on a per capita basis, consumption of hard liquors was slightly less in the monopoly states, which lends a modicum of support to the contention, usually made by advocates of the monopoly method, that such control promotes the substitution of lighter beverages for spirituous liquor.

A perusal of the annual reports of the sixteen state monopoly systems since their adoption—a total of well over a hundred reports—offers at least some indication that social control is on the minds of those in charge of the systems. An outstanding case is that of the Washington State Liquor Control Board whose 1937 report asserts: "The pri-

(Continued on page 229)

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[7] Glenn D. Morrow and Orba F. Traylor, *State Liquor Monopoly or Private Licensing?* Bureau of Business Research, University of Kentucky, 1942, pp. 60-61. More recent data published by the Distilled Spirits Institute tend to bear out the same conclusion.

Cleveland Plans on Area Basis

City, county and suburban communities all represented on Greater Cleveland Postwar Planning Council which seeks to preserve local autonomy by neighborly cooperation.

By CHRISTIAN L. LARSEN*

UNTIL recently Topsy has had nothing on the more than one hundred units of government constituting the Cleveland-Cuyahoga County metropolitan region—they just grew. Of course, many never should have been established and the development of the rest should have been guided towards meeting the needs of the area in the best possible way. There has been no lack of planning commissions, but there has been an absence of financial support, of trained personnel and of appreciation of the importance of planning.

In this area today, however, people have become "plan conscious" and planning is receiving more serious attention than ever before. While metropolitan Cleveland may have an unemployment problem during reconversion, it is not anticipated that there will be any qualified planners among the unemployed.

Even assuming that each governmental jurisdiction of the hundred local units has adequate planning machinery, which is not the case, there is still the problem of making plans fit into one coordinated plan for the entire metropolitan region.

The present emphasis upon planning received its first impetus from the Cleveland Regional Association, a private organization created in 1937. Its basic assumption has been that before regional planning can be achieved the people must be educated to thinking in terms of the region as a whole. Hence, it has made and published numerous reports on problems of the region and has promoted unofficial cooperation among the local governments.

In the field of active collaboration the Regional Association has called two conferences of municipal and county officials concerned with planning to encourage joint thinking on planning problems. These officials have been supplied with a manual on local planning procedure prepared by the association based upon Ohio statutes. The association still is in existence but it has difficulty in finding trained personnel for continued usefulness.

The next major support for planning came from a public agency, the revitalized planning commission of Cleveland. For years the city's charter had contained a requirement for a city plan commission with power to "advise and recommend" on matters relating to works of art, public buildings, bridges, streets, parks and the like, and to prepare plans for the future physical development and improvement of the city. No one was required to ask the commission's advice on these matters, however, nor to follow any rcommendations which it might make. So, too much of Cleveland's development was of an unplanned, haphazard variety.

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Mayor Appoints Committee

Planning became an issue in the mayoralty campaign of 1941. The Democratic candidate, successful in the election, stressed the need for a more intelligent approach to the problem. Undoubtedly more heat than light was generated by the candidates' exchanges on master plans and such but public interest was stimulated. In the early months of his administration Mayor Lausche[1] appointed a committee of local citizens to study the situation and to make recommendations.

Planning experts from all parts of the country were called before this committee. These experts presented nothing startlingly new to people already familiar with planning literature, but the resulting publicity served further to stimulate community interest. A report to the mayor formed the basis for a proposed charter amendment, approved by the voters in November 1942, on city planning in Cleveland.

Cleveland now has a planning commission of seven members. Six are appointed by the mayor without council approval for six-year terms. The seventh is a councilman, chosen by the council for a two-year term. Councilmanic representation was intended to promote harmony between planning commission and council, and a greater readiness on the part of council to approve planning commission recommendations. The idea was that the planning commission would always have a member in council. To many observers it seems that the development has been the reverse—the city council always has a member on the planning commission to keep it within proper bounds. Obviously, the success of the arrangement depends upon the type of councilman chosen.

Cleveland's charter makes it the duty of the planning commission to make a general plan for the city and more immediate plans for specific improvements and projects deemed desirable. By June 1 of each year it must present to the mayor a recommended capital improvement budget for the following year and a comprehensive five-year capital improvement program.

Contrary to the impression of many this reorganized commission has no power to put its plans into effect. This can be done only by the council, the mayor and other administrative agencies. In this respect the new commission occupies the same position as did the old. Because the present planning commission has greater prestige, however, and a much larger budget than did its predecessor, its recommendations have greater chance of acceptance.

A provision for mandatory reference gives the reorganized commission an additional advantage. All ordinances and resolutions of city council and all acts or orders of any administrative official or agency which affect the city plan, public property, land use, zoning or any public improvement, before going into effect shall be submitted to the planning commission for report and recommendation. The commission may disapprove of the proposed actions within 30 days. This disapproval can be overridden only by a two-thirds vote of the council or of the administrative agency having jurisdiction over the matter.

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[1] Now governor of Ohio.

Administrative Organization

Cleveland has a planning director in charge of administration of policies laid down by the planning commission. He is appointed by the mayor for an indefinite term upon nomination by the commission, and may be removed by the mayor with the concurrence of a majority of the commission. Technical and office personnel, within the limits of council appropriation, are nominated by the director and appointed by the commission. As anticipated Cleveland's staff of planning technicians has expanded greatly during the past two years.

There is a planning expediter in the mayor's office. This is not required by the charter but proved advisable because the planning commission is out of the line of responsibility between the mayor and the departments which give effect to the commission's recommendations. The planners make recommendations as to when things should be done as well as what should be done. Beyond calling attention to the matter again, however, they can do nothing if departmental administrators permit the time limit to expire without taking action. An inquiry from a person directly representing the mayor is usually more effective.

In order to keep the professional planners in touch with the people, Cleveland's charter provides for a citizen advisory committee. There are no specific provisions as to the number and type of members but some 50 civic, professional, labor and business groups are represented. These members were suggested by the organizations themselves, nominated by the planning commission and appointed by the mayor. The committee works through subcommittees on particular subjects such as urban rehabilitation, downtown parking, recreation, smoke abatement and the like. Of course, there is no legal requirement that the planning commission heed the suggestions of these citizen groups, but they are sought eagerly and considered carefully since it is realized that the adoption and successful administration of plans depend upon citizen support. This is true particularly in making neighborhood plans. Such plans are made in cooperation with the existing citizen organizations of the neighborhood. If there are none the planning commission seeks to organize them.

As a counterpart of the advisory committee representing citizen groups, the charter provides for a coordinating board to represent official agencies. The members are the mayor, city department heads and representatives of such other official agencies as the planning commission shall invite. These invited members represent the Metropolitan Housing Authority, Board of Education, Public Library Board, Metropolitan

Park Board, Transit Commission and suburban, county, state and federal agencies located in this area.

Except for the Regional Planning Association, a private organization, all planning machinery mentioned thus far is a part of Cleveland's government. What, then, is done about planning beyond Cleveland's boundary lines? Statements in the charter authorize the Cleveland planning commission to extend its interests and activities beyond the city boundaries. The charter authorizes planning for the "community," for "the city and surrounding area" and for "any area outside of the city which, in the judgment of the commission, bears relation to the planning of the city." Obviously, the authorities of these outside areas do not have to approve of or put into effect such planning. Nevertheless, planning for such matters as public transportation can be done satisfactorily only on an area basis.

The one major completed planning project by Cleveland outside of its own boundaries is the study of congested wartime conditions in the airport region, caused by the proximity of two large war plants. The commission collaborated with a committee of mayors of the eight municipalities affected. Recommendations were made on transportation, utilities, schools, housing and similar matters. Considerable attention has been given to these recommendations by federal, state and local governmental agencies operating in the area, particularly in allocating priorities for private residential construction.

Beyond Cleveland's boundaries there are planning commissions of various surrounding municipalities, but they do not have trained technical staffs and at present writing they are unable to find such personnel. In any event, their planning activities, like Cleveland's, are limited by their own boundary lines.

There also is a county planning commission, but it has done no planning in the past. For some years it has turned over a large share of its appropriations to a geodetic survey being conducted in this area. The county commission, however, now desires to become active and has been seeking, unsuccessfully, a planning director. If it should manage to procure a trained technical staff it is thought that the agency might service the municipal agencies without staffs of their own.

Postwar Planning Council

The major interest and activities of the public planning agencies have been centered in physical planning. There must be a realization, however, that physical planning is only part of the picture. Complete and successful planning necessitates attention to social and economic problems too. Numerous agencies, mostly private, are dealing with such matters in this community. Unfortunately, they have been unaware of or uninterested in the work of one another; nearly all have failed to realize that their activities should be coordinated with physical planning, and the physical planners likewise have been negligent of the importance of social and economic planning.

Realizing this, and realizing that if this community is to be ready for the postwar period with its anticipated public projects planning activities must be hastened and coordinated, community leaders, in July 1943, asked Mayor Lausche to call a meeting to consider what could be done. About two hundred people attended and organized the Postwar Planning Council of Greater Cleveland. The general membership consists of about a hundred organizations in the community which have demonstrated an interest in and a responsibility for the solution of the problems confronting the economic, social and cultural life of the people. The council operates through a board of trustees, an executive committee and a small full-time staff.

Contributions from business, industry and labor finance the work of the planning council. Two of the public planning commissions of this area now are members of the Planning Council.

It must be emphasized that this new agency was not created to do planning for the community. Rather it seeks to assemble, analyze and correlate information on postwar planning, to promote an interest in planning, to make planning information available to all who will use it, to coordinate all planning activities of the community, to determine what planning that ought to be done is not being done and to encourage the proper agency to do it.

The philosophy guiding those most directly in charge of the Council seems to be that the preservation of local self-government necessitates activities of the nature just described. If local governments can demonstrate that they are willing to assume responsibility for the problems that arise in their areas, and that they are able to deal with them satisfactorily, they have a right to expect to retain control over local affairs. If local governments in a metropolitan area such as Cleveland cannot agree on what they want to do and how to do it, state and national governments are justified in assuming control of local affairs. Even in those activities which ought to be performed by national or state governments a better job will be done if local governments have specific plans to offer.

Problems Studied

No one group is qualified to deal with all the social and economic problems of a community. Therefore, the procedure of the planning council is to create panels, each to deal with one type of problem. Each panel is made up of about fifteen or twenty people qualified by training and experience. Members serve without compensation, making available to the community a combination of knowledge, training and experience for which the community cannot afford to pay.

Panels already are working on problems of transportation, public works, public finance, interracial relations, needs of returning servicemen and labor-management. Others are to be organized as other problems are selected for attention. Definite decisions have been made to establish panels on education, health and welfare, and housing and blighted areas. Cleveland's brief experience with this setup indicates that it locates the bottlenecks interfering with progress more quickly than did prior arrangements. With many of the governmental administrators themselves serving as members of the panels, attention can be focused on agencies holding up action.

An example of how the Postwar Planning Council may promote a definite decision may be of interest. For years various official and unofficial groups had been discussing plans about the nature and location of a proposed street, but always ending in disagreement. Representatives of interested agencies and groups were called before the transportation panel of the planning council and were told that now they must reach an agreement. When immediate agreement did not result, members of the panel became impatient and publicly took a stand in support of a specific plan—unfortunately, not the best one. However, this hastened the official adoption of a more desirable plan.

Look to the Future

Metropolitan Cleveland has not yet put into effect a perfect arrangement for planning. But during the past few years greater progress has been made with planning than with any other of our regional problems. Much may be expected from the increased awareness of the importance and necessity of planning for the whole area as one community. Much also may be expected from present planning machinery.

Of our planning machinery the reorganized Cleveland Planning Commission, the County Planning Commission, and the Postwar Planning Council of Greater Cleveland hold the greater promise for future planning on a regional basis. The Cleveland Planning Commission now is able to serve adequately Cleveland's physical planning needs. In this regard its major handicap at the moment seems to be a rather queer notion of "government ethics" on the part of some of Cleveland's councilmen. Recently the council vetoed a proposal that the route of a proposed new street be changed. One factor which received considerable attention was that the owners of the property through which the original plan would take the new street had been anticipating for some fifteen years selling their property to government for "just compensation," and it wouldn't be fair to disappoint them.

With its authority to plan beyond Cleveland's boundaries, the Cleveland planning agency also could serve all the surrounding area. As a practical matter, however, any agency which is part of Cleveland's municipal government is looked upon with suspicion by people in surrounding suburbs and thereby loses part of its effectiveness.

If the County Planning Commission secures a competent staff, it might become the planning agency of the Cleveland area. It already possesses jurisdiction over rural areas and, if the municipalities consented, the county staff could service them. Under Ohio's constitution municipalities could turn their entire planning function over to the county. Should this county ever get an improved structure of government, perhaps its municipalities would develop sufficient confidence in the county to do this.

The Postwar Planning Council of Greater Cleveland has made a major contribution in bringing to this community the realization that planning must include the social and economic fields. Not having official connection with any of our existing governments, should it prove as successful as now seems possible, it might develop a pattern for the administration of governmental functions on a regional basis. Not being involved in jealousies and suspicions it is the only agency which can provide some coordination of the activities of all of our governments.

Cleveland's Regional Association, which gave the first needed push to present planning activity, seems destined for a more restricted role in future because of the activities of other agencies. Perhaps it may occupy the role of critic and watchdog of the agencies, making certain that planning is carried on in the interest of the people and not simply in the interest of the professional planners.

The Cleveland area has a great and an immediate need of intelligent planning, particularly in the area recently devastated by fire as a result of a natural gas explosion. Fortunately, recent developments have increased the possibility of meeting this need.

STATES PROFIT IN LIQUOR TRADE

(Continued from page 222)

mary purpose of the Washington State Liquor Act is to promote temperance and minimize the evils connected with the liquor traffic." Later annual reports, including that for 1943, contain almost the same language, and other official statements have emphasized this view. Reports of various other state liquor systems contain policy statements as to social control, though usually they are little more than quotations from the liquor monopoly act.

One danger—a danger that has both social and fiscal significance—is the constant pressure by various well meaning groups to earmark the profits of the state liquor business for one or more specific purposes. The more worthy the purpose the worse is the logic of earmarking. From the social viewpoint earmarking is bad because it tends to promote a lackadaisical attitude by both the public and the liquor control boards toward liquor consumption. From the fiscal viewpoint, of course, earmarking is bad because it ties up wholly unrelated matters and restricts the authority and responsibility of the legislature.

It seems safe to say that social control of the liquor traffic succeeds no worse, and perhaps better, with the state engaging directly in the liquor business. Relatively little criticism now is heard. Hope for improvement lies as much with a state's own citizens as with its liquor board. With proper support from the public the state monopoly method appears to offer more possibilities of liquor control and true temperance than any other method.

By Their Own Bootstraps, IV

Thirty-five governments and representatives of business, professional and labor groups participate in Lane County (Oregon) planning council to integrate regional program.

By WILLIAM M. TUGMAN*

EDITOR'S NOTE. — This is the final article of a series on efforts of an Oregon city and its neighboring communities to solve their problems and prepare for the future without outside aid. Earlier articles appeared in the REVIEW for September, October and December 1944.

WHERE the facts about local government—or other levels of government—are presented to the citizens regularly, clearly, forcibly, the citizens will show amazing good sense in their votes.

For nearly twenty years the people of Eugene and Lane County, Oregon, have been getting facts—not buried in complex statistical reports or long-winded dissertations or spasmodic muck-raking but on the front page of the daily newspaper with pictures, charts, diagrams.

Again and again some phase of the problem has been explained and discussed—with pictures and wall charts—in nearly every grange, service club, labor union, PTA, veterans' post—this county has more than a thousand organized groups.

To be sure, there is a certain constantly developing "technique" but of that more later. Many of the readers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW will be saying: "That may be fine for a small, relatively homogeneous community, but what about the big polyglot places?"

The first time the writer saw the technique applied was in Cleveland about 1925. The late G. A. Gesell, finance director of the Cleveland school system, spent many months analyzing a terrific debt load which was strangling both operating and construction programs—and of course making an appalling tax rate.

Gesell came up with a rather simple chart which showed that if voters could be persuaded to accept a graduated tax program over a period of years they would come out with less debt, lower taxes and more money for both operating and construction than before.

Gesell persuaded the late Erie Hopwood of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* and Louis Selzer of *The Press* to "give it a try," and the plan carried by a big majority—the real selling was done with front page facts.

Admittedly, it requires years of persistent and continuous effort to get communities to do the things which Lane County's tough-minded County Judge Clint Hurd says "they'd ought to have sense enough to do right in the first place." There are only 43,000 people in the Eugene-Springfield urban area and only 75,000 in the county, but even here it takes a long

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time to alter patterns, habits in public business, and the job is not finished by any means.

Under Oregon budget law every county, city and school district at budget time must call in a Citizens' Budget Committee when the budget is prepared. These committees have usually done a fine job. Now, one of the greatest needs is to get them to bring budgets and projects to a common table so that needs can be compared, first things put first and John Taxpayers saved from knockout punches coming from three different directions. This is one of the jobs the Central Lane Planning Council has undertaken.

Research and Civic Groups Aid

A great many organizations and individuals have given leadership to the accomplishment in this community. The badly under-manned and under-financed Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Oregon has done a great deal of the fact-digging and analysis. Organization influence, however, distributes somewhat in this fashion:

> *County:* Granges and community clubs, Willamette Valley Lumbermen's Association, veterans' posts, service clubs, unions, newspapers.
>
> *Schools:* PTA's and community clubs, service clubs, granges, unions, newspapers.
>
> *City:* Chamber of Commerce and allied groups, unions, service clubs, veterans, newspapers.

Nearly two years ago an organization known as the Central Lane Planning Council was created for the Eugene-Springfield urban area. This is a thickly populated area approximately six miles square which is rapidly becoming industrial. Since 1940 it has had approximately 25 per cent population increase. The latest ration book check indicates 45,000 people distributed under 35 agencies of local government of which only two are incorporated cities, the rest school districts, fire districts, water districts and county road districts. The Central Lane Planning Council has two major aims: (1) to integrate and coordinate the work of these 35 local agencies; (2) to develop a comprehensive and coordinated postwar program with minimum waste and expense.

Some 70 people participate in this council. The plan of representation is one member appointed from each of the 35 local government agencies; one from each of the major business, professional and labor organizations of the area. Service clubs were not asked to participate as such; it was considered sounder to call for representatives from Chambers of Commerce, Realty Board, Bar Association, medical profession, CIO, AFL, the veterans, women and "bread and butter groups" as such.

In the first year under President Fred Stickels the work was set up under three main divisions, each with a vice president:

> 1. *Private works.* With assistance of University of Oregon School of Business and Bonneville administration this division has published a detailed survey of industrial and business resources and job forecast. It is now working to organize a large district west of Eugene with planned roads, water, power and other facilities for industrial development.

2. *Public works.* This division has led in organizing and getting voting support for close to $5,000,000 in cash reserves for important and practical county, city and school projects for the postwar period; it conducts continuing study of tax and debt structures and public projects suggested within area. Combination of hitherto separate Eugene and Springfield sewer and sewage disposal works is now under study, also a "master survey" with a view to integrated area planning.

3. *Veterans.* This division deals with the many difficult problems of personal readjustment and reemployment coming out of war; it has centralized office for employment and veteran problems; it recognizes that civilian readjustments cannot be separated from those of veterans.

Fourteen major committees now work under one or the other of these three divisions, each dealing with some subdivision of the communities' needs—health and sanitation, school integration, parks and recreation, industrial inventory, labor relations (so far mainly an exchange between employers and labor leaders of ideas), tax and debt controls.

The new president of the Council is Elmo Chase, who is also a member of the important Willamette Basin Commission which works with U. S. Army engineers on the $70,000,000 flood control program in the area.

Without any legal status, dependent entirely upon common sense meeting of minds on common problems, the Central Council has learned a lot of things, some of them the hard way:

1. Its role is advisory; it must not trespass upon official responsibilities (or dignity);
2. It must study, analyze, recommend but must avoid any appearance of dictating.

So far the work of the Central Lane Planning Council has been supported by some $5,000 raised jointly by the Eugene and Springfield Chambers of Commerce and there is little doubt its budget will be renewed.

Joint Action Sought

Detailed area planning is difficult on any such basis, but the Council hopes to persuade the cities of Eugene and Springfield, the county of Lane, and the major school and subdistricts of the area to join by contract in financing a central engineering and planning office, supported by pro-rata appropriations in the 1945-46 budgets of each official body. The Central Council has recommended that this be a permanent and continuing planning staff and they have suggested employment of Arthur McVoy of Portland as consultant.

It had been hoped that the legislature would pass an enabling act to give specific authority for just such a joint official planning operation in every urban area of Oregon. The Central Lane Planning Council worked with people from other Oregon cities in drafting the bill. The result was a long and complicated measure which came in late in the session. Groundwork was not well prepared with rural elements. However, the legislature was not unfriendly. It referred the whole problem to a special interim committee and there is reason to hope that intelligent legislation in this field will come in 1945. In the meantime the Central Lane Council proposes to go ahead locally.

Important Accomplishments

In this community we have learned that great importance attaches not only to presenting facts graphically and simply but to the timing and the manner of approach. These are some illustrations and comparisons:

> *Eugene School Reorganization*—came at one stroke in 1928 because of flagrant conditions which warranted swift, direct attack.
>
> *City Manager*—required some fifteen years of constant, patient "selling."
>
> *Debt Clearance*—depression made that an easy job of quick selling, but with constant vigilance against PWA and WPA lures to go back into debt.
>
> *Cash Financing*—grew out of debt clearance, but first construction reserve levies were small and tentative; major postwar levies possible only in last two years with end of debt in sight.
>
> *School Consolidations*—when Laurence C. Moffitt became county school superintendent in 1930 there were 193 separate school districts in Lane County. By skillful leadership, he has reduced them to a present 117 and shortly the number should be less than 100, with the possibility that in a few years all schools in Lane County—an area as large as Connecticut—may come into twelve to fourteen major groupings. Latest and most significant was the vote on March 12 which merged seven big suburban districts with Eugene and two with Springfield.[1]
>
> *Off-street Parking*—since 1938 pictures, traffic flow charts, polls to determine the needs and wants of "country trade" have met resistance rooted in "free enterprise" and "do-nothingness." Recently Mayor McNutt appointed a committee to assist in developing a program of land acquisition.
>
> *Urban Area Planning*—a great deal of down-to-earth education is needed in this field. Maps, pictures, illustrations must be used to convince farmers, real estate operators and many others that intelligent planning of roads and other facilities over broad urban and suburban areas does not injure but really protects them. Such modern devices as "limited access highways" (freeways) simply are not understood.
>
> *Juvenile Court*—after five years of agitation by various worthy but conflicting groups two bills went to the legislature this year. The most important of these, transferring all judicial functions hitherto vested in the county judge (a layman) to the circuit court, was adopted. It takes effect July 1. A companion bill to give Lane County an additional circuit judge for Domestic Relations and Juvenile Court was lost after a bitter fight. Lane County's veteran Circuit Judge G. F. Skipworth, however, has responded by stating that he intends to seek the best professional staff available for his probation department and wants to makes this "the best thing of its kind in the west."

The school consolidation in the Eugene area is probably the most interesting illustration of the importance of method.

A year ago the Central Lane Planning Council appointed a committee on school integration. It was known that the worst problems were in the

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[1] See later pages of this article.

Eugene area but E. G. Silke, superintendent of the Springfield union district, was made chairman with County Superintendent L. C. Moffitt and numerous other school leaders sitting in.

School Problem

In Eugene and all its suburban districts industrial growth had led to severe overcrowding in the schools and all faced need to "build something." In November thirteen suburban districts joined in asking for a meeting with the Eugene School Board. There were several meetings at which certain stubborn facts were set up in wall charts:

1. Most rapid growth seems to be suburban.
2. Suburban districts have had to maintain eight grades (under state law) after which they send children to ninth grade in Eugene's junior high schools and to tenth, eleventh and twelfth in Eugene senior high schools.
3. If they could get one good junior high school in suburban area, they could drop their seventh and eighth grades, and present primary buildings would be adequate for time being.

Finally all of the districts including Eugene agreed to employ Dr. C. L. Huffaker, of the University of Oregon, to survey and report. His report showed:

1. Total Eugene district valuation $15,000,000; total suburban valuation $6,000,000; total combined $21,000,000 plus.
2. Valuation of only possible suburban grouping $3,500,000.
3. Minimum cost of suburban high or junior high school is $200,000. Against a $21,000,000 combined valuation $200,000 can be had in three years with three mills levy on cash basis; on only $3,500,000 it will take three mills twenty years or twenty mills for three years.
4. Consolidation offers complete integration of preparation for high school.
5. People in each district must make up their own minds what they lose and what they gain.

Night after night in suburban schools the problem was discussed by the citizens—with the facts spread out. Dr. Huffaker explained his report, responded to hundreds of questions. The Eugene School Board always sent a representative but he did no talking unless asked.

Eugene and practically all the suburban school districts are debt free, but Eugene alone has a cash building reserve — $200,000 to which $100,000 is being added yearly. Eugene Superintendent Henry Gunn explained that, for some years to come, consolidation is going to cost Eugene taxpayers more than they now pay:

> Our main interest is that we shall be able to do a better job for all children. We must build anyhow. If you come in with us we can locate buildings where they are most needed, where most of the kids are. When we get through in the suburbs we have to go back and show these same facts at every school house in Eugene.

The Central Lane Planning Council financed the preparation of motion picture films and other materials which showed actual conditions in all Eugene and suburban schools; it set up the committee which mapped out the consolidation studies, but it did not try to tell suburban school officials or voters what to do.

Nine of the fourteen districts discussed in the Huffaker school report finally decided to submit to their taxpayers the question of consolidating with Eugene.

One district, Glenwood, which lies between Eugene and Springfield but closer to Springfield, was advised by Eugene to join Springfield and will shortly vote on that plan. Three districts, Irving, Willakenzie and Danebo, which were rather far out and not contiguous to the old Eugene district, decided to "wait and see what the others do."

School Merge Voted

Of the nine districts, including Eugene, which voted on March 12 seven returned an overwhelming "Yes," creating a new Eugene district with an aggregate valuation of more than $18,000,000 and making it possible to begin at once on plans for a new junior high school in the River Road-Santa Clara suburban area where the need is greatest.

Holding back were the little but "rich" Bethel district, which includes the big Southern Pacific terminals,[3] and Bailey Hill, which has a heavy proportion of undeveloped farm land. Bethel, however, must now face a problem of "educational isolation." Under law it must still maintain eight grades. To do this it must have four new rooms at once. To get them it has just voted $40,000 in five-year bonds; it must add at least one more teacher. Bethel's next school tax will jump ten mills. It will be almost as high as Eugene's—and its high school preparation will still be "out of step" for the Eugene high schools which its youngsters must attend. These facts will sink in.

The citizens who compose Eugene and Lane County, Oregon, are not a bit different from citizens anywhere. Voters in New York or St. Louis or Dallas—or perhaps even Chicago—respond just as readily if you can break through the day's preoccupations with "food, fun and sex," center their attention on a few simple facts and show them some practical way to "do something about this."

Back in 1929 Eugene School Superintendent Howard Goold set a pattern in readable school reports which his successor Jack Cramer improved with pictures — a mimeographed job which costs only about $500. Mayor Elisha Large and Recorder John Fields made a readable city report and City Manager Deane Seeger hopes to add progress pictures. County reports are still nightmares but it has been suggested that the three can be brought to the same size and general style for comparative reading. Circulation of these reports is not large but effective.

Newspaper and radio support for civic leagues and other agencies which try to promote sound management is extremely important, but "reform groups" need to learn the fine art of putting their material in such shape that even a hard boiled metropolitan editor can see front page value.

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[3] Southern Pacific Company policy had absolutely nothing to do with Bethel vote. Company tax experts are heartily in favor of consolidations as economical in the long run.

Louis Selzer, editor of the *Cleveland Press,* says he thinks big city papers miss a bet when they neglect informative front page articles on local schools and local government. From time to time the Eugene *Register-Guard* has assigned a good reporter to go to school with each grade and try to tell readers what their kids are getting—and why—and he does not have to "butter up" teachers. On all matters of public concern the *Register-Guard* gives more front-page space than do most daily papers.

Facts—or lack of facts—have a great deal to do with determining attitudes and habits in local government. The problem of telling John Citizen what he ought to know may vary greatly. It may be that in Eugene and Lane County John Citizen has just a little more pride than elsewhere—we like to think so.

All we can testify is that John Citizen can be trusted to act wisely if you let him have the facts which lie behind his tax bills.

Public Officials Lead

Many leaders, with many differences of personality and leadership method, have contributed to progressive development in Eugene and Lane County. Mayor Elisha Large, for instance, who led the city of Eugene out of its wilderness of debt, kept to his course with grim determination, seemed to enjoy the nickname "Pinchpenny." The new mayor, Earl McNutt, a tough-minded business man, has a reputation for action. Already he and City Manager Deane Seeger have cut average running time of council meetings one-half.

In public school affairs there have been many able people, but rather unique is G. D. MacLaren, present chairman, more than ten years on the board, a hardware merchant whose consuming interest is schools.

A roster of leaders other than office holders would take in lawyers, doctors, college professors, lumbermen, merchants and a right amazing variety of individuals, rich and poor.

Eugeneans have the reputation of fighting like wildcats "in the family" and ganging up on strangers. Many times, the people of Eugene and Lane County have raised large sums for the University of Oregon. Oluf Hoaglum heads a county-wide Community Chest which has always exceeded its quota and carries substantial reserves.

In the last year a community endowment, the Century Fund, was established to which anybody any time may contribute any amount from one cent up "for the good of the community." Last Christmas two women's organizations started a park and playground project under the Century Fund. Already it has more than 1,500 participants and more than $5,000. Another women's group has started a library project under the Fund with a nest egg of $1,000.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Alabama Committee Proposes Many Reforms

Better State Supervision of Local Governments Urged

ALABAMA'S Legislative Interim Committee on State, County and Municipal Government has been functioning since November 6, 1944, the date of its first meeting. It consists of four members of the State Senate and eleven members of the House of Representatives. At the initial meeting the chairman, Senator Gordon Madison, appointed three subcommittees: state, county and municipal relations, county and municipal government, and state government. The committee had only limited time available before its report was due. It enlisted the aid of various state departments, research agencies, local officials and organizations thereof, and substantially finished its work on March 8, except for a meeting on March 19 just prior to the seven-day session of all legislative interim committeemen and other members of the legislature.

In connection with its study of state, county and municipal relations the committee particularly considered the Division of Local Finance created in 1939 in the State Department of Finance. This division had been handicapped by lack of enforcement power and inadequate finances and staffing. The committee approved bills providing for penalties on local public bodies, and on the officers responsible, for failure to submit statements of indebtedness, budgets, audits and reports of purchases required to be furnished under existing law.

It was recommended that auditing functions of the Division of Local Finance be transferred to the Division of Examiners of Public Accounts and that the latter agency have the additional duty of examining the records of all municipalities of less than 6,000 population; the cost of auditing this group, also of counties, to be borne by the state.

Another bill on the program provides that the Division of Local Finance shall furnish such engineering, architectural, legal, inspection, security marketing and other assistance as is demanded by local public bodies in their undertaking of public works.

Revisions to strengthen the municipal bond code were urged, partly because certain emergency legislation remaining therein no longer seemed necessary. The revisions would include: when notes, warrants and certificates of indebtedness are refunded, as now permitted for a 30-year maximum period, all such evidence of debt shall carry annual maturities; funding, refunding and revenue bonds shall also be payable in annual instalments, as now required for other bonds; certain present distinctions between cities of 6,000 population or over and the smaller cities, as to discounting bonds, to be eliminated; all bonds to be sold to the highest bidder at public sale; all municipal and county bonds to contain a call privilege.

As to municipalities, it was recommended that the present population restrictions in the city manager law be eliminated; that municipal incorporation laws be amended to enlarge the population requirement and assure sufficient taxable property to support minimum municipal functions; that municipalities not levying ad valorem taxes of at least five mills and business licenses of at least one-half the state license tax be prohibited from participating in state funds; that limitations on licensing powers of municipalities be reviewed in the light of present municipal needs; that all present municipal gasoline tax levies be abolished and succeeded by an extra one-cent gasoline tax on a statewide basis, allocated to municipalities according to population; that, in view of other financing aids and regulations, the state not guarantee local government bonds. Fixing of responsibility for specific functions on state, counties and cities was urged, but on the basis of more study.

In the field of state government it was noted that certain agencies are obsolete or almost so, and should be eliminated or merged elsewhere. It was recommended that a legislative reference service be established and properly staffed to serve the legislature and officials of the state and local governments, to be supervised by a council elected from the members of the House and Senate. One of its services would be bill drafting, another would be to aid in codification of laws.

A state wage and hour law, to cover the group of some 160,000 employees not now covered by federal provisions, was considered highly desirable.

The salary of the governor (now $6,000) would be increased to $12,000 by another proposal, to take effect after the present governor's term.

New Constitution Approved by Georgia Legislature

The constitution drafted by the Georgia Commission to Revise the State Constitution[1] has been adopted by the state legislature with little change. One such change was the removal of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting—the legislature having previously taken action to repeal the poll tax.[2]

A provision placing all state employees under the merit system sets up a state personnel board and provides that state employees cannot be removed for political or religious reasons, or on any basis except proper cause after a fair hearing.

A Veterans' Service Board is created to look after claims and affairs of the 300,000 Georgians now in the armed services as well as those who participated in other wars. A companion enabling act passed by the legislature sets up a veterans' reconstruction corporation empowered to issue $5,000,000 in revenue certificates and lend veterans up to $4,000 each to purchase homes or engage in business.

Constitutional status was given many of the state's important boards by the new constitution, including the State Board of Corrections which administers prison affairs and the Georgia Public Service Commission.

The office of lieutenant governor was created by the new constitution to relieve the chief executive of some office details and leave an executive in power when the governor is out of the state. The lieutenant governor will be elected by the people, will preside over the Senate, and will receive a salary of $2,000 yearly.

Continued requests by Georgia cities and counties for more "home rule" resulted in provision in the new constitution that the next general assembly must adopt optional forms of home rule and submit them to the various counties and cities for acceptance or rejection in referendum; one of the optional plans must include the initiative, referendum and recall.

In addition to the general home rule provision, the constitution prohibits the removal from office of any local official or any change in his term or salary without a referendum, and requires proof that a local bill has been advertised before it can be introduced or considered.

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1945, p. 80.
[2] The REVIEW, March 1945, p. 131.

Movement for Constitutional Convention Grows in Illinois

With the example of Missouri, just across the Mississippi River, confronting them legislators of Illinois are faced with the proposition that their state also should rewrite its constitution, dating from 1870. A house resolution calling for a constitutional convention has passed the executive committee by a vote of 18 to 4. If the legislature approves the idea it goes to the people.

A Joint Committee for Calling a Constitutional Convention has been formed, with a long list of component organizations (see page 246).

Constitution Changes Sponsored by New Jersey Solons

Leaders of the Republican majority in the New Jersey legislature have agreed to make a new effort for revision of the state constitution. A legislative drafting committee is preparing proposed amendments for submission to the legislature, when it meets in special session May 21, to reorganize the court system, lengthen the terms of the governor and legislators, increase salaries of the latter, and legalize "Bingo" games operated for charity.

Governor Walter E. Edge has called for complete reorganization of the state court system. He charges that alleged evasion of orderly judicial procedure by Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City is proof of need for improvement. The Governor made his remarks in connection with creation of a special state commission of legislators, jurists and leaders in the legal profession to draft a court reorganization plan for the legislature's consideration.

Amendments to the constitution would require approval by two successive legislatures and ratification by the voters.

Constitutional Convention Proposed in Minnesota

Sponsored by members of both the conservative and liberal sides of the Minnesota legislature, representing both cities and country districts, a bill for a constitutional convention has been put forward in that state. As said by the Minneapolis Tribune of April 1:

"Not in 87 years of statehood has Minnesota had a convention to revamp the fundamental law.

"It has been content to meet—rather to try to meet—the changed needs of a growing state and a progressive age by patching the constitution with amendments. The constitution is weighted down with these amendments, some of them foggy as to meaning, some contradictory.

"It seems logical to call a convention and start at the bottom and recast the whole instrument if necessary; at least to simplify, codify and shorten it. Most other states have done this."

Council-Manager Plan News

The council-manager plan of government was approved in **Burlington, North Carolina,** on March 27 by a vote of 2,006 to 1,637. Five councilmen are to be elected at the general election on May 10. Burlington has had a mayor-aldermanic system for over 40 years. Since the present administration strongly opposed the manager plan its proponents were forced to resort to placing the state's optional manager plan (Plan D) on the ballot. Now that it has been adopted by the voters they are hoping to elect to the council candidates who will approve an up-to-date manager charter prepared specifically for Burlington.

The Maine legislature has approved a bill granting a council-manager charter to the town of **Fairfield** which the Governor is expected to sign shortly. A referendum on the new charter will be held in Fairfield in September.

A bill to give **Rockland, Maine,** a council-manager charter has been enacted by the Maine legislature and the city will vote on its adoption on September 10. A Citizens Charter Adoption Committee has over 1,300 members who have agreed to support the proposed charter—about a third of the effective vote.

The voters of the village of **Bennington, Vermont,** at their annual meeting on March 13, reapproved the manager plan for the third time in as many years. Two weeks earlier the voters of the town (township) of Bennington likewise reapproved the manager plan which has been in effect there.

The city council of **Annapolis, Maryland,** unanimously agreed on March 12 that whenever the proposed annexation of certain suburban territory is consummated a referendum election will be held to determine whether the voters prefer the manager plan or the strong-mayor plan of government for the greater city. The council also agreed that after annexation the city would be redistricted into wards of approximately equal population and provided that if the annexation takes place before the July election the annexed area would temporarily constitute two wards, each to elect two aldermen.

In **Spartanburg, South Carolina,** a citizens' steering committee has been organized to arrange for a referendum at the May 8 general election on adoption of council-manager government and to acquaint the people with facts concerning the manager plan. A group of citizens visited the State Capitol at Columbus on March 28 and prevailed upon the county legislative delegation to support the referendum.

The manager plan with proportional representation as in force in Toledo, Ohio, was explained and advocated on March 13 by Mayor C. A. Roulet of that city to the Kiwanis Club of **Bradenton, Florida.**

A committee of the Chamber of Commerce of **Sarasota, Florida,** has recommended amendments to convert the charter to the council-manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Tampa, Florida,** by unanimous vote of the board of governors on March 16, decided to join with the Junior Chamber of Commerce in a campaign to obtain council-manager government for Tampa as soon as possible. A poll had been taken of the membership of the senior chamber by mail concerning the urgency of the need for the plan. The chamber had previously approved the idea by an overwhelming vote. The new poll, with answers from 58 per cent of the membership, showed 236 for an immediate change to the manager plan and 187 for an immediate change in the setup of the present council, or board of representatives, with an election as to the manager plan two years hence. A number of other organizations have endorsed the plan.

At the **Dothan, Alabama,** Democratic primary election (in which nomination is tantamount to election) the successful candidate for city commissioner, John D. Ayre, ran on a platform advocating the manager plan for the city. If the forthcoming session of the legislature fails to pass a bill which is to be submitted to it, making the manager plan available for Alabama cities, Mr. Ayre, together with Associate Commissioner Clyde L. Coe, will sponsor a local law to provide Dothan with a manager.

The borough council of **State College, Pennsylvania,** has passed an ordinance creating the office of borough manager to pave the way for establishment of a new administrative setup recommended by a reorganization committee composed of H. L. Stuart, chairman, E. L. Keller and H. O. Smith, all borough councilmen.

The council-manager charter for **Negaunee, Michigan,** which was defeated at a special election on January 29, was resubmitted at the general election on April 2. It lost again but obtained a larger percentage of the total vote, as well as a larger number of votes, than before. In January it received 884 votes or 39.5 per cent of the 2,237 total; in April, 1,184 votes or 41.2 per cent of 2,872 total.

Rochester, Michigan, will vote on a manager charter June 11.

Corpus Christi, Texas, on April 3 elected to the city commission a ticket of five candidates who had approved the council-manager plan for the city. Another ticket which was still more definitely in favor of the manager plan ran second. The open opponents of the plan ran third.

Voters of **Liberal, Kansas,** adopted the manager plan of government at the polls on April 3 by a vote of 241 to 224.

Both houses of the **Colorado** legislature have unanimously approved a bill permitting cities to adopt the council-manager charter it sets forth. A petition signed by 15 per cent of the voters at the last previous election in a given city is sufficient to place the charter on the ballot. Colorado cities over 2,000 population may elect charter commissions and draft their own charters, but it was felt that many cities would prefer the easier plan of placing an optional charter before the voters.

The Political Action Committee in **Pueblo, Colorado,** is looking into the council-manager plan.

The midwinter meeting of the Michigan Chapter of the International City Managers' Association was held at Lansing, February 15 and 16. C. A. Miller, city manager of Traverse City, was elected president at the sessions which were attended by 34 managers.

Thirty-one of the 38 city managers in California attended the conference of the City Managers' Department of the League of California Cities at Los Angeles, February 22 and 23. Speakers included Richard Graves, executive director of the League, and Clarence Ridley, director of the International City Managers' Association.

Seattle Elects Charter Revision Commission

Seattle, Washington, has elected fifteen freeholders for the purpose of revising the city's charter. An advisory charter committee has been functioning for some time extralegally, but the drafting of a proposed charter has now been made official by the election. The group has organized with Victor Zednick as chairman. It has six months in which to prepare a new document for submission to popular vote.

Tennessee Legislature Passes 800 Bills, Most of Them Local

The Tennessee legislature adjourned on March 2 after passing approximately 800 bills. Of these more than three-fourths were private and local acts dealing with county and city matters and a considerable number of the 188 public acts dealt with local matters.

One of the first acts to be passed was that increasing the pay of the governor to $8,000 per year. Other legislation dealing with state administration created a Department of Employment Security and transferred to it the Unemployment Compensation Division and Employment Service. A Department of Veterans Affairs and a War Record Bureau were set up in order to be of greater assistance to returning veterans. An office of commissioner of safety replaces the present office of director of safety. A commission was created to buy government property, and state, counties and cities were empowered to purchase surplus government property.

Several acts were passed strengthening and expanding the functions of the State Health Department. A Division of Industrial Hygiene was added, with specific duties and powers. Another act authorized the department to exercise supervision over the construction, operation and maintenance of public water supply and public sewerage systems. No new construction can be undertaken or any changes made in existing systems without written approval of the State Health Department. It was also given supervision over impounded waters in order to prevent the spread of malaria.

With the formation of the TVA chain of lakes, considerable interest has developed regarding their full use for recreational and other uses. The last session of the Tennessee legislature appointed a stream sanitation commission to study the condition of the Tennessee River and determine the extent of its pollution. The legislature just adjourned established a Stream Control Pollution Board of five members, including the commissioners of health, conservation and agriculture and two members appointed by the governor. One of the appointive members is to be a representative of the manufacturing industries of the state and the other a representative of the municipalities. The commissioner of health is chairman and the State Department of Health is the administrative agency designated to carry out the board's rules and regulations.

The legislation exempting military personnel from payment of the poll tax was extended through 1948. Although several bills were introduced for the repeal of the poll tax, they received little consideration.

A teacher retirement act was passed in substantially the form recommended by the various sponsoring agencies. The state also provided an appropriation of $75,000 to provide for the establishment and operation of regional libraries. This money becomes available, however, only to the extent that it is matched by local units participating in the regional setup.

Most of the legislation for cities, like that for counties[1] was contained in private acts applicable to individual cities. The subject matter of these acts was concerned for the most part with bond authorization or validation.

Several cities and towns received new charters or secured amendments to existing charters, including Adamsville, Gatlinburg, Lafayette, Parsons, Red Bank and Tracy City. A Board of Public Utilities was established for Lafayette to operate the water system. The Knoxville Electric Power Board act was amended to permit the board to operate the gas system when it is purchased by the city.

In three cities, Erwin, Johnson City and McMinnville, the poll tax was repealed as a prerequisite to voting in municipal elections.

M. H. SATTERFIELD
Tennessee Valley Authority

New York to Vote on Drastic Veterans' Preference Law

The New York State legislature has approved the Downey-Sherman veterans' preference amendment for the state constitution; as this is the second approval by successive legislatures the measure goes to a vote of the people this November. The Wicks-Mitchell alternative proposal, favored by many civic and civil service groups, did not come to a vote in the legislature, Mr. Mitchell, after the approval of the Downey-Sherman bill, having proposed to postpone his bill until the next legislature.

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[1] See p. 257 this issue.

The Downey-Sherman proposal, in effect, makes the public service a means of veterans' relief, in place of a rounded, rational plan of financial and educational and over-all employment assistance. It gives such complete preference to veterans, especially disabled veterans, that, in the words of the Citizens Union, New York City, "it would wreck the morale of the public service for it would remove all prospect of advancement for most of the experienced employees now on the job." It would tend even to exclude the majority of veterans from the civil service because it would take all disabled veterans even with slight disabilities who merely qualify, before taking the best of the non-disabled veterans. It also tends to exclude the wives and children of men killed in action—unless few of the surviving veterans take advantage of the state service.

Police Chiefs Fight Traffic Accident Increase

As a simple, practical and effective means of reversing the upward trend of traffic accidents the International Association of Chiefs of Police, in collaboration with many other organizations interested in traffic safety, is sponsoring a six-week nation-wide check of motorcar brakes from April 15 to June 1.

Researcher's Digest

What's Wrong with Louisiana's Constitution?

Changes in Amendment Procedure Suggested

THE March 15 issue of *State Problems,* publication of the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research,** contains a provocative discussion of the Louisiana state constitution and its amendment process. Unlike many states, Louisiana has had four new constitutions within the past 75 years, "each longer and containing more purely legislative matter than the one which it superseded," says the bureau. It is "more than half again as long as that of any other American state and four times as long as the average state constitution." It has been amended twice as frequently as any other constitution.

The bureau criticizes state legislators for their failure to give due consideration to proposed amendments, taking the easy way out by "letting the people decide." But an investigation of the popular vote cast on amendments—which are traditionally submitted at the general election whereas in Louisiana the primary is the election of interest—shows that amendments are adopted by as few as five of each 100 potential white voters, and that the eight urban parishes of the state with less than half the voting population cast 71 per cent of all amendment votes—New Orleans alone accounting for 50.6 per cent. Several local issues were definitely decided by parishes not affected.

Suggested possibilities for improvement include more effective consideration of proposed amendments by the legislature, publication not only of the official text but of a fair and impartial statement in ordinary language of the context, purpose and effect of the proposed amendment, requirement for adoption by a majority of those voting at the election rather than of those voting upon the amendment.

What Should a Municipal Pension System Provide?

Sound Pension Plans for Connecticut Municipalities, published by the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** is a presentation which might well be used as a guide for cities of any state. In his letter of transmittal to the Committee on Public Personnel of the Connecticut General Assembly, Carter W. Atkins, executive director of the organization, states that the report "has been prepared after a careful study of the 53 pension systems now in effect in 29 municipalities." It discusses the reasons for providing pension systems, describes those systems now used in Connecticut municipalities pointing out their good points as well as defects, and winds up with a chapter entitled "What a Municipal Pension Plan Should Provide."

How Washington Cities Collect Garbage

The **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of Washington** and the **Association of Washington Cities** have brought together a representative set of ordinances in *Garbage Collection Ordinances of Washington Cities*. Among the methods of operation covered are city collection as a regular utility on a compulsory basis, city collection as a utility on a noncompulsory basis, city collection of fees but contracting with private party for collection, municipal collection on free (or partly free) basis with city equipment (compulsory), free service but city contracts with private party for collection, exclusive contract or franchise with private party, license or permit system. Other chapters present the ordinance recommended by the Washington State Department of Health which provides for sanitary universal collection of garbage on a compulsory basis either by the municipality or on contract, dump regulations, regulations of state law and of the state board of health and a reproduction of forms and notices.

State Aid for Massachusetts Schools Explained

Because "the details of this state educational aid program are many and complicated and they are little known outside school circles," the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations** has prepared *State Fiscal Aids to Cities and Towns for Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Massachusetts*. The report covers finances for the years 1917 to 1943. It concludes that: "The complexity of the present system, the arbitrariness of the formulas, the sharp on-and-off points, and the limited equalizing effects revealed here serve to strengthen the conviction that there is a very real need for a thorough overhauling of the present system."

Sheriff

"Why should the St. Louis sheriff be elected?" the **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute** wants to know. Its publication, *Dollars and Sense in Government*, gives pertinent reasons why he should not be chosen at the polls and lists three alternatives: appointment by the circuit judges or, better still, transfer of his duties to the Police Department or to one of the departments under the mayor. The institute points out that "with the adoption of the new state constitution there is no longer any constitutional requirement that the sheriff be elected" and that the legislature has authority to provide for a more suitable method of selection or to permit St. Louis to make such provision under its home rule powers.

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Local Postwar Problems

"Interest and participation in the war effort should not blind Schenectady citizens to the important problems not connected with the war which face their community today," warns the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research.** "Solutions to many of these problems cannot be carried out until the war is over, but they should be considered in the interim so that the postwar period will not find the city facing many pressing problems bankrupt of well thought out ideas to meet them."

Some of the problems listed by the bureau include the construction and use of an intelligent plan for city growth and development—political, social, physical and economic; postwar public employment, river pollution, flood control, what the city can do about the movement from the city to the suburbs, slum clearance and low-cost housing, recreation, traffic, securing new industries and, last but not least, civic education of citizens concerning their city government.

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State Budgets

The **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research's** new publication, *Financial Data Affecting the 1945-47 Budget State of Minnesota—An Analysis of State Fiscal Operations 1934-45,* has been submitted to the legislature as "background material for the determination of a sound spending and tax program for the next biennium." The volume covers the fiscal operations of the state for the past two years and tables on trends of revenue receipts, current costs and debt for the past ten years.

An "Analysis of the State Budget" has been made by **Governmental Research, Inc.,** of New York State, which warns: "The budget each year is becoming less and less a gauge of state financial trends because so much of state taxing and spending is omitted and because of increasing elasticity in the budget procedure itself." In the latter category the report lists these reasons: omitting from the budget more and more of state taxing and spending, a rapidly growing resort to lump-sum appropriations, the resort to transfers from one part of the budget to another, the making of appropriations in amounts less than those actually to be paid, the shifting of large amounts of expenses from the so-called general fund to other funds not in the budget. In commenting on the first of these the bureau says: "This practice of omitting expenditures from the budget . . . has had the practical effect of preventing legislators from realizing the amounts of state spending for which they are responsible. It has been unbelievably confusing to editors and taxpayer leaders. It has had the practical effect in elections of making possible exorbitant claims of economy, and the receipt of widespread public credit for it, when actually the spending for which the public pays has been vigorously increased."

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State Surpluses

The **Los Angeles Bureau of Municipal Research** recommends that of the state's $288,000,000 surplus as of June 30, 1945, $100,000,000 should be set aside as a revolving fund to be loaned to cities, counties or school districts for the postwar construction of essential public facilities.

Just a Second—issued by the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research**—discusses the debate which has been raging in Michigan over the amount of the state surplus. "The basic fact," it comments, "essentially undisputed thus far, is that whether or not it is defined as 'surplus' the state apparently will have $100,000,000 or more cash *available* for use if the legislature so desires." The bureau points out that "cities have not sought distribution from the funds now available but have sought to establish the existence of these funds to illustrate the extent to which the state revenues have outstripped expenditures in order to create these funds. The position of the cities is simply that on the basis of the excess of revenues over expenditures and the growth in revenues, the state could and should distribute some part of these excess revenues and still have enough left to meet other needs."

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School Costs

An analysis of elementary school costs in San Francisco brings the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research** to the conclusion that the city's costs are higher than in other California cities. Comparisons are made with the eleven other largest cities of the state. Had the Los Angeles cost per pupil of $129.19 been in effect, says the bureau, savings of $915,000 would have been made; the Oakland per capita figure would have raised the savings to $1,308,000.

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City Finance

The **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** has compiled and published "Financial Data, City of Providence, Rhode Island, 1935-1944." It presents "in convenient form the financial information authorities usually consider necessary for soundly evaluating municipal credit." Covered are assessed valuations, tax rates and collections, debt, future debt service requirements, revenues and expenditures, expenditures from borrowed funds and departmental expenditures.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Civic Groups Campaign for New Illinois Constitution

Form Joint Committee to Secure Convention Call

A CITIZENS' movement "extending from the precincts of Chicago to the grass roots of rural Illinois" is under way for adoption of a new state constitution. Thirty-two civic groups, local and statewide, are backing a **Joint Committee for Calling a Constitutional Convention.**

Chairman of the joint committee is Mrs. George G. Bogert, who occupies the same position for the constitutional convention committee of the Illinois League of Women Voters—pioneers in the movement. The last revision of the constitution was in 1870.

Included in the groups which have banded together are: Association of Real Estate Boards, Congress of Parents and Teachers, Council-Manager Conference, Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Federation of Women's Clubs, Home Bureau Federation, League of Women Voters, Municipal League, State Industrial Union Council (C.I.O.), Independent Voters, Women's Bar Association—all statewide organizations; Lithuanian Committee, Metropolitan Housing Council, Council of Jewish Women, Lawyers Guild, Public Housing Conference, Union for Democratic Action, Woman's City Club, Teachers Union (A.F.L.), Women's District Grand Lodge No. 6 B'nai Brith, Bar Association, Real Estate Board, Urban League, Woman's Club, City Club, Conference of Jewish Women's Organizations, Decalogue Society of Lawyers—all of Chicago; and the Hyde Park Voters League, Cook County Bar Association and West Suburban Teachers Union (A.F.L.).

"Illinois and Its One-Horse Shay" is the title of a series of ten radio programs which the **Illinois League of Women Voters** has been conducting to arouse interest in constitution revision.

The **Union League Club of Chicago** and the **Chicago Citizens' Association,** to honor the service of the late George E. Cole as a civic leader and "to encourage active civic interest among present day Chicagoans," sponsored a luncheon to commemorate the one hundredth birthday of "Citizen Cole." Governor Dwight H. Green of Illinois and George I. Haight were the principal speakers.

Mr. Cole, who died in 1930 at the age of 85, was a member of the Union League Club for 43 years and active in the Citizens Association as president, member of its executive committee or honorary president for 30 years. He "capped his public service by campaigning for a new Illinois state constitution," states *Men and Events,* organ of the Union League Club. He succeeded in starting the ball rolling and a new document was submitted to the public in 1922. The voters failed to ratify it, however, hence the present efforts for revision.

Dayton Handbook Sells Citizenship

Evidence that the citizens of a community want to know more about their local public institutions is vividly portrayed in **Dayton, Ohio,** where the *Handbook of Local Government,* issued by the **Chamber of Commerce,** is receiving general approval. Developed by the chamber's Governmental Research Department, the handbook briefly outlines the organization, taxation and expenditure programs of city, county and schools in that area. Two pages are devoted to elections and the obligations of citizens.

The handbook has been distributed to 3,800 men and women in the community, is on the waiting room table of many doctors and dentists, is being used as a civics text by 2,500 boys and girls in public and parochial schools of Dayton and suburban Oakwood, is being handed to new supervisory employees by several of the larger industries, is part of the reading of Boy Scouts working for civics merit badges and is being distributed by the League of Women Voters and some neighborhood civic groups to their members.

Taxation committees of chambers in other Ohio cities have obtained copies for use in studying their own local problems. Chambers of commerce in approximately 30 other states have requested copies, evidencing a growing recognition by business and industry for the need of an expanding community educational program.

The Dayton chamber will continue to furnish individual copies upon receipt of postage as long as they last.

MAX P. HEAVENRICH, JR.
Dayton Chamber of Commerce

Fesler, Dean of Civic Leaders, Retires; Bebout Takes Over

On April 1 John E. Bebout, former director of the New Jersey Constitution Foundation, became director of the **Citizens League of Cleveland** and the **Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research.** Mr. Bebout succeeds Mayo Fesler, director of the Citizens League for the past 32 years, who has resigned because of ill-health. Prior to his appointment as director of the New Jersey organization, Mr. Bebout was an instructor in Rutgers College and assistant professor at the University of New York. He has worked in close cooperation with civic and governmental groups in New Jersey.

Mr. Fesler has been asked by the Cleveland organizations to accept the position of research consultant so that his services will not be lost to the community.

Because of his long and colorful service in the cause of good government, Mr. Fesler's resignation has been the subject of editorial comment in the Cleveland press.

"There is no way to gauge exactly the extent to which government in Greater Cleveland has been affected by Mayo Fesler," says the *Cleveland Plain Dealer,* "but it would be difficult to exaggerate the amount of good which he has performed for the body politic during his nearly three decades of service in this community . . . It is a cause for genuine regret that illness prevents the continuance of his splendid work for his community."

Comments the *Cleveland Press:* "It can never be said that Mayo Fesler is an appeaser. As director of the Citizens League he was joyous in battle. Never once did he run away from a fight, and he was as ready to fight over a small issue as a large one. . . .

"Those who like a good fight were never disappointed when Mr. Fesler blew into a legislative committee meeting, with iron gray mustache bristling and eyes flashing behind steel-rimmed glasses.

"The director pulled no punches, either, in listing the qualifications, or lack of them, of candidates for public office. There was no mistaking the hand or voice in the League's recommendations. They carried weight."

Schools, Press Linked in Education Program

Closer cooperation between educators and the press is needed to help create an informed public opinion and reduce some of the existing "dangerous ignorance" in this country, according to Lester Markel, Sunday editor of the *New York Times.* Mr. Markel addressed five hundred teachers and school administrators on "The Newspaper—Its Making and Its Meaning," at a meeting sponsored by the *Times* under the auspices of the New York City Board of Education.

In making suggestions for using the newspaper as a text book for the study of current affairs, Mr. Markel suggested that teachers follow the development of a story day by day in the newspaper, reading each issue as a chapter in world history.

"The newspaper offers a great challenge and a great opportunity for the teacher as well as for the editor," he said. "Used as it should be, without bias, without fear, without favor, it can be a great instrument of democracy. Our goals lie in the same direction."

Here and There

Guides for Citizens

Voters attending city council meetings in **Kansas City, Missouri,** are presented with a four-page circular containing the pictures and names of councilmen and the seating arrangement of the council chamber. Included are an organization chart of the city's government, the names of chief administrative officers and members of commissions and a brief statement on how the city council operates.

Two new pamphlets issued by the **New York City League of Women Voters** will prove of value to citizens. One, *They Represent you in Washington, Albany, New York City,* lists legislators and administrators for the three levels of government. It urges citizens to "get the habit of writing your representatives on matters which interest you." Included in the pamphlet are maps covering all New York City and showing congressional, assembly and state senatorial districts.

The league's second leaflet, *New York Voter's Manual,* is an excellent companion piece. Prepared by Bianca S. Simon and Amelia Dietrich Lewis, it describes who may vote, provisions covering such matters as absentee voting, methods of voting, servicemen's voting, registration, primaries, the electoral college, etc., and describes national, state and local officers, how they are chosen and their duties.

The **Citizens' League of Port Huron, Michigan,** sponsored a meeting at which all candidates for the city election were invited to speak. Proposals on the ballot were also explained. The League's bulletin published biographical sketches of all candidates, as reported by the candidates themselves, and described proposed charter and state constitutional amendments.

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One-Man Grand Jury

One of a series of pamphlets explaining its contributions to the public welfare describes *The Grand Jury Work of the Detroit Citizens League.*[1] "Three times since 1930," cites the pamphlet, "the **Detroit Citizens League** has become known as leader and active agent in the successful use of the grand jury for investigation and prosecution of crime . . . Because of the confidential character of these undertakings little concerning them could then be published but now a fairly comprehensive account of the league's activities in this field can be set down. It constitutes a record probably unparalleled in the history of citizen organization in this country. It also marks another forward step in the progress of American democracy."

1945 Objectives

The **Committee of One Hundred of Yonkers** has published its "Objectives for 1945." Covered are various suggestions for improvement in city finance and administration—planning, transportation, purchasing, personnel — as well as education. Its last—and most important—objective is: "Holding public forums on matters of general interest and thereby, and through the press, acquainting the general public with the facts on which the solution of the city's problems must be based and its progress developed."

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Permanent Registration

The **City Club of Chicago** has announced its opposition to the efforts being made to repeal provisions for permanent registration in Illinois counties of less than 100,000. A permanent registration law applying only to Cook County was enacted in 1937 and subsequently extended to the rest of the state.

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The Legislature

C. A. Crosser, secretary of the **Municipal League of Seattle,** commenting editorially in the *Seattle Municipal News,* asks, "Should we streamline the state legislature?" Mr. Crosser has just returned to Seattle after observing the Washington legislature at work. He offers several suggestions for its improvement: (1) All legislation should pass through a competent bill-drafting department which would thoroughly check each measure; (2) There might be a "cooling-off" period between introduction of bills and their passage during which the general public and press would have an adequate opportunity to digest proposals and appraise them as to their public benefit; (3) The legislative session might be increased from 60 to 90 days to permit legislators more time to consider proposed laws. "These changes," states Mr. Crosser, "can only be accomplished by means of changes in the constitution and statutes."

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[1] See also "One Man Grand Jury in Action," by William P. Lovett, THE REVIEW, June 1944, p. 292.

The March issue of the *Montana Taxpayer* contains a review of the work of the 1945 state legislature, Legislation passed is listed under various categories—state finance, county finance, cities and towns, public school finance.

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Strictly Personal

The Pepper Box, issued by the Rotary Club of St. Louis, in announcing a meeting on the new Missouri constitution to be addressed by **Stratford Lee Morton,** a member of the council of the National Municipal League, comments: "To no Missourian should go more credit than to our own Strat Morton for the opportunity to vote on February 27, 1945, for a new progressive constitution. In 1941 he secured for St. Louis the 47th annual conference of the National Municipal League, raised the money and was St. Louis chairman. From this clinic on good government sprang the movement and organization for a new constitution. As chairman of the St. Louis and St. Louis County Committee on Revision and treasurer of the Statewide Committee a successful vote was obtained for the convention. As delegate-at-large he spent a year in Jefferson City. Curtis Betts, veteran political observer, writing in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* said: 'There is no better informed delegate in the convention than Morton. For more than two years he has diligently studied the governmental machinery of all the states. He has consistently fought to include in the proposed constitution the modern provisions which have been found effective in other states.'"

Former Governor Park of Missouri, seatmate of Mr. Morton during the constitutional convention, comments: "I know of no man who was more effective in bringing about the good things contained in the new constitution."

Hon. Murray Seasongood, former mayor of Cincinnati, expressing the view that there should be rotation in office, refused to be considered for reelection this year as president of the Hamilton County (Ohio) Good Government League. Mr. Seasongood has served the organization as president for the past ten years. To mark his service, and his great interest in and stimulus to the cause of good government, the Board of Directors of the organization presented him with an Oxford Dictionary at the league's tenth annual meeting in Cincinnati.

"To **Reginald W. Bird:** In grateful recognition of his years of unique leadership and devoted service to the development of citizen participation in democratic government in his state and country," reads the inscription on a silver-mounted plaque recently presented to Mr. Bird, president of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations. The presentation was made at a testimonial dinner in tribute to his services for the past thirteen years.

Walter T. Margetts, Jr., of Passaic, has been elected to the presidency of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association for his fourth term. **A. R. Everson,** who has been executive officer of the association since its formation fourteen years ago, was re-elected executive vice-president. The election was conducted by mail since the association's annual meeting had been cancelled in compliance with the request of War Mobilization Director Byrnes for a ban on travel for meetings.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Finland Holds Democratic Elections

An Attack in Toledo
Yonkers Ousts Manager

FINLAND, first of the liberated nations to do so, went to the polls on Saturday and Sunday, March 17 and 18, and elected a new parliament. The method used was a party list system of proportional representation. This system had been used for all Finnish national elections since Finland was re-established as an independent nation under the constitution of 1919 and even under the semi-autonomous status granted by Russia in 1906.

Except that the small Finnish Nazi party (Iki) was barred, press reports indicate that there was complete freedom of expression, good order and a record turnout of voters. The fair deal assured to all the contesting parties by the election method undoubtedly contributed to this auspicious result in a tense situation.

The proportional returns reflected a natural drift to the left but prevented any sweeping overturn. The two labor parties together polled approximately half the votes and elected 103 members of the 200-member one-house Eduskunta. The Social Democrats lost heavily to the new Communist-dominated Democratic People's Union but still remained the largest party. The former conservative majority, composed largely of Agrarians, Conservatives, Swedish People's party and Liberals, retained almost half the seats and will remain influential.

The freedom of the various parties to support their own candidates without danger of losing out by so doing contributed to the clarity of the popular verdict, and the approximate fidelity of representation secured was fortunate in a number of ways. It obviously made for good feeling at home. Good relations with nearby Russia were promoted by the substantial representation of the Democratic Union, but the large vote of the Union, as the *New York Times* pointed out editorially on March 21, "is approximately only one-quarter of the total vote, and only the existence of the ultra-democratic proportional representation system gives the Union party one-quarter of the total Diet seats." Acting with the moderate but labor-minded Social Democrats it has a majority for social reform measures, but only such well conceived measures as can command the united support of the two labor parties in the presence of a heavily represented opposition. Premier Juho K. Paasikivi has announced a friendly attitude toward Russia, but there is no majority for national policies regularly made in Moscow.

Results of Election

With several large parties in the field an ordinary plurality election by districts might have led to almost any kind of distortion, with a clear majority of the people in the average district failing to elect anyone. Coming so soon after the country's change of front, and while it is still at war with Germany, the resulting resentments and misrepresentation might have proved highly disruptive. Finland's experience with P. R., like the unbroken experience of Sweden, Switzerland and Ireland continuing through the war, deserves careful attention before elections are held in other liberated countries such as Italy and France.

Early press returns summarize the

results of the Finnish election as follows:

Party	New Parliament	Old Parliament	Gain or Loss
Social Democrats	52	85	—33
Democratic People's Union[1]	51	—	—11
Agrarian League	46	57	—11
Conservatives	28	25	+ 3
Swedish People's party	16	18	— 2
Liberals	7	7	——
Nazis (banned this year)	—	8	— 8
Total	200	200	

P.A.C. Circulating Petitions in Toledo

Casting about for an issue to develop its new-found political power, the Political Action Committee of the C.I.O. in Toledo has hit on the idea of trying to abolish proportional representation and substitute plurality voting at large for the city council. It is circulating petitions to get the required 13,500 signatures to put the necessary charter amendment on the ballot.

This surprising development is causing no little concern in labor and liberal circles elsewhere, where P. R. is widely regarded as a fundamental instrument of democracy to insure minorities their rightful hearing and share of participation in government. P.A.C. leadership in Toledo, however, has so far boldly rejected a minority role, saying that "labor constitutes a majority of the people."[1] "If labor were a minority group which could only elect a representative to city council because of the P. R. system," they concede, "it would be foolish to advocate and work for the overthrow of a system which gives it a voice and vote in council."[2]

Examination of P.A.C. statements so far issued brings out no more specific charges against P. R. than that it is "un-American" and has failed, and that councilmen rely too much on the city manager instead of making records of their own.

Citizens Organize

A citizens' committee to defend P. R. against the attack was organized on March 28 with George H. Fell as temporary chairman and Professor O. Garfield Jones of the University of Toledo as a member of the organizing committee.

The *Toledo Times* said in an editorial on January 22, when the likelihood of a P.A.C. attack on P. R. was first being discussed:

"The city is running along so smoothly that it is improbable that any anti-P. R. organization will be able to work up much of a lather of discontent over the system which in the years it has been on trial seems to have turned in a credible record.

"If the C.I.O.'s Political Action Committee or any other group wishes to test the strength of the P. R. backing, they have the privilege at any time. If they want to do it, they should get their campaign under way. About all they would have to do to scrap P. R. would be (1) to prove that it has not represented the people properly and (2) to present a better method through which the people can obtain as clean a government as they have today. Both would be difficult."

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[1] The British P. R. Society reports that the Democratic Union increased its representation from four to 50. Presumably the four were included by the recent press reports in the former representation of the Social Democrats, from whom most of the rest of the Democratic Union's strength seems to have come.

[1] *Toledo Union Journal,* column on Political Action by Clayton Rusch, chairman of the local P.A.C., March 18, 1945.

[2] *Toledo Union Journal,* Editorial, March 18, 1945.

A Set-Back in Yonkers

The phenomenal record of progress under P. R. and the city manager plan in Yonkers, New York, described in this department last month by Mayor Curtiss E. Frank, has been rudely interrupted. The city's capable and enterprising city manager, Robert Craig Montgomery, has been ousted under circumstances which indicate that three of the five city councilmen may support a spoils regime for the benefit of the local Democratic organization. The healthy reaction of the public gives ground for hope, however, that the set-back will be only temporary.

At the third P. R. council election in Yonkers two years ago the people reelected overwhelmingly a nonpartisan City Manager League majority consisting of Mayor Frank, Republican, Mrs. Edith P. Welty, Republican without party endorsement, and Thomas B. Sheridan, Democrat without party endorsement. The Democratic party minority elected the veteran party leader James A. Sullivan and a new member, John J. Whalen, a businessman with a good personal reputation.

New Manager Appointed

Recently the majority coalition parted company when Mr. Whalen joined Mr. Frank and Mrs. Welty in replacing City Manager William A. Walsh with Mr. Montgomery, a former New York City broker who had unusual business and executive experience and had been giving the city distinguished service as comptroller. Mr. Walsh, a former reform mayor who had accepted the managership after his 70th birthday with the idea that he would help to put the local government back on its feet and then retire, had served the city well and there was no desire on anyone's part to dishonor him; but when it was privately suggested that the time had come for him to step aside in favor of more aggressive and specially trained leadership he chose to attack publicly the councilmen who made the suggestion and removal proceedings followed. Mr. Sheridan refused to sanction the removal.

The removal also caused considerable public resentment, but during the 110 days that he remained in office the forthright and able way in which Mr. Montgomery attacked the city's unsolved problems won him the virtually united support of good citizens. "Mr. Montgomery's record of municipal achievement as comptroller and manager," said the *Yonkers Herald Statesman* editorially on March 27, "has won the city new industries, extra revenues, better pay for employees, lower tax rates and a string of improvements that tend to make every good citizen proud."

Public Protests Ouster

At the time Mr. Montgomery was made manager, Mr. Whalen gave public assurance of his complete confidence in the new manager and said that he would be given "an absolutely free hand to do the best possible job for the city,"[1] but party organization pressure proved too strong. Mr. Montgomery flatly rejected certain demands from the local Democratic leader for party patronage appointments at the expense of public servants who were doing their work well, and shortly thereafter the three Democratic members, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Whalen and Mr. Sheridan, voted together to suspend him for 30 days and gave notice of their intention to remove him.

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[1] *Yonkers Herald Statesman*, editorial, March 27, 1945.

At the meeting on March 27 when this ouster vote was taken some 500 angry citizens voiced audible protests. Plans engineered by Mr. Montgomery to bring a million-dollar laboratory to Yonkers were immediately suspended by the company concerned. The city's one large newspaper, the *Herald Statesman*, said editorially:

"Montgomery is being fired because he's too good, because he's too honest, because he wouldn't and couldn't 'play ball' like old-fashioned politicians, who care more about currying favor with the political big-shots than they do for the welfare of the taxpayers." For a number of days it carried letters of indignant protest from prominent citizens.[2]

Public Hearing

Mr. Montgomery has asked for a public hearing, to which he is entitled under the charter. Pending his removal City Engineer Norman P. Henderson is acting as manager. Both he and Mr. Walsh have declined to be considered as Mr. Montgomery's successor and at this writing there is no indication who the new manager will be.

The *Herald Statesman* and other leaders of good government forces are warning that the Democratic organization may try to capitalize on the public's exasperation to launch another attack on P. R. or the manager plan and point out that without P. R. and the manager plan the city could not have advanced to a more satisfactory position in the first place. The League of Women Voters is holding a series of meetings to make clear the indispensable advantages of the city's charter in meeting the present crisis successfully; and the City Manager League is grooming a strong ticket, minus Mr. Sheridan, to elect a dependable good government majority at the fourth P. R. election next fall.

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[2]See editorial this issue, p. 211.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

County Manager Law Enacted in Oregon

New Charters May Be Adopted by Petition and Popular Vote

UNDER the county manager law recently enacted by the Oregon state legislature and signed by Governor Snell, all counties in the state may now adopt the manager plan of government. A constitutional amendment permitting enactment of the statute was ratified by the voters of the state last November.[1] Already Clackamas County is preparing to draft a manager charter for submission to its voters and there is interest in other parts of the state.

The new statute does not set up a specific charter but provides that "a county may adopt a charter containing any system or plan of county manager form of government which substantially conforms to the requirements of this act." Such charter may be adopted upon (1) petition signed by at least 10 per cent of the electors who voted in the last preceding election for county clerk and (2) ratification of the charter proposed in the petition by simple majority vote in a referendum at the next primary election. At least 45 days must elapse between such election and the date on which it was ordered.

The law permits the abolition of all county offices except that of school superintendent where the county unit plan has been adopted. The elective board of commissioners may vary from three to seven members, with terms of office and compensation, if any, as designated in the charter. One of the commissioners, however, must run and serve as county judge. The board is the governing body of the county, and among its duties are included the appointment of the manager for an indefinite term and the ordering of an annual audit.

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[1]For account and text of constitutional amendment, see the REVIEW, December 1944, p. 633.

The manager need not be a resident of the county and must be chosen on a basis of merit only. He has sole appointive power of all other county officers, but he may delegate it in part to his subordinates. The power of appointment by the county board and by the manager is accompanied by the power of removal, but the latter is circumscribed by the employee's right to receive written charges. The manager is required to make monthly reports to the board and to prepare and submit an annual budget.

The law suggests that there may be departments of records and finance, education, public works, and public welfare, unless otherwise provided in the county charter. The manager may serve as director of one or more of the departments, and he may designate some of his subordinates to serve in two or more such capacities.

After four years of operation, the manager plan may be abandoned by the same procedure by which it was adopted.

Manager Charter Sought for Santa Clara County, Calif.

As a direct result of the work of the Grand Jury and the Citizens Planning Council of Greater San Jose,[1] a large and enthusiastic mass meeting of the people of Santa Clara County, California, has been held to initiate the machinery necessary to draft and secure adoption of a home rule manager charter. Residents from all parts of the county attended the meeting, which was called by the Citizens Planning Council.

At the meeting the Santa Clara County Charter Association was formed to organize and conduct the charter campaign. The next step will be a popular election to select a board of freeholders. Such election may be called either voluntarily by the county board of supervisors or as the result of a petition signed by at least 15 per cent of the voters in the last preceding gubernatorial election.

If the board of freeholders of fifteen members is approved by popular vote at the special election called for this purpose, it is given four months in which to draft a charter and, after publication thereof, the popular vote on ratification must be held in not less than 30 nor more than 60 days. Sponsors of the charter hope to secure the vote "before Christmas."

Government of Georgia Counties Studied

Georgia's system of county government has been subjected to thorough analysis by Melvin Clyde Hughes in his recently published book, *County Government in Georgia.* The study was published by the University of Georgia Press and constitutes another valuable addition to the growing list of works on local rural government.

Dr. Hughes, on leave from the University of Georgia, has made a contribution not only to the literature on county government but also to the cause of governmental reform in Georgia under most timely circumstances. At the present moment the people of Georgia are appraising their governmental institutions with critical eyes and they are eager to correct and improve upon what they see. Already they have made auspicious beginnings in rectifying flagrant defects.

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[1] See Review, April 1945, p. 200.

Dr. Hughes' study constitutes a careful analysis of all factors bearing on the local community. He not only traces the early institutional beginnings of county government in Georgia but he analyzes also the pertinent problems of topography, population, wealth, transportation facilities and trade centers. Detailed examination of the administration of justice, finance, highways, schools, welfare, health and conservation services is based on direct observation and interviews as well as on study of the constitution and statutes of the state. In each of these fields Dr. Hughes is not content merely to report. He makes his own observations regarding the faults of the system and ventures to suggest remedial measures.

On the basis of this extensive analysis Dr. Hughes makes his proposal for general reorganization of county government throughout the state. There is nothing novel in the plan he presents. It calls for the consolidation of Georgia's 159 counties into 32, or under an alternative plan into 40, new counties. Many surveys of county government in other states have made similar recommendations, and to date all have been ignored by "practical politicians." The present study may suffer a similar fate, but eventually it is to be hoped that there will be general recognition of the need to modernize local government to cope with present-day problems and to offer a reasonable alternative to the accelerating trend toward centralization.

Wisconsin Legislature Defeats County Government Amendment

County reform in Wisconsin again has failed to surmount opposition within the state and the obstacles imposed by the constitution.[1]

The Wisconsin state constitution requires uniformity in the structure of county government and amendment to the constitution requires passage of a proposal by two successive sessions of the legislature plus submission to the voters for final adoption.

A proposed amendment was approved by the 1943 session of the legislature (1) providing for removal of the section requiring uniformity in county government, (2) giving the legislature power to enact optional forms of government from which the counties could choose by popular vote, and (3) permitting the abolition of certain elective county officers or their change to an appointive basis. When reconsidered in the 1945 session, however, it was defeated in the lower house by a vote of 61 to 31.

Proponents of the amendment must start once more at the beginning of the procedure. On one prior occasion the proposal was passed by one session of the Wisconsin legislature only to die in the following session two years later.

Consolidation under Manager Proposed for Miami-Dade Co.

The mayor of Miami, Florida, has proposed that the city and Dade County be completely consolidated into one unit under a manager form of government. Such consolidation would involve the abolition of seventeen towns and cities, five school districts, ten subschool districts, five justice of peace districts and ten drainage districts. The mayor estimates that savings resulting from the consolidation would be approximately $2,000,000 annually.

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[1] See the Review, September 1943, p. 459; October 1944, p. 484.

Alabama Legislative Committee Makes County Recommendations

The Alabama Legislative Interim Committee on State, County and Municipal Government, in its recent report to the state legislature, recommended:

(1) Abolition of election of county commissioners by districts;

(2) Provision for the probate judge and two commissioners elected at large to serve as the governing body of small counties;

(3) Provision for the election of three commissioners elected at large to constitute the governing body of the middle group of counties; and

(4) Allocation of functional fields of administration to each of the commissioners.

The committee did not make recommendations affecting the large counties and it suggested that further study be given to the problems of consolidation of counties and municipalities.

Toledo Revives Discussion of County Reform

The Toledo City Journal, official publication of the municipality, recently has revived discussion of the need for county reform in Ohio. It recalled the work of a committee appointed by the governor of Ohio in 1933, a project which had been financed by the Spelman Fund. After a year of study and research the committee recommended that the legislature establish alternative forms of county organization including (1) the county manager plan, (2) the limited executive plan and (3) the elective executive plan. The committee had recommended also that various combinations of these plans be permitted. Despite the introduction of bills to carry out these recommendations no action was ever taken by the legislature; hence the *Journal* has suggested that the matter be given reconsideration. It points to the overlapping police functions of Toledo and Lucas County as the type of problem which urgently requires solution.

Metropolitan Planning Agency Recommended for Detroit

A planning agency for the metropolitan area of Detroit was recommended at a recent meeting of the Michigan Planning Commission. The area would include the counties of Wayne, Oakland, Macomb and Washtenaw. The agency would have a permanent office and staff to be financed jointly by local contributions and the State Planning Commission.

Governor Kelly requested the commission to give the recommendation further study with special reference to legislation needed to put it into effect.

County Legislation in Tennessee

The Tennessee legislature enacted more than 400 local bills affecting counties during its 61-day session which adjourned on March 2. Most of them involved merely bond authorization or validation and changing the pay of individual county officers. There were 135 separate acts dealing with the pay of county officers such as sheriff, tax assessor, county judge, etc. For example, Davidson County, containing the city of Nashville, had ten separate acts passed establishing pay rates for the following officers and employees: purchasing commission, court officers, general sessions court officers, chancery court officers, bailiffs, electrical inspector, process servers, assistant attorney general, stenographer of chancery court, and stenographer of criminal court.

One local act, applicable only to Knox County and the city of Knoxville, merits consideration because of its unusual character. Members of the

Tennessee legislature are paid four dollars a day for each day the legislature is in session, not to exceed 75 days for each regular session. The inadequacy of the pay of legislators has long been recognized but since the provisions regarding compensation are embedded in the constitution, a document unamended since its adoption in 1870, no adjustment in pay has been possible. The new act makes provision for supplementing the pay received by the Knox County delegation from the state by providing that the governing bodies of Knox County and the city of Knoxville shall each pay an additional four dollars per day to each member of the Knox County delegation. If this legislation is put into effect, each Knox County legislator would receive a salary of twelve dollars per day as compared with four dollars for the rest of the state.

It has been indicated that this act may be unconstitutional, and, to date, none of the members eligible under it has sought the additional compensation. Should the act be upheld, however, and the payment made, it seems likely that legislative delegations from other counties will seek to supplement their constitutional salary by similar devices.

Bond Issues Authorized

There were 33 local acts authorizing county bond issues. Among these counties were: (1) Davidson, $3,000,000 in hospital bonds; (2) Shelby, $2,000,000 in school bonds; and (3) Knox, up to $1,000,000 in bonds for county schools.

Another subject which receives the attention of every session of the Tennessee legislature is that of changes in county boundaries. These changes are usually the result of requests by landowners who have tracts of land in two counties and want them in one county or who request transfer of their property from one county to another in order to secure more convenient school facilities. The 1945 legislature passed seven local acts changing county boundary lines.

Several local acts dealt with budgeting and purchasing procedures. A purchasing committee or agent was established in Bedford, Decatur and Monroe Counties, and the county judge was designated as purchasing agent in McNairy County. A budget and accounting system was established for Marshall County. Budget laws were enacted for Decatur and Hickman Counties, and the county judge of Obion County was designated as both purchasing agent and budget director. A budget control act for Knox County failed of passage.

The movement for the establishment of general sessions courts to replace justice of the peace courts continued to gain headway with the adoption of such courts by Marshall and Wilson Counties. A juvenile court was established in Hamilton County.

Other changes in county government included the establishment of the office of county attorney in Haywood and Jackson Counties, the office of county engineer in Madison County, and the office of road supervisor in Van Buren County.

Two counties, Hancock and Hamilton, were redistricted by legislative act, thus changing the number of justices of the peace. The justices of the peace constitute the principal governing body in Hancock County. In Hamilton County, however, the county manager plan has been adopted, and the justices of the peace have been largely deprived of duties in connection with county government.

M. H. Satterfield
Tennessee Valley Authority

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Greater State Aid Urged for N. Y. Local Units

Moore Commission Proposes Overall Fiscal Program

A BROADENED program of state assistance to local government was urged on the New York legislature March 13, shortly before adjournment, by the New York Commission on Municipal Revenue and Real Estate Taxes, headed by State Comptroller Frank C. Moore. Under the program, most of which will be presented for action to next year's legislature, the state would assume added responsibilities for schools, take over the bulk of the cost of emergency relief and welfare and peg at $100,000,000 annually its cash contribution to the cities, towns, villages and counties.

The commission proposes the abolition of the present system of shared taxes in favor of what it describes as "a more stable and equitable method of state assistance to its subdivisions." Exclusive of the increase in aid for education, which was studied by a separate committee, the program would increase local resources an estimated $40,000,000 as compared with the current level partly by shifting costs to the state and partly by increasing direct grants to local units.

The chief cost to be shifted to the state is for home relief and social security. The commission recommended that the local units bear only 20 per cent of this cost, the state making up the difference between federal aid and the other 80 per cent. At present expenditure levels this would shift to the state $23,800,000 annually now paid by the local units.

The commission also recommended continuation of state aid for health and local laboratories, a relatively minor item, however, involving only about $1,000,000 annually at present.

More important, at least as a change in procedure in granting state assistance to local units, was the proposal for a fixed annual cash contribution recommended to be pegged at $100,000,000 and to come out of the state's general revenues rather than from earmarked taxes. Of the $100,000,000, $23,000,000 would be granted to replace motor vehicle taxes and motor fuel taxes and aid for snow removal, $7,000,000 of this going to New York City and $16,000,000 to upstate counties. The remaining $77,000,000 would be evenly divided between New York City and upstate communities. The suggested distribution is as follows:

To New York City	$45,500,000
To upstate cities	19,250,000
To upstate counties	18,050,000
To towns	13,700,000
To villages	3,500,000
	$100,000,000

In the fiscal year ended March 31, 1944, distribution of state-collected, locally-shared revenues to the cities, counties, towns and villages totaled $84,123,283 according to the commission.

Pennsylvania Corporate Franchise Tax Held Valid

About $50,000,000 of corporate franchise taxes on foreign (out-of-state) corporations collected in the last five years have been saved to Pennsylvania by the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court sustaining the validity of the tax law, according to the state attorney general's office.

Constitutionality of the tax was contested by the Ford Motor Company and Quaker Oats Company which urged, among other things, that the law was in violation of the interstate commerce clause of the federal constitution. The taxpayers contended that the tax should be based only on that part of their corporate stock involved in the business transacted in Pennsylvania rather than on the entire amount. The statute had been upheld by the State Supreme Court in 1935 and a ruling by the U. S. Supreme Court adverse to the state would have been followed by actions for recovery by numerous firms.

Selling Municipal Bonds at Better Interest Rates

In this column last month comment was made on the presently prevailing low cost to municipal units of borrowing money, with the observation that many local governments shortly to sell their bonds for postwar public works would fail to reap the full benefits of low rates. Two pitfalls were cited:

1. Failure to "package" the bond offering so as to attract the most favorable bids; and

2. Failure to disclose sufficient information about the bonds and the issuer.

Naturally many of the terms to be written into the bonds being offered for sale by a city, town, village, county, school district or special district are controlled by statute. But within these legal limitations the issuing unit usually has a fairly wide scope in preparing an attractive "package" for the prospective bidder, and it will repay the local official unfamiliar with the momentary preferences of the market to consult reputable and experienced banking officials and investment bankers beforehand to make sure no costly mistakes are made.

A few illustrations of recent examples of faulty "packaging" will make clear the advantage to be gained from consideration of matters which on first sight might seem trivial.

Errors to Be Avoided

At present, for example, some errors are being committed by calling for bids on bonds to bear interest at a predetermined rate which has been set too high. Most bonds are now awarded on the basis of lowest net interest cost, and fixing the coupon rate substantially above the "basis price" or net interest cost necessitates the payment of a proportionately larger premium. The premium understandably looks good to the local unit but it has to be passed along to the ultimate investor when the bonds are retailed, and too high a premium can make the bond more difficult to retail thus causing the bidder to adjust his bid accordingly. Furthermore, a unit fixing a coupon considerably above prevailing rates invites bids above prevailing rates.

Errors can also be made in grouping issues for sale. One well known local borrower recently caused much confusion among bidders by offering simultaneously bonds issued by itself and by another local unit for which it acts as fiscal agent. The intent was to bring the bonds out together so that the buyers might be protected from another sale too soon afterwards. Actually, no less than four issues were involved, each backed by different security: one was an unlimited tax obligation of the issuer, another was a limited tax obligation of the issuer, another was a limited tax obligation of the underlying unit, and the fourth was a special obligation of the underlying unit secured by state aid. Had the borrower been less well known, a reoffering would probably have been necessary with at least two separate sales called for.

A practice which may result in less advantageous bids is that of inviting the bidder to select one of several maturity arrangements for the bonds. A borrower recently offered two alternative schedules for twenty-year serial bonds, differing only in minor respects, with each alternative further subject to making the bonds callable either in five years or in ten years or making them non-callable. Each bidder thus in effect had to bid on six different series of bonds. The borrower certainly had his choice of offers, but it is doubtful if the terms were as advantageous as they would have been if one maturity schedule had been offered, with the bonds either non-callable or callable after a stated single period. Presumably a local government knows how it wants its bonds to mature, within the limitations imposed by law, and if leaway exists to arrange maturities etc. to attract better bids the matter should be determined by consultation beforehand and not made a subject of the bidding itself.

Other matters of "packaging" merit attention. In general, the date of the bonds might best be relatively close to the date sold, to avoid payment of a large amount of accrued interest by the purchaser. Arrangements should likewise be made to assure delivery of the bonds in definitive form relatively soon after they are sold. Sometimes wider bidding may result if a paying agent in one of the larger financial centers is named for the issue. Use of bond attorneys well known in the markets from which it is hoped to attract bidding is also helpful, as is the distribution of a complete and accurate "notice of sale" or "invitation for bids" and the advertisement of the offering not only locally but also in cities where the money markets are located.

And that brings us to the subject of disclosure of all relevant facts. As discussed last month the majority of local units now borrowing with any frequency, and the overwhelming majority of firms bidding on bonds as well as the customers to whom they retail the obligations, expect that reasonably full information will be provided about the issuer's condition. This is usually done by the preparation not only of a "notice of sale" in which the bonds are described but by a "financial statement" setting forth pertinent facts about the issuing unit's finances and—if it is a little known unit—briefly describing the resources of its community, area and population, method of operation, principal officials and pertinent provisions of the law respecting the authority for issuance of the bonds.

Financial Statement Helps

It is probably not too much to say that a good financial statement can go a long way in widening the interest of bidders, especially if the borrower is a small, little known unit and the amount of bonds involved is not especially large. Such a statement need not be elaborate or lengthy, but it will cover certain essentials: the correct legal title of the issuer, date of incorporation or establishment, area and population, description of form of government, description of debt and tax rate limits applicable to the unit (and whether or not bonds and interest are payable inside or outside such limitations) and statistics on assessed valuations, tax rates, tax levies and collections, bonded and unfunded debt and sinking funds, annual bond maturities and summary statements of annual operations for governmental and public service enterprise funds. Next month features of a good financial statement will be discussed.

Michigan Cities Seek Share of State Surplus

The Michigan legislature has now adjourned after four months of hectic controversy over the urban-rural issue and the right of cities of Michigan to a share in the assumed state financial surplus. Experienced members are finding out that to operate a state government "in the red" is a picnic as compared with getting a reputation for having a big surplus.

For a dozen reasons Detroit and the other cities have been facing reduced revenues because of declining payments on delinquent taxes, reductions in income from local services, large boosts in city wages and salaries (under pressure from organized employees), etc. In various local elections Michigan voters have turned down any and all proposed tax increases, including defeat April 2 for possible increase in the constitutional 15-mill limitation—but subject to local referendum.

When he began his second two-year term Governor Kelly was willing to "give the cities some help," but insisted on no increase in state taxes. It was a question of new formulas for distribution. But state officials generally insisted also that the surplus would be needed entirely for state purposes—returned war veterans, an increase for schools and general improvements and rehabilitation among state institutions. All kinds of bills were introduced but they only increased the heat of the confusing arguments.

Then followed a teapot tempest between state officials at Lansing and the city experts; the former declared that the state needed practically all its surplus, and in fact most of it already had been earmarked for state needs. Benjamin J. Tobin, Detroit auditor-general, insisted that the state surplus ran up to $110,000,000, but Lansing retorted that it was less than a fifth of that sum. Tobin admitted it was a matter of definition.

In one conference Governor Kelly said he simply would not allow putting the state again in the red. As the cities, for the first time in a generation, built a lobbying organization—which was not entirely united—they did finally win a chance to share in an increase in the tax on intangibles and to benefit by new taxes on alcoholic beverages, both liquor and beer. Proposals for a virtually unlimited excise tax to go to the cities were pigeonholed. So was the demand for a sixth of the 3 per cent state sales tax revenues, which have gone up tremendously.

When two years ago Mayor Jeffries of Detroit proposed local adoption of the Philadelphia occupational tax, the cry against it forced him to withdraw the idea. Meanwhile the Detroit mayor and council are making a budget in which, it is believed, the figures do not tell the whole story. But the total for next year apparently will be $5,000,000 more than for the current year.

William P. Lovett,
Executive Secretary
Detroit Citizens League

Group to Study Manufacturing Taxes

A work group composed of Clarence Heer, Raymond Thomas, Charles P. White and James W. Martin, chairman, has been organized to promote a study of manufacturing taxation in each of fourteen southern states. On completion of these investigations by individual volunteers, a general integrating report is planned. The Southern Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Council is sponsoring the project which is already under way in a dozen states.

James W. Martin
University of Kentucky

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

England Makes Postwar Plans for Local Government

New White Paper Suggests Continuing Present Trends

NO radical reform but a continuation of the trends already in evidence in English local government is the prospect held out by the Government's new White Paper on *Local Government in England and Wales During the Period of Reconstruction.*[1] Among the trends foreshadowed are larger units, more use of joint authorities, more central government grants, more centralization of certain services and, concomitantly, more local government activities.

Regional authorities are not considered desirable by the government nor are universal all-purpose units looked upon with favor. Therefore, in order to adjust the administration of the numerous expanded and new services of government to larger areas if and where necessary, the government proposes to rely upon the centralization of services and an increased use of joint boards.[2] While it is "opposed to any general policy of centralizing services hitherto regarded as essentially local," the government does not rule out some centralization "if on the merits a good case can be shown for this course."

Again, the government does not underrate objections to joint boards covering more than one local unit with their membership indirectly elected, but it does "not believe that the difficulties are so great as to warrant delay in the working out of the reconstruction program. The number of services in which joint planning or joint action is essential is, after all, limited, and where in the development of the program combined action is required, it should be possible to find acceptable means of insuring it. To proceed in this way does not rule out ultimate integration of the joint bodies in any area into a single compendious unit if experience should show this to be desirable."

It is proposed that a central boundary commission be set up to adjust where necessary the boundaries of local governments, except in the London and, in part, Middlesex areas. In general, its decisions would be subject to Parliamentary review. The procedures of county reviews and county borough extension bills would be abolished. The former gave county councils power to review the boundaries of units of government within the county and alter them if they saw fit, while the latter permitted county boroughs to promote a bill extending their boundaries in Parliament. The Minister of Health would be permitted to give the boundary commission general directions for guidance on broad issues.

It is expected that if such a boundary commission were set up that larger local units, rural as well as urban, would result since that was the trend under previous boundary revision methods and since many bills are being promoted before Parliament for boundary extensions at the present time.[3] Boundary revisions, once made, would normally be unalterable for ten years. This would make possible a certain amount of stability which would permit future planning. The entire boundary revision scheme is significant also from the standpoint of the large cities with their "overspill" areas and the trend toward decentralization.

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[1] A summary of the provisions of the White Paper may be found in the *Municipal Journal,* January 5, 1945, pp. 7-8.

[2] For a discussion of changes made since 1943 in local government services see "Trends in English Local Government, 1944-5," by Edward W. Weidner, *American Political Science Review,* April 1945.

[3] See the REVIEW, November 1944, p. 569.

Even though some services formerly local in character are being centralized, the scope and range of local government activities in the postwar era will be greater than ever, since many new functions are being added. This fact creates a difficult financial problem for the poorer local units. In part it can be met by larger units and by the use of joint authorities, thus creating a larger financial base for the services. A considerable financial problem would still remain, however, and the government proposes to increase central government grants to localities. A general reorganization of the financial relations between central and local units is promised in the near future with a bias in favor of the poorer authorities.

The House of Commons in discussing the White Paper welcomed the government's intention to retain the existing county and county borough framework and to establish a boundary commission.

The reform of local government has been the subject of widespread debate in England for well over a year and a half. During this time numerous individuals and groups have come forth with plans for its future, among them the Association of Municipal Corporations, the County Councils Association, the Urban and Rural Districts Associations, the Liberal National Committee, the Labor party, the Liberal party and the National Association of Local Government Officers.[4]

Four of these plans offered, in main, only slight variations from the existing local government structure—the plans of the Liberal National Committee, the Liberal party, the County Councils Association and the Rural and Urban Districts Associations. The NALGO and AMC reports called for varying plans of single all-purpose authorities, while the Labor party's proposal was for a two-tier structure.

In general the plans put forth by the local authority associations were defenses of the particular level of local government they represented. Thus the County Councils Association called for greater powers for the counties and possible elimination of those counties of less than 100,000 population, the Urban and Rural District Associations defended district units as essential and cited the need for the maintenance of their powers, and the AMC called for single all-purpose authorities much like the existing county boroughs.

Placed alongside the drastic reorganization plans of NALGO, AMC and others, including some calling for outright regionalism, the proposals made in the government's White Paper seem cautious indeed.

News from Great Britain

Elections Bill

In giving the Representation of the People Bill its third reading the last week of January, the House of Commons rejected a proposal which would have made proportional representation an optional method of voting for local elections.[1]

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[4] For more complete discussions of these group plans, see "The Structure of Local Government and Recent Proposals for Reform," by J. H. Warren, *Public Administration* (London), Spring 1944 (which discusses the NALGO, AMC, and Labor party proposals); *Municipal Journal,* May 12, 1944, p. 779 (Liberal National Committee), and *Ibid.,* February 16, 1945, p. 296 (Liberal party).

* * *

Greater London Plan

Professor Patrick Abercrombie has completed his outline plan for Greater London—that part of the metropolis outside the jurisdiction of the London County Council. This complements his earlier report on the London County area.[2] Assuming a virtual ban on industrial expansion in London, the report states the problem as one of better location of the existing population and of decentralization.

* * *

Water Bill

A Water Bill, 1945, has been introduced in the House of Commons by the Minister of Health which would give the minister central responsibility for water policy in line with part of the proposals of the White Paper on National Water Policy.[3] Central and regional advisory water committees would be established to aid the minister. Local organization would not be directly affected, but some consolidation would be encouraged and, if necessary, could be enforced by the minister.

* * *

Civic Film

To further democratic control and good citizenship, Manchester is sponsoring a film depicting the city's civic activities. Its running time will be about an hour.

* * *

Loans Bill

The government's proposals on borrowing by local governments after the war have been put into a Loans Bill which has been given a second reading by the House of Commons.[1] Borrowing would be centrally controlled and timed under the bill's provisions.

* * *

Fire Service

A report of the conference held last November between the Home Secretary and representatives of local governments was issued the last week of January. At the conference Mr. Morrison recalled his earlier promise to return the fire brigades (which have been nationalized during the emergency) to the localities after the war, but not necessarily to the same local units. He stated he thought that to return them to the more than 1,440 localities of prewar days would be a retrogressive step. If something short of a national service were to be developed from the operational point of view *ad hoc* units would seem to meet the requirements of the service most adequately, he said. The government is not yet committed to any decision, however.

* * *

Employee Compensation

The House of Commons has given a second reading to the Compensation of Displaced Officers (War Service) Bill. Its main purpose is to put local authority employees who are in war service when a change in functions of the authority takes place in the same position as to compensation for loss of office as employees who remained in local government employment. The bill is especially important since many changes in local government are taking place at the present time.

* * *

Industries

Glasgow is considering the creation of

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[1] For provisions of the Bill see the REVIEW, March 1945, p. 151.

[2] For an account of the earlier report see the REVIEW, March 1944, p. 133. The latest report is summarized in *Municipal Journal,* December 15 and 22, 1944, pp. 2213 and 2227.

[3] See the REVIEW, December 1944, p. 643.

[1] The original proposals were discussed in the REVIEW, October 1944, p. 498.

a special organization to encourage the establishment of new industries in the city and to foster the development of existing ones.

* * *

Loans

The total amount of loans sanctioned by the Minister of Health for England and Wales for the year ending March 1944 amounted to £6,701,102. Loans for housing purposes increased by £1,890,070 and for public health purposes by £292,488. Loans for other purposes decreased £556,442 leaving a net increase of £1,626,116. The total amount sanctioned, however, was less than 8 per cent of the corresponding amount in 1938-9.

* * *

Finance

According to the government's White Paper on employment policy the government believes it can influence capital expenditure materially in maintaining employment by the annual submission by local authorities to the appropriate government department of five-year plans of proposed capital expenditures. These proposals would be assembled and adjusted upward or downward according to necessity determined by the latest information of the employment situation.

* * *

Police

There is protest in some quarters against the expected move on the part of the government to separate local police and ambulance services which are at present jointly operated by the police.

French Conducting Local Elections This Spring

French municipal council elections are being held April 29 and May 13 and general council elections May 20 and June 3 according to latest reports. Formerly the period between the first and second ballots was eight days, but because of the expected large vote by mail, both military and civilian, the period has been extended to fifteen days. The second or runoff elections are held if no candidate receives a majority of the votes cast equal to at least 25 per cent of the number of registered voters.

Under the new women's suffrage provisions, 60 per cent of French women eligible to register have done so.

The cabinet at its March 9 meeting extended the right to vote in the coming local elections to Algerian Moslems living in France one year at the time of the declaration of war. Special provisions apply to Moslems living in Algeria.

Brazil Plans First Elections in Sixteen Years

General elections for Brazil, the first in sixteen years, have been announced by President Vargas, to be held probably in the fall. The elections are expected to be for president, both houses of congress, state governors, and state assemblies.[1] Instead of indirectly electing the president and congress, as envisioned under the 1937 constitution, both will be directly elected by the voters, i.e., those of either sex eighteen years or over. Previously, the indirect election of the congress and the president was in part to be handled through the municipal councils.

Actually, since 1939, Brazil has been governed by a very centralized system, with no congress, with state governors replaced by president-appointed "interventors," with state assemblies dissolved, with municipal prefects freely appointed by the state interventors, and with popularly elected municipal councils dissolved.

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[1] See *New York Times,* February 21, 1945, p. 11.

Books in Review

Democracy Under Pressure. Special Interests vs The Public Welfare. By Stuart Chase. New York 18, Twentieth Century Fund, 1945. 142 pp. $1.

Pointing to more than 400 organized lobbies in Washington, Stuart Chase declares in this volume that selfish pressure groups—business, labor and agriculture—are a more dangerous threat to American democracy than the war itself. A primary job after victory is won, he states, will be "to curb the pressure groups and end the recurring deadlocks which are growing so disastrous for us all." Despite these pressures, Mr. Chase feels that America has a better chance to preserve democracy and achieve prosperity than any other large country in the world.

Analyzing what can be done to control pressure groups and promote the general welfare, Mr. Chase suggests that publicity can be a powerful safeguard. He states that sixteen states have already adopted laws requiring lobbies to register and furnish financial statements, but experience under these laws has varied from success to almost complete failure. "Organizations of consumers and white collar workers can accomplish a good deal," he comments.

This is the fourth report by Mr. Chase in a series of six exploratory reports under the general title "When the War Ends," in which he gives his own conclusions on postwar questions.

School Consolidation and State Aid in Illinois. By Leon H. Weaver. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1944. 115 pp. $1.50 paperbound, $2 clothbound.

This study seeks to evaluate the effects of state aid policies on the consolidation of school units in Illinois and to determine by what means and to what extent state aid policies can be used to secure further consolidation. Illinois has over 12,000 school administrative units, states the author, "more than any other state." It has more one-teacher schools than any other state. Chapters in the study discuss some principles of grants-in-aid, present state aid system and its evolution, relation of state aid policies to school consolidation, a proposed buildings aid program, application of various state aid plans to larger districts and the disparity between urban and rural assessment ratios.

The author concludes that: "It can be argued that merely providing an economic incentive for consolidation, in the form of local tax rate differentials [secured through state aid], will be relatively effective until education and propaganda have convinced local people, and especially rural people, that larger school units are desirable for their own sake. In answer to this, however, it is argued that if economic incentives are established, the problem of education and propaganda will be simplified, since there will be an added argument for consolidation; and that local action for consolidation is more likely to come about if there is education plus an economic incentive than if exclusive reliance is placed on hortatory efforts of officials and civic organizations."

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Aviation

The Municipal Airport in the National Airport Program. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1945. 16 pp.

New York State Building an Aviation Future. A Report of the Statewide Aviation Conference for Planning Aviation Services and Facilities, Albany, New York, January 19, 1945. Albany, New York State Association of Towns, 1945. 71 pp.

Health

The Story of Blue Cross — On the Road to Better Health. By Louis H. Pink. New York 20, Public Affairs Committee, 1945. 31 pp. 10 cents.

Local Government

Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Southern Institute of Local Government 1944. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, 1945. 60 pp.

Personnel

State Employment in 1944. By Lillian Palenius. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 11 pp.

Planning

Chicago Looks Ahead — Design for Public Improvement. Chicago 6, Chicago Plan Commission, 1945. 78 pp. Illus.

The Effect of Parks, Parkways and Playgrounds on Land Values. A Bibliography. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Harvard University, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, 1945. 3 pp.

Planning and Postwar Planning — State Organizations. Membership Directory Revised. Chicago 37, American Society of Planning Officials, 1945. 39 pp. $1.

Postwar Planning for the City of New York. A Bibliography. By M. Margaret Kehl. New York, Municipal Reference Library, 1945. 5 pp. (Free)

War and Postwar Developments in the Southern California Petroleum Industry. By Joe S. Bain. Los Angeles, The Hayes Foundation, 1944. 50 pp.

Your Convention — By Mail. A Collection of Addresses Prepared for Delivery at the War-Cancelled Convention of the Urban Land Institute, November 1944. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1945. 22 pp.

Public Utilities

Municipally Owned Gas Systems in Texas. 20 Cities, 1944. Austin, League of Texas Municipalities, 1944. 3 pp.

Public Works

Fiscal Significance of Public Works. By Mabel L. Walker. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1945. 6 pp. 25 cents.

Post-War Public Works Programs. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1944. 31 pp. 50 cents.

Preliminary Report of the Emergency Public Works Committee. Boston, Massachusetts Emergency Public Works Commission, 1944. 24 pp.

Purchasing

Purchasing in Texas Counties. By H. C. Bradshaw and E. J. Hervey. College Station, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, 1944. 15 pp.

Recreation

A Selected List of References on Athletic Fields and Stadiums. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Harvard University, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, 1945. 3 pp.

Retirement Plans

Analyses of Selected State-wide Retirement Systems for Municipal Employees. Including the Proposed Plan of the Association of Washington Cities and the Recommendations of the Committee on Public Employee Retirement Administration of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada. Olympia, Washington, Association of Washington Cities, 1945. 14 pp.

Schools

Education—A Mighty Force. Its Role in Our Future. Washington 6, D. C., National Education Association of the United States, 1945. 16 pp.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

The Sick State Legislatures

Editorial

Public Library
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San Francisco's Unique Charter

Bert W. Levit

Growth of Irish Manager Plan

John J. Horgan

Device for Operating Utilities

Charles F. LeeDecker

As Maine Goes So Goes Nation

Bernal B. Allen

A Conversation with F. D. R.

George H. Hallett, Jr.

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Contents for June 1945

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS 270

EDITORIAL COMMENT .... *Alfred Willoughby* 271

SAN FRANCISCO'S UNIQUE CHARTER .... *Bert W. Levit* 273

GROWTH OF IRISH MANAGER PLAN .... *John J. Horgan* 278

DEVICE FOR OPERATING UTILITIES .... *Charles F. LeeDecker* 283

AS MAINE GOES SO GOES NATION .... *Bernal B. Allen* 287

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 290

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST 298

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 301

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ...... *George H. Hallett, Jr.* 304

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 308

LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROAD .... *Edward W. Weidner* 311

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 315

BOOKS IN REVIEW 318

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service,* the *Index to Legal Periodicals,* the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

Louis Brownlow Retires

FOR the rather inadequate reason that he is 65, Louis Brownlow retired as director of the Public Administration Clearing House as of May 1, 1945, and his place was taken by Herbert Emmerich, heretofore associate director. This is major news in the field of public administration, in which Mr. Brownlow has been, for fifteen years, a vivid and central personage.

The first fifteen years of his career he was a newspaperman—reporter, Washington correspondent and editor. President Wilson in 1915 made him one of the three commissioners who governed the District of Columbia. In 1920 he became city manager of Petersburg, Virginia, and in 1924 won promotion to the city managership of Knoxville, Tennessee.

His performance in Knoxville provides one of the top triumphs of the city manager movement and the story is still being told. The outgoing old-style government, which had bitterly opposed the coming of the council-manager plan, made the budget under which Brownlow had to work during his first year. To embarrass and discredit the new regime, it cut appropriations $500,000. When the fiscal year was well started, Brownlow reported that by various economies he was going to be able to get through on the reduced funds. A few months later he reported he would have a surplus. His next report was that his surplus was going to be so big it would be feasible to return 10 per cent of the reduced tax levy to the taxpayers if the council approved of that method of relieving an overflowing city treasury! And that incredible dividend ($280,000) was duly paid! There have been many fine accomplishments by effective city managers, but that remains the one that tops all stories of the profession.

In 1926 Brownlow joined the City Housing Corporation which built a garden city at Radburn, New Jersey, and was its first municipal manager.

In 1930 the Spelman Fund, which had been contributing to the secretariat and research funds of various organizations of public officials to enable them to improve their techniques, created the Public Administration Clearing House which took over the task of developing such associations and getting them into touch with each other on the municipal and the state levels. Brownlow became director and the result has been a great invigoration of association work in the field of public administration. Most of these associations were led into making their headquarters in Chicago, and the Spelman Fund provided the building at 1313 East 60th Street on the Chicago University campus which now houses sixteen secretariats of state and municipal associations of officials.

For all of these, Mr. Brownlow has been a warm, energetic and

(Continued on page 316)

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

The Sick State Legislatures

THE complacent equanimity with which press and public view wrongdoing by public officials imperils the future of our democratic system.

In Michigan a grand jury indicted members of the state legislature for bribery but in the state of New York a grand jury merely chided the legislature for what in private life would be called stealing and suggested that the practice be stopped. Expense accounts, the grand jury charged, were used to buy wearing apparel, theater and world series tickets, flowers and other appurtenances of the good life. Relatives and political henchmen who did no work whatever were carried on the legislative payroll. Political lawyers were hired as counsel to legislative committees at fat salaries without expecting or being expected to earn the money.

Where is the indignation which such conditions ought to arouse? What do newspaper editors and civic organizations think of this? Do they feel no obligation to come to the rescue of democracy here at home? Or are they too busy thinking of establishing democracy in countries some of which wouldn't know what to do with it if they had it?

Perhaps the fact that the "villain" in the plot is plural confuses the champions of decency in public affairs in the same way that there is great concern when one man is trapped in a cave or five men are adrift in the middle of the Pacific but there is relative indifference when 150 miners are doomed.

Or perhaps there is a feeling that the "villain" is an impersonal system and that in a democracy one has to expect a certain amount of that sort of thing.

If it be granted, for the sake of argument, that the Michigan and New York situations are caused by a system, why shouldn't there be a revolt against that system? Why shouldn't there be a demand for a system that might prevent such thievery and selling out of the public interest?

Systems to stop this sort of outrage are available. Distinguished students of government have known about them and have advocated them during an entire generation in which our political leadership has been looking fixedly in the opposite direction.

A one-house legislature with few members, which has proved so successful in Nebraska,[1] would tend to insure a better type of legislator and would make it easier for the public to know what is done and who does it.

A genuine merit system for legislative employees would stop the employment of incompetent political hacks.

A legislative council, staffed with experts, would make the gravy-laden interim committees unnecessary, would do a better job and would cost much less. It would also be a bulwark against the pressure groups and lobbyists who thwart the public will and corrupt the legislators.

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[1] See "Unicameralism Passes Test," by John P. Senning. The REVIEW, February 1944.

These are simple, effective, workable, businesslike remedies. It is almost impossible to find competent authorities on public affairs who would not so testify.

Yet, unless the long suffering public raises a great hue and cry in both New York and Michigan, here is what is almost sure to happen: Dignified committees will solemnly examine the unfortunate state of affairs. They will say, "Tsk! Tsk! Such things shouldn't be." They will suggest a few mild remedies which will constitute treatment of the symptoms rather than the disease. The legislatures will adopt the more innocuous of these, remarking meanwhile that "this is not the time" for sweeping, fundamental changes and that, anyway, they aren't practical. The reformers, they will say, just never will understand how a practical political system has to work; and besides (with an eye cocked at the farmers and small communities), a small legislature would probably be dominated by the big wicked cities and wouldn't that be awful.

As long as we permit this type of disease to fester on the body politic, we've got a nerve, to say the least, to undertake to advise other parts of the world how to order their affairs. And states which have had no recent scandals needn't raise an eyebrow at Michigan and New York. They, at least, have had the fortitude to dig into their nasty situations and bring them out into the open. Stone-throwers from other places are likely to find that they live in glass houses.

A Logical Question

CONTEMPLATING the record of the recent session of the Minnesota legislature, the influential *Minneapolis Tribune* asks:

"Why shouldn't Minnesota bring its constitution up to date to make governmental machinery function efficiently? Why shouldn't it, among other things, have a unicameral legislature of moderate size, whose members are well paid and responsible? Certainly some way must be devised to guard against such slipshod legislation as was jammed through on school aid at the recent session."

Long years of stagnation or piecemeal tinkering have made unworkable messes out of virtually all state constitutions. They need modernization to put them in step with the impressive progress in other fields of human endeavor. An examination of the record of any recent legislature will demonstrate the desperate need for basic changes.

San Francisco's Unique Charter

Charter commission's hope that "half a manager is better than none," seeking to reconcile demands for both council-manager plan and strong mayor government, stands test of 14 years.

By BERT W. LEVIT*

SAN FRANCISCO's life span significantly links America's national Declaration of Independence with an international declaration of interdependence.

It was in 1776 that the military *presidio* of San Francisco, the civilian settlement of Yerba Buena and the mission of Dolores were planted by the Golden Gate. These three rudiments, nurtured in the fertile soil of Spanish colonization and invigorated by infusion of the American pioneer, coalesced to form the lusty, colorful community that is San Francisco. Today, that community is host to the nations of the world striving to build the foundation for a lasting peace.

In many respects the political history of San Francisco is unique. From vigilante to city-county consolidation, from *ayuntamiento* and *alcalde* to chief administrative officer—the trend of civic affairs has not always been for the best, but it has generally been different.

The city's first charter was formulated by act of the California legislature in 1850. In retrospect it appears to have been drawn carefully and intelligently in the light of contemporaneous fashions in municipal government. But it proved such a colossal failure in action that vigilante activity alone prevented complete municipal chaos. Waste, extravagance and mismanagement increased simultaneously with the population; and the one thing that kept pace with their mushroom growth was public indifference to political matters. An election campaign conducted by the first Vigilance Committee was marked by publication of a document that will be as worthy of note a century hence as it was nearly a century ago:

> We . . . appeal to you, in the name of the common good . . . and would earnestly urge, that in casting your votes for suitable men to enact and administer laws, you will be careful to disregard all questions but such as relate to the general welfare. In whatever light we may examine the present evils of society, every man must come to the conclusion that the primary error is in the people themselves. Trace the troubled waters of the community back to their source and the explorer will find his journey terminate at the ballot box.

The city and county of San Francisco came into being in 1856 when the state legislature enacted the municipality's second charter. This combination of two units of local government into one was a valid contribution to American political theory. Experience has found it a useful and workable form under suitable territorial and population conditions. Certainly there is no inclination to abandon it here, although elsewhere its use has been limited to a few conscious adaptations and to several instances where urban development has resulted in an emaciation of independent county functions.

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Consolidation Stays

This consolidation feature of the so-called consolidation act was its most striking and, fortunately, its only permanent element. As an effective instrument of government the act was sadly deficient. It imposed drastic restrictions on the authority of local officials that were ludicrous in the extreme. The growing metropolis was powerless to fix the number or compensation of city employees; it was forced to go to the state legislature even to appoint a janitor for the city hall. City officials had to lobby in Sacramento for power to keep the streets clean, to pay rent for a police station, to lay gas pipes. Nor was this all. The governor of the state rather than the mayor appointed the members of important local boards and commissions, including police, health and parks.

On four occasions unsuccessful attempts were made to secure a measure of home rule. Finally, in 1898, a freeholders charter was adopted at the polls. It was ratified by the state legislature in the following year and became effective in January of 1900.

The freeholders charter was, of course, a definite improvement over the consolidation act. It provided for the then prevalent type of mayor-council government, introduced civil service, and returned the several boards and commissions to local appointment. It was claimed that the charter would redeem the failing credit of the city by mandating a solvent government, and would ensure administrative efficiency by separating the legislative and executive functions. Under this charter San Francisco had its good times governmentally, but it had its bad times as well; and as time went on the bad times predominated.

By 1916 competent observers recognized that drastic charter revision was a necessity, but it was not achieved until 1931. It would appear that the 1900 charter had been oversold; its two most serious operational defects turned out to be the very same factors—fiscal and administrative procedure—which had been advanced as its principal virtues at the time of its adoption.

San Francisco is a politically mature city. The voter is often apathetic, inclined rather to be satisfied than suspicious. He has no illusions of governmental perfection; however, he is fairly certain that conditions might be much worse than they are, and so he is generally willing to let well enough alone. This has resulted in a kind of civic inertia lasting for long periods during which incompetency conceals itself beneath the cloak of familiarity. But ever and anon the public wakes to reality, sweeps aside some of the little men, refurnishes a room or two or three of the political structure, and promptly abdicates to the "smart" ones, who gradually emerge from temporary retirement. In all this there is nothing highly unusual unless it is the fact that Mr. and Mrs. Average San Franciscan choose this attitude deliberately.

A Compromise Plan

It took upwards of twenty years before the people got disgusted enough with the consolidation act, despite its obvious puerilities, to do something about it. The 1900 charter did not reach the scrap-pile for a decade and a half after its imperfections had become common knowledge. Even then it was replaced by a compromise plan.

And a very interesting compromise it was, in which elements of the strong mayor theory were blended with the professional manager idea. None of the standard labels accurately describes it. Like the consolidation act of 75 years before the 1931 charter was a distinct departure from previously accepted methods of local administrative structure. Admittedly, the originalities were more pragmatic than philosophical. Some groups were urging adoption of the council-manager plan. Others favored a streamlined strong mayor setup. Most of the politicos wanted no change at all, for the usual reasons. The freeholders, perhaps not unwisely, decided that half a manager was better than none.

The voters elect a mayor, a council of eleven supervisors, an assessor, treasurer, sheriff, city attorney, public defender and district attorney. Doubtless all of these except mayor, supervisors and district attorney could appropriately have been made appointive officers. But it must be remembered that the elective group formerly included also the tax collector, recorder, county clerk, public administrator and coroner. Also elected are the judges and a five-member board of education nominated by the mayor.

The two greatest contributions of the new charter are to be found in the absolute prohibition against supervisorial interference in administrative matters, and in the fiscal provisions designed to tighten and improve budgeting and accounting procedures. The latter features are presided over by a controller appointed by the mayor subject to confirmation by the council. Like the chief administrative officer his tenure is indefinite and terminable only by a two-thirds vote of the council.

Basic administrative functions fall readily into three divisions: departments under control of the mayor, departments under control of the chief administrative officer and public utility departments.

Management of the city's extensive utilities plant is vested in a commission appointed by the mayor. The five commissioners, however, have a large degree of independence because they serve for four-year terms and can be removed only in the same manner as elective officials. Moreover, the terms are staggered so that only one commissioner's term expires each year; and budgetary control by mayor and council is limited. The commission appoints and removes at will a manager of utilities at whose pleasure the heads of the several utility departments serve. Employees below the level of department head, as in all other city departments (with minor exceptions), are under a civil service system administered by a three-man commission whose members serve under protective tenure similar to that accorded the utility commissioners save that the overlapping terms run for six years instead of four.

Duties of "Manager"

The chief administrative officer hardly bears a truly descriptive designation. While he occupies an executive post of considerable importance, he cannot accurately be said to be the "chief" administrative official of the city in the sense that this is true of a city manager or of a mayor in a typical strong mayor government. In San Francisco the principal administrative official is still the mayor, for reasons that will presently appear.

The motives of the freeholders are not difficult to discern. They wanted to insure a businesslike handling of as large a portion of the city's administration as they thought could be "sold" to the public over political opposition, and they wanted to insulate this portion from "politics." So they originated the position of chief administrative officer. Under his control were placed some of the most vital departments including health, works, purchasing, properties, and finance and records—although the "finance" features of the last named are hardly what would be implied by the nomenclature. Before adoption of the new charter many of these departments were run by semi-independent and extremely unsatisfactory boards and commissions or by officials elected directly by the people. In this respect, therefore, the present charter represents a substantial improvement.

Within the limitations of his jurisdiction the chief administrative officer occupies an unusually independent executive post. Although in the first instance appointed by the mayor he has every likelihood of holding office for life. His tenure is unlimited by specific term of office. Neither the mayor who appoints him, nor subsequent mayors, can remove him. Removal requires affirmative action by two-thirds of the council—that is, by eight out of eleven supervisors—based upon written charges and after public hearing. Clearly, this can be anticipated only under circumstances of the most flagrant derelictions or abuses. Furthermore, neither mayor nor supervisors may deal with any department under the chief administrative officer except through him. He, in turn, has full power to appoint and remove at will each of his department heads.

Nevertheless, the apparent authority of the chief administrative officer over the departments placed under his supervision is subject to a potent curtailment—the mayor controls the purse strings. The charter provides that after the chief administrative officer has determined budget requirements for each of his departments, these requirements must then be submitted to the mayor. While the mayor is limited in making additions to the amounts requested, there is no such restriction on his power to cut them down. Nor is there any appeal from his decisions, for the council is prohibited from increasing the budget requests (except for capital items) over amounts approved by the mayor. As a result, the mayor is in a position to starve any or all departments under the chief administrative officer if he refuses to follow instructions.

Thus far no difficulty has arisen in this regard. The first chief administrative officer served only under the mayor who appointed him and was apparently disinclined to exercise in any large degree that independence of action which the freeholders must have contemplated. He died in office. The second appointee has carried over from one administration to another and has functioned competently and affirmatively under both.

The Mayor's Job

The mayor of San Francisco occupies a position roughly analogous to that of the president in national affairs. With his extensive powers of appointment and removal, his veto over action of the council, his predominance in budgetary matters, he outranks the supervisors both in prestige and in fact. Under his direct domination the charter places a number of administrative departments, among which are police, fire, planning and parks. He holds a very real financial control over the chief administrative officer. Even the utility departments may be amenable to mayoral dictation, because it happens that the terms of the commissioners are staggered in such a way that a majority of the commission leaves office within thirteen months after a new mayor is elected.

Unfortunately this great power is not accompanied by commensurate accountability. Between the mayor and the utility management stands the utilities commission, apparently responsible and independent. Between the mayor and many administrative departments stands the chief administrative officer, as effective a political buffer as ingenuity could devise. And worse, between the mayor and each of his own departments has been placed a board or commission with from three to more than a dozen members.

Experience of municipalities everywhere long since demonstrated that board management of the general run of administrative departments is hopelessly impractical and destructive of executive efficiency. San Francisco's experience has not been different in this regard. Indeed, one of the primary objections to the 1900 charter was its many cumbersome boards separating the mayor from the department heads. Some of these were eliminated by the new charter and no one doubts that the change was salutary. Retention of a few might be justified, as, for example, in the case of education where a truly independent governance representative of diverse community viewpoints is desired, or when quasi-judicial as opposed to strictly administrative functions predominate. Typical of the holdover boards are the police and fire commissions. Each consists of three commissioners appointed by the mayor and removable at his pleasure. In turn, the commissioners appoint and remove the respective departmental chiefs at will. As though to deliberately conceal from the

(Continued on page 286)

Growth of Irish Manager Plan

Starting with Cork in 1929 the council-manager form of government, patterned on American model, has spread to four additional municipalities and to all counties.

By **JOHN J. HORGAN***

TWENTY-FIVE years ago, after the termination of the last World War, few problems seemed more important than those concerning the development of local government. A community had, it was clear, everything to gain by a constantly improving standard of social life and such improvement depended mainly on a sound system of municipal government.

We were passing into a period of tremendous uncertainty which called for experiment and change. Study of the principal European local government systems—the French with its Napoleonic emphasis on complete central control; the English, at the other extreme, with its almost complete local freedom; the German, largely bureaucratic and dominated by the rather forbidding figure of the burgomaster—yielded no models which seemed suitable.

In that great political laboratory, the United States of America, however, examples of real and notable improvement in local government were to be found. The most successful of these improvisations seemed to be the system of city government by an elected commission [council] with its development, the city manager plan.[1]

The government of a modern city, with its complicated problems, demands concentrated authority and efficient management, both, however, subject to democratic control. It was this result that these American systems of city government aimed at securing. They embodied both a protest and a policy; a protest against the old and out-of-date methods of city administration and a policy which aimed at fixing definite responsibility on a few people.

Commission government started at Washington, the federal capital, in 1878. But this arrangement grew out of the peculiar relation of the national government to this particular city and it was not extended elsewhere. Its modern development began at Galveston, Texas, in 1901. There corrupt local administration was brought to a climax by the intervention of nature in the shape of a tidal wave. This cataclysm swept away not only one-third of the city but also its system of government. On the initiative of the citizens a commission of five members was

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[1] See my articles in *Studies:* City Management in America, March 1920; City Administration in Ireland, September 1923; and Local Government Developments at Home and Abroad, December 1926.

elected by the people, each commissioner being made responsible for a definite department of municipal affairs. This experiment was a complete success. The plan quickly spread throughout the United States and is now operating in practically every state in the union.

The commission-manager or city manager plan was a further development which aimed at securing an even greater concentration of executive and administrative responsibility. It originated on a large scale at Dayton, Ohio, in 1914, under somewhat similar conditions. Under its provisions a city is governed by a commission of five members elected by the people. This commission appoints a city manager who holds office during the will and pleasure of the commission and who is responsible for the execution of the commission's policy and the administration of the city. The American city manager thus differs from the French prefect and the German burgomaster, who are the masters rather than the servants of the local councils.

The city manager plan has now been widely adopted in the small and medium-sized cities of the United States and is a permanent feature of American local government. It was largely from this experiment that the citizens of Cork found inspiration for the Cork City Management Act of 1929 which set a new headline for local government in Ireland.

The story of how that act came to be passed is not without interest and constitutes a very definite milestone in the history of Irish local government.

In 1925 the Irish government, acting under its newly-acquired powers, dissolved the Cork Corporation and appointed a commissioner to manage the affairs of the city. Outside the parties immediately affected there was little criticism of this drastic step. Most people seemed to be apathetic or to look upon the ultimate reinstatement of the mayor and council system as a foregone conclusion. A few Cork citizens felt, however, that while the government of their city by a commissioner might, under the circumstances, be justified as a temporary measure, it should not, and indeed could not, be a permanent solution.

Cork Gets Manager Plan

A return to the old, inefficient methods seemed equally undesirable. Cork, they felt, had a chance to set a headline for the whole country by initiating a new form of municipal government which would embody the best feature of the old system, the local control of local taxation, with the best feature of the new, the delegation of executive responsibility and administration to semi-independent expert management.

A committee representing commercial and industrial interests determined to draft a scheme on these lines and, after much discussion and amendment, this draft finally took shape as an agreed proposal for the future government of Cork, and was presented to the government in the form of a bill. This draft, although undoubtedly influenced to a considerable extent by American experience and example, only took from this source what was considered useful and applicable.

Finally, in 1928, General Richard Mulcahy, the recently-appointed Minister for Local Government, agreed to introduce as a government measure a bill substantially based on the Cork proposals, and this measure, in spite of vehement opposition, was finally passed into law in 1929.

Under this important act, as since amended, the local government of Cork is carried on by a council and city manager. The council, or corporation, is elected by the citizens every three years voting as one electoral area under proportional representation. It has the following major powers and functions, namely: the making of any rate or the borrowing of any money, the making, amending or revoking of by-laws, the making or revoking of any order or resolution applying an act of Parliament, the promoting or opposing of legislation, the prosecution and defense of legal proceedings, the appointment or election of any person to any other local body, the supervision of elections, the admission of persons to the freedom of the city, the suspension or removal of the city manager. The removal of the city manager requires a two-thirds majority of the council and must be sanctioned by the Minister for Local Government. The Minister has also power to further extend by order the powers, functions and duties of the council on an application made by two-thirds of its members.

All other powers, functions and duties of the corporation are vested in the city manager who holds office until he dies, resigns or is removed. His principal duties are to advise the council and attend its meetings, to furnish any information required by its members, to control the officers and servants of the corporation and to decide such questions as may arise in relation to their service, remuneration, privileges, and superannuation. He also prepares the annual budget or rates estimate for adoption or alteration by the council.

The subsequent history of this Cork experiment may be briefly told. In 1930 it was, in a slightly modified form, extended to Dublin and Dunleary, in 1934 to Limerick, and in 1939 to Waterford. Galway alone, when created a municipality in 1937, preferred the old mayor and council system.

Counties Next

By the County Management Act of 1940, which did not come into operation till August 1942, the manager system, with certain necessary adjustments, was applied to the county councils and to the whole system of local government outside the cities. The boards of health were dissolved and their functions transferred to the county councils. The county manager is thus, in effect, the executive officer for the local government of each county.

The manager system has, therefore, after ten years been applied to virtually our entire system of local government. Moreover, as imitation is said to be the sincerest form of flattery, it may perhaps be mentioned that the Belfast Administration Act of 1942 is in fact a more drastic version of the Cork plan. The vital difference is that the three administrators who control the government of Belfast have also the power to make rates and raise loans. They thus resemble the commissioners who govern Washington where a similar problem, arising from the clash of government and civic interests, exists. One of the Belfast administrators is a paid civil servant who is a whole-time official and is in effect the city manager, the other two are leading citizens of wide public experience, appointed *ad hoc* by the northern government. They are not whole-time officers and are unpaid.

The Belfast Act, in fact, vests the municipal government of Belfast in the government nominees, leaving the city council little more than an empty symbol. There are already very definite signs that the citizens of the northern capital, who are not wanting in civic pride, are not likely to long tolerate this state of affairs, and the act, which only applies for an experimental period, is unlikely to be renewed.

The only material change that has been made in the manager system since its establishment here is the provision which enables a council by resolution to require the manager to do some particular act not within its ordinary powers so long as it is not of general application and does not affect the council's employees.

The difficulty of applying the manager system to the county councils owing to the lack of a corps of trained managers was ingeniously surmounted by providing in the original law that the existing county secretaries should in most cases be appointed to the position of county manager. This expedient provided at once for these positions a body of men not only trained in public administration but also fully in touch with local affairs. In time, no doubt, a local government civil service will develop, and managers who prove their worth should be able to secure promotion from one county to another, thus ensuring not only growth and vitality in administration but freedom from local influences.

Plan Is Democratic

The criticism is sometimes made that the manager system of local government is undemocratic. This statement does not bear scrutiny and seems due to a confuson of ideas. A system of local government, established by our national Parliament after full discussion, which vests in elected local representatives the powers of legislation and taxation cannot be called undemocratic. In fact it is based on the same principles as our national government itself; for while the Oireachtas [Irish Parliament] decides questions of policy and taxation, their execution and administration are carried out by the government, each member being responsible for the management of a separate department.

At the best, government by the people means, and in the national sphere can only mean, representative and responsible government. Democracy as we know it, in its political aspect, is representative government. A city or county manager is an executive official who must accept and carry out the policy of the council to which he is responsible. He is a free agent only in the execution and administration thereof, but even there he is subject to the vigilant supervision of the Local Government Department of the national government.

A more pertinent criticism of the manager system is, I think, that by limiting the functions of the elected council it may reduce local interest in municipal affairs. There is also a real danger that, as has happened in America, the more responsible element in the community may be inclined to rely on the manager to control policy and expenditure and cease themselves to take an active interest in local affairs. Such a tendency would lead eventually to a deterioration in the personnel of local bodies. On the other hand, the reduction in the time and number of council and committee meetings, which the manager system has made possible, should enable men of ability and standing to take their share of public responsibility without neglecting their own affairs.

All systems of government, however, are imperfect and all should be dynamic. The manager system, like the rest, can and will be improved as the result of experience. But it must not be forgotten that it was devised originally for urban conditions. In a city a manager can keep in touch with local representatives and with public opinion. He is accessible to all. He can observe and remedy defects of administration. In a large rural area like a county this is much more difficult, if not impossible. I greatly fear that the manager system was applied holus-bolus to our counties by some unimaginative civil servant who had little experience of rural life. If it is to succeed in this wider field I think it will be necessary to establish closer connections between the county manager and his wide domain.

But the real strength of any system of government is derived from an informed and sensitive public opinion. The county and city managers must, therefore, if they are to succeed in their task, keep the public fully informed, listen patiently to complaints and secure the approval of their councils to changes in policy or administration. They must, in short, seek to lead rather than to drive, to persuade rather than to compel.

Civic Education Stressed

But there is something even more important to remember. As the most perfect machine is useless in the hands of a fool, so no system of government is any better than the people who operate it. What we need therefore above all is a wide policy of adult education designed to produce an educated democracy.

Casual lectures on economic and social questions and sporadic broadcast talks can only scratch the surface of this untilled field. Far more is needed. If we are to have good government we must first have educated citizens, men and women trained to understand and lead.

No one is now foolish enough to believe that the world can be made "safe for democracy," for democracy, as Chesterton wisely said, is "a dangerous trade." Its preservation in the local, as in the national, sphere demands continual struggle, constant sacrifice and eternal vigilance.

Device for Operating Utilities

Use of "authorities" by Pennsylvania local governments for management of revenue-producing projects spreads; 50 corporations, three with joint ownership, now active.

By **CHARLES F. LEEDECKER***

A NEW device was introduced into Pennsylvania's system of local government in 1935, when the legislature passed the municipal authority act. Although authorities have been used in other states and in other countries, this was the first general attempt to make use of it in this state. All types of local governments were empowered by the law to create municipal authorities.

A municipal authority is a special public corporation whose obligations are payable solely from its revenue. In this respect it differs from special assessment or improvement districts which are financed by special assessments or by use of the general taxing power.

The authority performs a municipal function, yet it is not a municipal government. Its funds are not tax moneys and it does not have the taxing power. The authority manages a revenue-producing project that is under public control; its business must be self-liquidating, and its life is limited by law to 50 years.

Under the municipal authorities act and its amendments authorities may be created for any of the following projects: transportation, marketing, shopping terminals, bridges, tunnels, streets, highways, parkways, traffic distribution centers, traffic circles, parking spaces, airports, hangars, parks, recreation grounds and facilities, sewers, sewer systems, sewage treatment works, incinerator plants, water systems, swimming pools, playgrounds, lakes, low head dams, hospitals, motor buses and subways. Authorities are forbidden to operate any of these projects if they duplicate or compete with existing enterprises serving substantially the same purposes.

When the decision to establish an authority has been made by a local government its legislative body adopts an ordinance or resolution setting forth the articles of incorporation and appoints a governing board of five citizens for staggered terms of five years.

For joint authorities, i.e., those established by several local governments, the number of board members must at least equal the number of municipalities incorporating the authority, but in no case may they be less than five. Where there are less than five participating municipalities representation on the board is fixed in the articles of incorporation.

The board has full power to manage the properties and business of the authority and to establish and alter its by-laws and regulations.

Much has been said about local

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TABLE I

Number of Pennsylvania Municipal Authorities Incorporated and Number in Operation

Type of Local Unit	Number of Authorities	Authorities in Operation	Per Cent in Operation
Boroughs	53	30	57
Townships	22	11	50
Cities	12	5	42
Counties	4	1	25
Joint Authorities	4	3	75
Total	95	50	53

officials serving on the board, and the Pennsylvania Supreme Court decided in the case of *McCreary* v. *Major*[1] that councilmen of cities of the third class could not serve in such capacity. One fact has been generally overlooked, however. The presence of a local official on the board makes coordination and cooperation between the authority and the municipality easier. Any device facilitating the administrative integration of the authority and the municipality is desirable.

Although too early to form conclusions about the quality of authority administration—the oldest one has been operating only six years—all save one appear to be in good financial condition and have met their bond obligations and current expenditures to date. Many have accumulated surpluses after payment of debt service. One authority, on the other hand, has been liquidated.

Since the passage of the 1935 act, 95 municipal authorities have been organized. Table I shows the authorities incorporated and those in operation by types of governmental units.

Of the 95 authorities 45 are inactive, many of these having been completely abandoned. Several of those most recently incorporated, however, have not yet begun operation so cannot be classified as completely inactive. The chief reason for inactivity has been failure to obtain funds.

Water Systems Added

More than 60 per cent of the authorities have been organized since the act was amended in 1939 to permit the acquisition of water systems. It is significant, however, that only four have been organized since the act was amended in 1943 placing the acquisition of projects under the jurisdiction of the Public Utility Commission, subject to its approval. This amendment has practically stopped further acquisition of private utilities by authorities; only one has started operation since it became effective.

The population of the municipalities in which authorities are now operating ranges from 726 to 303,411; 74 per cent of the active authorities are in communities under 10,000.

There are three joint authorities. A sewer authority consisting of three townships and five boroughs, another sewer authority made up of eight boroughs and two townships, and a water authority composed of three townships and one borough.

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[1] 343 Pa. 355.

The 50 municipal authorities currently active operate a total of 52 projects, chiefly water systems. There are 40 water projects, nine sewer projects and one each of the following: a combined theater and municipal building, a gymnasium and a factory building. Two authorities operate two projects each. Twenty-nine purchased privately owned water systems and eight built new water systems. Three authorities acquired water systems from the parent municipality. Nine constructed sewer systems, one constructed a combined theater and municipal building and another constructed a gymnasium.

Public Ownership Increases

The addition of 37 water systems to the list of publicly-owned systems in the commonwealth in four years is a notable achievement in public ownership, since municipal acquisitions of private water systems, exclusive of those taken over by authorities, had totalled only 63 in the state's history.[1] There are 272 publicly-owned water systems in Pennsylvania, and 15 per cent of them are operated by municipal authorities. It may be that the authority device has supplied the necessary impetus to public ownership.

The municipal authority as a new instrument of Pennsylvania local government has been the source of much discussion; arguments have been heard both for and against its use.

As a public corporation the authority has two very important advantages over the privately-owned utility. The first and most important is tax exemption. The fact that the bonds of municipal authorities are exempt from taxation usually results in an interest rate of 3 per cent or less rather than the usual 4 or 5 per cent on private utility bonds. The resultant saving on debt service over a period of years is substantial.

The second advantage is the availability of federal grants for use in construction of authority projects. A survey revealed that 21 of the 50 Pennsylvania authorities have received federal money either as WPA or PWA grants.

The most controversial provision of the authority law has been the procedure for acquiring privately-owned utilities. The law allowed the authority and the private utility to strike a bargain on the price until the 1943 amendment made the acquisition of private utilities subject to the approval of the Public Utility Commission.

The contention of some is that there should be a determination of value by an engineering survey such as is commonly used for rate-making purposes, since it is believed that the public is insufficiently safeguarded by the simpler procedure. But the usual determination of value based on an engineering survey involves lengthy negotiations and costly engineering and legal expenses. The fact is that during the four-year period when authorities were allowed to acquire privately owned water utilities by striking a bargain with the utility a total of 32 systems were acquired while only 63 localities acquired privately owned water companies under the old procedure. The successful solution to this problem lies in perfecting a technique of acquisition wherein the public is adequately safeguarded and the ease of the bargaining method is retained.

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[1] List compiled for the writer by the Pennsylvania Public Utility Commission.

The greatest organizational advantage of the authority device is that it permits joint operation of projects by two or more local governments. Analysts of local government organization point out that many of our units are too small to maintain certain essential services. In Pennsylvania annexation or consolidation has been difficult. But the joint authority accomplishes the same end without the political consequences of the annexation issue. It gives the small municipality equal voice with the large one in the management of the project, and overcomes a major objection of the small community to annexation. This arrangement is likewise more democratic than having the large municipality furnish service to the small one on a contractual basis, since the smaller unit participates in the management. Although only three joint authorities are in operation, the results are being watched with much interest since they may indicate a solution to a most troublesome problem.

On the other hand, it has been pointed out that the authority law lacks a number of important public safeguards. Unlike the bonds of municipal corporations which must be sold at public sale to the highest responsible bidder, the bonds of an authority may be sold at either private or public sale with or without competitive bidding. Further, authority bonds are not required to have state approval as are other municipal bonds. Neither are authorities required to file budgets and reports with the state as are municipalities although authorities operating water systems are asked to file annual reports.

The authority law has been in effect only ten years and the longest period of operating experience is six years. It seems reasonable to expect, therefore, that when further experience is accumulated defects will be remedied and the authority will become an accepted method of operation.

SAN FRANCISCO'S UNIQUE CHARTER

(Continued from page 277)

people the mayor's absolute control, the charter specifies that the commissioners shall have a four-year "term," a provision both illusory and deceptive.

By and large San Francisco likes its present organic law. Justifiably so, because in operation it has been a practical instrument of better government. Need for further change was recently recognized by the mayor's appointment of a charter revision committee, the efforts of which, however, proved abortive.

Steeped in the strong mayor tradition typified by men like Phelan, Taylor, Rolph and Lapham, San Francisco has a charter not unsuited to its distinctive past and temperament. Political perfection is a mirage. Improvement will be evolutionary rather than radical. And perhaps that is as it should be.

As Maine Goes So Goes Nation

State boasts 58 towns and cities with manager charters; lowered taxes, debt reduction, efficient service usual result of the adoption of up-to-date mode of government.

By BERNAL B. ALLEN*

MUNICIPAL government in the larger towns of Maine had changed little fundamentally since Revolutionary times until two decades ago when there developed a widespread interest in securing a more businesslike administration of public affairs in keeping with the progress of the times. Because of its established success throughout the country and suitable adaptation to communities of both large and small population, the manager plan has replaced antiquated systems in every town where a change of governmental administration has been made during the past ten years. Its success in cities is universally accepted. That it is equally satisfactory for large towns, as well as unions of smaller towns, has been definitely established in Maine.

Fifty-eight towns and cities in the state, with populations ranging from 250 to 75,000, have adopted the manager plan; Fairfield and Rockland will vote in September on manager charters granted by the 1945 legislature; other cities are contemplating adoption this year. Only Michigan, with 59 manager communities, exceeds Maine in the number of adoptions.

Auburn was the first city to adopt council-manager government, obtaining a legislative charter in 1918; Portland adopted the plan in 1923, Camden in 1925. Other towns and cities followed and results were so amazing that the state legislature passed an enabling act in 1939, making it possible for the plan to be adopted by a town without legislative approval.

It is an accepted fact that improvement of service and economies effected have been so great, town and city manager administered communities have attained a high standard of efficiency accepted as the desired goal of all other communities.

New Portland, a rural mill town with a population of 800, adopted the town manager form of government under the provisions of the state enabling act. Valuation at the time was $300,000; tax rate, 86 mills; gross debt, $25,000 and $12,000 in delinquent taxes. The appointed manager assumed the duties of tax collector, treasurer, road commissioner and agent of the overseers of the poor. Thus was complete coordination of all municipal departments effected. The same individual responsible for expenditures was made responsible for the collection of all revenue.

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*Mr. Allen is president of the Maine Municipal Association, an office to which he has been elected for three successive terms. For four years he was manager of the union of towns comprising Norridgewock, Mercer and New Portland, and is now serving the latter town and Skowhegan in that capacity. Mr. Allen is a native of Kentucky. Following his retirement from the Navy in 1934 he established his home in New Portland, Maine. While serving as first selectman there he made a thorough study of municipal administration and is recognized as one of Maine's leading authorities in that field.

Strict economy governed expenditures for services, especially in the welfare and highway departments. An aggressive effort was made to collect both current and back taxes with gratifying results. Within a short period the town was able to pay off its entire indebtedness of $25,000 and accumulate a cash surplus of $9,000 which was invested in government bonds and set aside for postwar projects. During this period an additional $7,000 was expended from surplus for completion of a new high school building, bridge construction and purchase of a new snow plow. The tax rate was reduced from 86 to 56 mills.

Town's Financial Plight

Norridgewock, a Maine rural town with a population of 1,600 and assessed valuation of $690,000, had reached a point of financial desperation in 1939. The gross debt was $90,000, including $20,000 accounts payable—net debt, $50,000. Uncollected taxes amounted to $23,000. The town was unable to pay its school teachers for about seventeen weeks. Part of the state tax remained unpaid for three years. A suit was pending against the inhabitants of Norridgewock by the receivers of the Augusta Trust Company for $20,000 due on tax anticipation loans.

The town manager plan was instituted in March 1940, likewise under the enabling act. The same organization setup and business procedure as described for New Portland were immediately put in operation. Within four months considerable progress had been made toward financial normalcy and by the end of the municipal year the debt had been reduced by $45,000. The tax rate for the following year was reduced nine mills. Pursuing a persistent and insistent tax collection policy, Norridgewock at the end of the fiscal year 1943 was free of debt and had a $1,250 cash balance.

Mercer, a strictly agricultural town with a population of 300, adopted the manager form in 1941 and operated in conjunction with New Portland and Norridgewock under the legislative enabling act which carries provisions allowing groups of towns to unite in hiring a single manager. During the first year under this system the entire municipal debt of $5,000 was paid in full. This sounds like a small amount but in reality it represented a sum in excess of 3 per cent of the valuation of the community. The tax rate for the following year was lowered from 75 to 64 mills.

Skowhegan, county seat and largest town in Somerset County, has a population of 7,200. It has several important industries and is the trading center of a community with a population of some 35,000 people, chiefly rural. Situated at the foothills of one of Maine's vast mountain and lake regions, the hub of several highway systems, it enjoys considerable summer recreation business. Property valuation for assessment purposes is $5,400,000 with a normal annual tax commitment of $300,000. Total liabilities at the close of the fiscal year 1943 amounted to $124,000 gross and $90,000 net.

Even though Skowhegan was in better than average financial condition, citizens of the town came to the conclusion, after an intensive study had been made of the results achieved by several manager-operated municipalities, that the financial structure could be improved, services made more efficient and the business of the town conducted more in accordance with modern procedure under the manager plan. The matter was thoroughly discussed in the newspapers and at a special town meeting in the fall of 1943, when it was voted to make the plan operative at the beginning of 1944.

Manager Plan Installed

A board of seven selectmen was elected at the annual town meeting last March. They met forthwith and from a list of several candidates appointed a manager from out of town who had about five years of managerial experience. He was assigned the duties of road commissioner, tax collector and agent of the overseers of the poor. He was also made responsible for all other administrative details other than those which the law specifically prescribes cannot be delegated to anyone other than the selectmen and assessors.

A special state-approved bookkeeping system was immediately installed. Offices were renovated, too, to present a businesslike appearance and an effort made to have every citizen, regardless of his station in life, feel at ease to call and discuss town affairs at any time. Many of those at first most skeptical now agree that service has been more efficient and costs less.

Like many other communities, Skowhegan is considering plans for financing postwar projects to provide employment during the readjustment period should the need require, and at the same time build much needed sidewalks, highways, sewers and public buildings.

A rigid tax collection program has been followed. Delinquent taxes at the beginning of the year amounted to $23,000. Sixteen thousand dollars of this has been collected and the remainder charged off as outlawed or dead accounts. Of the current 1944 tax commitments, 99 per cent cash collections have been made. Unexpended balance for the year is approximately $18,000 which represents 10 per cent of appropriations exclusive of money raised for schools, state and county taxes.

Collection of old taxes, unexpended balances and appropriations for debt reduction have made it possible for the town to reduce its gross liabilities by $77,000, or 62 per cent, and its net debt by $61,000, or 67 per cent, during 1944. Unless unforeseen emergencies arise, there is every indication that Skowhegan will be debt-free when it closes its books in 1945. Estimated appropriations for operating accounts this year will be about $35,000 less than in 1944.

The council-manager form of local government has progressed far beyond the experimental stage. That it has proved satisfactory beyond the slightest doubt in Maine, as elsewhere, is borne out by the fact that municipalities, many of them enjoying its benefits over a period of years, have not in a single instance returned to their previous methods of administering municipal affairs.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Illinois Legislature Blocks Constitutional Revision

Downstate Coalition Prevents Reform of State's Basic Law

ON Tuesday, May 1, the Illinois House of Representatives defeated the movement for calling a convention to revise the 75-year-old constitution of that state. A resolution providing for a referendum vote in November 1946, on the question of holding such a convention, received a vote of 81 to 65, but failed to receive the necessary two-thirds majority by 21 votes.

Governor Dwight H. Green urged approval of the resolution, pointing out that amendment of the old constitution is such a difficult procedure as to be virtually impossible—even though most prospective amendments submitted in the last 50 years have received more affirmative than negative votes. He also emphasized that the 1870 document fails to give home rule to cities. A constitutional convention was also favored by Mayor Edward J. Kelly of Chicago.

Widespread support came from numerous organizations,[1] some located in Chicago and others being statewide—including the State Bar Association. Points stressed were the grossly unequal legislative apportionment and the need of revamping the judicial and taxation systems.

Opposition was partly from interests fearing a state income tax, from certain officials of the State Federation of Labor, and from some manufacturers' and agricultural representatives. One objection raised was against revision while service men are away; but Governor Green cited the fact that after the referendum, in 1946, it would be at least 1948 before a revised constitution would be ready for popular vote.

Legislative apportionment appeared to be an overshadowing issue. The last apportionment in Illinois was 44 years ago. Under it Chicago and the rest of Cook County, where more than half the population of the state now lives, have only nineteen state senators as against 32 downstate, and only 57 seats in the House of Representatives as against 96 downstate. The chairman of the reapportionment committee of the House is reported as opposed to any plan that would give Chicago and Cook County "a single additional vote in the state legislature."

Downstate Republican and Democratic votes caused the failure of the resolution. Despite the stand of the Republican governor a majority of downstate Republicans joined with nineteen downstate Democrats in opposition to the measure. The 81 votes in favor included 53 Democrats, 37 of whom were from Cook County, and only 28 Republicans.

Reforms Urged in New York Legislative Practices

Two reports on the New York State legislature, from differing viewpoints, have been issued this spring. On March 31 a 121-page printed "interim report" was submitted to the legislature by the Joint Legislative Committee on Legislative Methods, Practices, Procedures and Expenditures, which was appointed by the legislature a year ago to investigate these subjects. Another investigation, under Governor Dewey's auspices, is also in progress. A grand jury report thereon was made May 4.

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[1] See the REVIEW, May 1945, pp. 239, 246.

The joint committee, headed by Senator Floyd E. Anderson and having Arthur H. Schwartz as counsel, made 36 specific proposals for improvement of the legislature's fiscal and employment practices; and it was pointed out that various recommendations had already been adopted by the 1945 legislature and had resulted in substantial savings and greater clarity in legislative accounts.

Some of the leading recommendations in the report are:

Legislative positions should be more clearly defined under proper titles and adequate salaries should be paid for these positions. The legislature should set up an internal personnel system which would provide minimum qualifications for all legislative positions and which would apply the principle of equal pay for equal work.

Each year in consultation with job classification experts appropriate representatives of both houses should prepare salary schedules to be applicable to all legislative employees including those of joint legislative committees, the finance committees of both houses, the Bill Drafting Commission and the Legislative Library. The legislative leaders thereafter should consult with the legislator as to the clerical assistance he will require and then inform him as to how much clerical assistance he may have, the minimum requirements for these positions, and the salary arrangements.

The legislature should continue to exempt from the patronage system the services of skilled and essential employees and to retain them in office despite shifts in party control.

No appointment to any legislative position should be made from any area without the sponsorship of the legislator from that area.

Annual employees should devote full attention to their tasks and should not permit other business activities to interfere with the performance of their legislative duties.

There should be flexibility in transfers of employees between both houses and the extension of facilities for the training of employees in legislative practices and procedures.

The original legislative budget should be adequate, whenever possible, to provide for all the expenditure needs of the legislature in order to avoid the necessity of making additional appropriations available for expenditure before the end of the fiscal year.

Arrangements should be made for the proper preauditing by the legislature of all joint Senate and Assembly vouchers before they are sent to the comptroller. To do this the legislature may find it desirable to appoint a fiscal officer directly responsible to legislative leaders.

All joint Senate and Assembly personnel, payroll and expenditure records should be centralized in one office, preferably the office of a legislative fiscal officer.

The report comments on the lack of competition in legislative printing, and in view of the tremendous volume of legislative and departmental printing it suggests that the legislature might find that a state-owned plant used as a yardstick might tend to bring prices down.

Many points remain to be presented by the committee, including sources of legislation, joint and standing committees, compensation and terms of legislators, bill-drafting and research facilities, analysis of rules and procedures, the "legislative jam" and relations to the executive.

On May 4, the extraordinary grand jury that has been investigating legislative spending and practices for over a year made its second report to the court. It contained sharp criticisms of legislative payrolls and other expenditures, and of the value of the work of some joint committees. Recommendations included: selection of clerks of the Senate and Assembly on the basis of ability, certification of the performance of services, minimums of aptitude and experience for all employees, annual publication of names, addresses and salaries of all legislative employees, prohibition of "kickback" of wages or salaries by public employees, greater care in authorization of committees and in designating attorneys thereto, and strict limitations on the patronage system generally.

Oregon Adopts Comprehensive State Merit System

Oregon became the 21st state to adopt a comprehensive civil service system on a merit basis when a measure passed by the recent legislative session was signed by the Governor, according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. The law becomes effective June 16.

A three-member state civil service commission and a department of civil service are established. The state civil service director, appointed by the commission on a competitive basis, will be responsible for direction of the program under the general supervision of the commission. Salaries of the director and members of the staff are to be fixed by the commission in accordance with the classification and pay plans adopted under the act.

All state employees are covered except certain designated positions in the "unclassified service," including elective and appointive officials and their principal assistants, employees of the courts, the legislature, the governor's office, the secretary of state's office, faculty members in state institutions of higher education, lawyers and the state police.

All employees holding positions in the classified service on September 14, 1940, receive permanent civil service status automatically under the act; others must qualify for such status by passing competitive tests, but these will not begin until at least one year after the war.

Minnesota Legislature Kills Administrative Management Aid

The 1945 Minnesota legislature killed, or at least starved, by failure to provide funds the State Division of Administrative Management[1]—which received $18,000 a year for the past biennium. Another casualty, but more to be expected, was the state civilian defense office.

Two new agencies established by the legislature were the Water Pollution Control Commission, consisting of health, conservation and agriculture department officials and one appointee of the governor, and the Publications Board for administering a law governing the rules and regulations of state administrative agencies. Neither board was given a separate appropriation.

New York Legislature Pioneers in Slum Clearance

The state of New York has enacted a trail-blazing new law[2] to permit municipalities to use their powers of condemnation and purchase for the purpose of rehabilitating blighted areas, unrelated to any other public improvement.

The new law grew out of a plan of Comptroller Joseph D. McGoldrick of New York City to spend $20,000,000 of city money to purchase a large substandard area in downtown Brooklyn for clearance, remapping, rezoning and resale.[1] This plan was kept out of the city's capital budget by the City Planning Commission a few months ago on the ground that the city had no power to condemn land for such a purpose without specific authority from the legislature. Thereupon the Citizens Housing Council and the Citizens Union—both of New York City—prepared a bill to cure the alleged defect, arranged for its introduction by Assemblyman MacNeil Mitchell of Manhattan and Senator Thomas C. Desmond of Newburgh, and with the help of a widespread public demand secured its enactment, despite the vigorous opposition of Mayor LaGuardia on the ground that complete home rule in this matter was dangerous and might be misused for crooked land deals.

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[1] See the Review, September 1942, p. 445; May 1943, p. 253; December 1943, p. 577; January 1944, pp. 23-4.

[2] Chapter 887 of the Laws of 1945.

Unlike the elaborate measures being considered in other states, the law is a very simple grant of power. Using language taken largely from the new housing article of the state constitution adopted in 1938, it adds the following sentence to the General Municipal Law:

> Section 72-i. *Acquisition of real property for clearance and rehabilitation.* The governing board or other appropriate authority of a municipal corporation may acquire by purchase, gift, devise, lease, condemnation or otherwise, in accordance with the provisions of any appropriate general, special or local law applicable to the acquisition of real property by such municipal corporation, real property or any interest therein necessary for or incidental to the clearance, replanning, reconstruction and neighborhood rehabilitation of substandard and insanitary areas, together with adequate provision for recreational and other facilities appurtenant thereto.

Governor Dewey in his message of approval stated that in his judgment:

> "It is entirely clear that municipalities should have the right to replan and reconstruct their own blighted areas. They should have that right free of any narrow restrictions as to the type of use to which the cleared property should be put. It may well be that there are blighted areas which should be cleared where the area is wholly unsuitable for housing. But clear them we must, or our cities will degenerate into hollow shells.
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> "So long as these congested, unsanitary, unhealthy and long since outdated types of habitations are in existence, people will live in them. They will contribute to disease, crime and delinquency and will impair public health and the progress of society as a whole.
>
> "Moreover, the existence of these areas speeds the movement of populations out of the city leaving the developed sewers and public utilities, streets, schools, police and fire houses a waste behind them. They are an economic as well as a social burden upon the city and its people.
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> "Certainly power as great as that of condemnation must be used with great care and caution. Certainly, also, great projects such as that authorized by this bill should not be undertaken if needed housing cannot in total be replaced either in that area or elsewhere. But it must be assumed that the municipal authorities will use the power responsibly and in the public interest. This bill will remove undesirable restrictions upon the power of a city soundly to conserve its human assets, as well as its physical assets. Within the limits of sound finance it can serve our people and our cities well."

G. H. H., Jr.,

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[1] See "Can We Rebuild Our Cities," by Joseph D. McGoldrick. The Review, January 1945, p. 5.

Personnel Administration for Community Benefit

The New York State Department of Civil Service has prepared for the State Conference of Mayors a 36-page pamphlet, *Effective Civil Service,* which should be of substantial assistance to civil service commissions in the counties and smaller cities of the state which are trying to bring a more effective civil service to their communities.

Intended, as it is stated, as "a guide to commissioners and as a yardstick for testing the administration of civil service in their jurisdictions," rather than as a complete handbook of procedures, the pamphlet yet carries a great deal of practical information in small compass. A glance at the table of contents, which lists 26 subjects including roster records, payroll certification, service ratings, various types of appointments, layoffs, office procedures and public relations, indicates the scope of the matters discussed.

One omission which seems rather surprising in view of the immediacy of the problem is the rights and privileges granted by both the civil service and military laws to returning service men and women, both former employees and those who have attained a place on civil service eligible lists. It appears also that the section on "disciplinary actions" needs clarification and amendment in view of the adoption of Chapter 607 of the Laws of 1945, giving city employees the right to a review of such actions by the municipal civil service commission.

More State and City Employee Retirement Systems

Statewide public employee retirement systems have recently been adopted in Montana, Oregon and Indiana, the Civil Service Assembly reports.

In Montana a new law places all state, county and city employees except police, firemen and state highway patrolmen, who have their own retirement program, under a retirement system which will be administered by a board composed of the secretary of state, attorney general, state treasurer and three public employees selected by the governor.

For state employees the state will contribute 3 per cent of each month's salary, while for cities and counties the amounts to be contributed will vary with salary scales and with sex of employee. Employees may retire voluntarily at the age of 65 and after 30 years of service, and must retire at 70. At present the plan is optional with state employees but will be required for new employees.

The Oregon retirement act calls for the establishment of a comprehensive retirement program covering state employees. It provides machinery whereby employees of municipalities may be covered by the plan and for voluntary merging of existing retirement systems into the plan.

State employees are provided with a pension system under the terms of the new Indiana public employees' retirement law. Employees of all other local governmental units are permitted by the law to participate in the system if they desire to do so.

The Maryland legislature has recently provided for the inclusion of employees of municipal corporations in the state retirement system.

Retirement systems for municipal employees are in operation in 81 per cent—or 858—of the nation's cities of more than 10,000 population, the International City Managers' Association reports. Forty-five joined the list this year. Of this total, 379 cities cover all classes of employees.

In 1944 some 164 local government units adopted employee retirement plans, including 138 municipalities, fourteen counties, and fourteen school or park districts, boroughs or townships. Of the 138 municipalities, 117 are in statewide retirement systems.

Council-Manager Plan News

The town of **Bloomfield, Connecticut,** at a special election on April 23, voted 371 to 27 to adopt a new charter providing council manager government. Bloomfield has had a town manager since 1941, constituting little more than a road supervisor. Under the charter he will have enlarged duties including direction of the police department and acting as purchasing agent for all branches of the town government except schools and library. A town council of seven members, supplanting the present board of finance, will be chosen by the voters at the biennial election next October. The Bloomfield Town Charter Association, of which W. D. Barnes is president, has worked for two years to improve the plan of government; one of its committees, headed by W. C. Stauble, drafted the new charter with the assistance of Dr. Thomas H. Reed, consultant for the Connecticut Public Expenditures Council.

In **Massachusetts** enemies of "Plan E"—the council-manager plan with proportional representation—are attacking it in the state legislature through a bill that would repeal the law under which Plan E charters have been adopted in several Massachusetts municipalities. Proponents of the bill assail "Plan E" as "undemocratic." The **Springfield** *Union* states editorially that the legislative repeal movement "will strike many persons as itself the opposite of democracy, in that it constitutes a denial of the right of citizens to decide for themselves the form of their own local government." The City Manager League of Springfield, which advocates "Plan E" for that city, has urged four state senators from Springfield and vicinity to oppose repeal and support the right of the citizens of Springfield and other communities to decide what form of government they shall live under.

In **Tampa, Florida,** more groups have declared themselves in favor of the council-manager plan sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce and its junior counterpart. These include the Tampa Women's Club, the Business and Professional Women's Club and two AFL labor unions; although the Rotary and Civitan Clubs took no official position, their membership, as individuals, voted overwhelmingly for the plan. A charter committee, initiated by the Chamber of Commerce and including representatives of supporting organizations, convened on March 30 and various committees started work early in April. The proposed plan includes the debatable provision for councilmen residing in specific districts, but elected by city-wide vote. A bill embodying the plan has been sent to the legislature. If passed it will be subject to a referendum.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Van Wert, Ohio,** is investigating the advantages of a city manager charter.

The **Parkersburg, West Virginia,** *Sentinel* is advocating the replacement of the existing commission plan by the council-manager system.

Ypsilanti, Michigan, voted on April 2 in favor of charter revision and elected nine men to frame a charter. The Junior Chamber of Commerce has been active in promoting the manager plan.

In **Hastings, Nebraska,** the Chamber of Commerce is fostering public discussions of the manager plan.

A committee to investigate the advantages of the council-manager plan for **Herington, Kansas,** now under commission government, has been organized with Dr. O. S. Emig as chairman, and has held public meetings.

McAllen, Texas, is considering the adoption of the council-manager plan as set forth in the *Model City Charter* of the National Municipal League.

In **Ottawa, Kansas,** the civic improvement and post war planning committee of the Chamber of Commerce is in favor of a change from Ottawa's present commission plan of government to the council-manager form. It has recommended to the board of directors of the Chamber that it name a city-wide committee of men and women, not restricted to the Chamber, to start action for accomplishing the change. Mayor E. V. Gibson is an advocate of the council-manager plan.

The Board of Freeholders of the city of **Vallejo, California,** is making a study of council-manager and other city charters in anticipation of possible revision or redrafting of that city's present charter.

Several of the successful candidates at the recent city primary election in **Chester, South Carolina,** are reported as being outspoken advocates of council-manager government.

In an advisory referendum on May 8 citizens of **Spartanburg, South Carolina,** voted in favor of the council-manager plan, 644 to 450—a total of 1,095 out of about 1,700 who were qualified to vote. According to the city attorney, a change in the city's form of government must await action of the state legislature which meets in regular session next January; but the city council could by adoption of an ordinance employ a city manager if it so desires; his powers, however, might be quite limited.

Metropolitan Authority for Chicago Transit Lines

Governor Dwight H. Green of Illinois on April 12 signed bills to establish a metropolitan transit authority for the purpose of acquiring and operating local transportation facilities in Chicago and other parts of Cook County. A popular referendum on approval of such a plan by the people of Chicago is scheduled for June 4. If adopted the plan, after seventeen years of litigation concerning the private transit companies, will provide for unification and improvement and constitute a solution of some of the thorniest aspects of Chicago's 40-year-old transit problem. The authority is to consist of seven members, four to be appointed by the mayor and three by the governor, with at least one of the latter to come from the suburbs.

"Better Chicago" Contest Spurs Metropolitan Planning

A stimulus for ideas as to comprehensive plans for the Chicago metropolitan region is offered in the "Better Chicago" contest sponsored by the *Chicago Herald-American.* Plans entered in the contest must be delivered or postmarked by midnight of July 9, 1945. A main prize of $10,000, another of $5,000, one of $2,000 and eight of $1,000 will be awarded for the best over-all plans as to what should be done for the metropolitan area. The newspaper emphasizes the need for more effective coordination between the City Plan Commission and other public bodies handling various phases of Chicago's $947,000,000 postwar public works program. Judges will be Walter H. Blucher, executive director of the American Society of Planning Officials; Daniel H. Burnham, Jr., architect; Harold S. Buttenheim, editor of *The American City;* Walter F. Dodd, lawyer; James C. Downs, Jr., chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations; Jesse E. Hobson, director of the Illinois Institute of Technology; L. M. Nagy, president of the Institute of Design; John W. Root, architect; and Rev. Bernard J. Sheil.

Police and Firemen under Civil Service in Mississippi

Municipal civil service measures passed by the 1944 session of the state legislature place all policemen and firemen in commission-governed cities above certain population limits under civil service requirements and provide for a board of examiners to administer the program.

In the city of Meridian a Civil Service Board was set up and its rules were approved by the city commission, the governing body. When a new commission took office on January 3, however, the mayor-elect questioned the validity of the law in the light of section 20 of the Mississippi constitution, which provides that "No person shall be elected or appointed to office for life or during good behavior, but the term of all offices shall be for some specified period." The new commission approved a slate of appointments making certain changes in the police and fire departments and replacing the city police court judge and the city attorney. Subsequently the State Supreme Court rendered an opinion in the case of *Glover* v. *City of Columbus* (19 So. 2d, 756) which caused the commission to rescind its action on all cases save those of the judge and attorney. The Glover case upheld the charter right of the mayor and council to dismiss an employee of the city but left reasonable presumption that the legislative civil service provision would be held constitutional.

The police judge and city attorney filed petitions for a hearing before the Meridian Civil Service Board. An opinion of the state's attorney had held that they were included under "employees." The Civil Service Board further found that the city attorney received monthly compensation and ordered his reinstatement. The commission thus repealed its earlier action, and moved to reinstate all employees in their former positions.

David W. Knepper
Mississippi State College for Women

Public Employment Increase Challenges Statesmanship

The 1944 report of the National Civil Service League, adopted at its recent annual meeting, stresses the great increase in the number of federal, state and municipal employees and the postwar problems created thereby. It points out that in the last twelve years the total number of public employees and the total public payroll have more than doubled.

From 1932 to 1941 the number of employees in the federal service increased 72 per cent, and its payroll 60 per cent. In state and municipal services combined the increases were 50 per cent in personnel and 15 per cent in payroll. The report states that since Pearl Harbor the federal service has increased by 153 per cent to some 2,930,000 employees, and its payroll by 233 per cent, to about $6,000,000,000.

In the state and municipal governments the number of employees has decreased 3½ per cent to 3,135,000 although payrolls increased 10 per cent, to $4,175,000,000, since Pearl Harbor.

The increase in the federal service results largely from the addition of over 1,250,000 employees in arsenals, shipyards and other war activities normally under private control. It is further stated:

"With the end of hostilities the number of federal employees will undoubtedly drop substantially. The number of employees in state and municipal governments, however, will increase as new public projects are undertaken on an enlarged scale. It is estimated that the total number of employees in all branches of government five years after the war may approximate five million, with an annual payroll of eight billion dollars. To control, manage, and supervise this great civilian army so that it may serve the people effectively, economically and impartially will prove a great challenge to our statesmanship and capacity to govern within our democratic framework. . . . Predatory political machines after the war will be tempted to use a large part of these five million public places for partisan patronage, and all the more so if opportunities for employment lessen in private enterprise. . . .

"Anticipating that grave issues concerning government personnel may arise after the war, the League appointed a Committee on Postwar Civil Service Problems to study three major issues which will face public administrators in the critical period of transition from a war to a peace economy: (1) Demobilizing the federal civil service and reorganizing our state and municipal services, (2) preferences for veterans in appointments in the civil services,[1] and (3) government employer-employee relations."

More States Defeat Federal Tax Limit Proposal

The legislature of Iowa has followed those of Arkansas, Illinois and Wisconsin, in rescinding its previous approval of the proposal to limit federal income tax rates to 25 per cent by constitutional amendment.[2] As a result, the number of state governments that have approved such an amendment without rescinding their action does not exceed eleven. Resolutions or memorials in favor of the amendment have been killed recently in seven states.

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[1] See the REVIEW for February 1945, p. 85.

[2] See the April REVIEW, p. 183.

Researcher's Digest

New Cleveland Bureau Makes Police Survey

Most Serious Defect Found Lack of Esprit de Corps

A 135-page report on its survey of the Cleveland police division—the first major project of the **Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research,**[1] allied with the **Cleveland Citizens League** — has been published. Its summary of conclusions and recommendations appears in *Greater Cleveland* for April 6. Additional comment will be found in the April 26 issue.

According to the report the Cleveland police force, while an honest, efficient and well officered body, lacks "that somewhat indefinite quality called morale." This condition the report lays to four principal causes: lack of adequate training of new recruits, interference by the director of public safety in the administrative functions of the chief of police, the non-aggressive attitude of the latter, and the activities of the Fraternal Order of Police, which the report recommends should be abolished.

The present numerical strength of the force is adequate, says the report, but there are too many ranking officers, too many police are assigned to civilian duties which could be performed better at less expense by clerks, too many are assigned to duties in offices not a part of the city government, many over-aged men should be retired on pension.

Another recommendation is that the chief of police be made the real head of the police division, responsible for appointments, promotions and assignments. It is suggested that the stranglehold placed on police administration by state laws and court decisions be removed by legislation in the interest of better local control.

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[1] For account of its organization see the REVIEW, March 1944, p. 145.

Various methods of improving the operation of bureaus within the police division—motor patrol, detective, welfare and traffic bureaus—are listed.

"Immediate musts" suggested by the bureau include: improved recruiting and training methods, an improved plan of service and in-service training, a service rating system and an equitable and actuarially sound pension system. "If these and other changes and improvements are made," says the survey report, "Cleveland will be able to boast that its police force is, on the whole, made up of a body of honest, efficient and dependable officers and men who can be relied upon to serve Cleveland in any serious crisis which may come to the city."

The survey was made by five members of the bureau's Board of Trustees acting as a subcommittee: John C. McHannon, chairman, Warren L. Morris, Elbert J. Benton, John S. Clark and Archer H. Shaw. The committee was assisted by J. M. Leonard, of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, who was employed as consultant.

Zanesville Worn Out and Broke Says Chamber of Commerce

"In addition to being a worn-out city, Zanesville [Ohio] is broke financially." This is the cheerful introduction to the **Zanesville Chamber of Commerce's** *Proposed "Pay as You Go" Plan for the Financial and Physical Rehabilitation of Zanesville,* prepared by its Research Department.

Three reasons for the present state of affairs are cited: insufficient revenues, lack of citizen interest in city affairs and lax administration on the part of city officials. "We have to make a decision as to how we are going to provide more revenue to raise the level and efficiency of our governmental services . . . If we are to launch a 'pay as you go' program a mill levy will have to be voted by the people. This means that 65 per cent of the voters will have to be convinced that they should agree to pay higher taxes. Before we can do this the voters must be assured the additional money will be used wisely and economically. This means having city officials who will handle taxpayers' money as if it were their own."

"Municipal Research Bureaus" Reviewed in This Issue

Municipal Research Bureaus, a study of the citizen research movement in the United States by Norman N. Gill, librarian of the Milwaukee Municipal Reference Library, is reviewed by Lloyd M. Short, director of the Public Administration Training Center, University of Minnesota, on page 318 of this issue.

Pennsylvania Lags in Reapportionment

"The constitutional mandate to reapportion the House of Representatives, like the mandate to reapportion the State Senate, is being ignored by the legislature," comments the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** in its *Citizens' Business.* The bureau points out that the present apportionment for the House was made in 1921, based on the 1920 census, with amendments in 1923 and 1929; the Senate also has not been reapportioned since 1921. A reapportionment for both houses, based on the 1930 census, was made in 1937 but was declared unconstitutional by the courts a year later. No attempt has been made to work out any plan based on the 1940 census, but

City,

several bills are before the legislature. The bureau points out that at present on the basis of the 1940 census the representative for the ninth legislative district in Philadelphia had a population of only 9,618 as his constituency, whereas the member for the seventeenth district represented 177,522 persons.

Sixteen Cities Questioned on Budget Practices

A report which the **Municipal League of Seattle for Governmental Research** has prepared for its City Budget and Finance Committee, "How Other Cities Head Off Deficits," covers a survey of sixteen cities in Seattle's population group—Portland (Oregon), Milwaukee, Houston, Louisville, Dallas, Oakland, Memphis, Atlanta, Newark, San Antonio, Minneapolis, Birmingham, Cincinnati, Denver, Kansas City (Missouri) and Seattle. The bureau asserts that most of these cities have better controls over their annual budgets to head off deficits than does Seattle. None of the cities except Seattle and Newark reported operating deficits in recent years. Milwaukee reported that it never had a deficit in operating funds and Cincinnati has not had one for 21 years—the duration of the present manager-P. R. charter. Information secured from the various cities on budget practices is set forth in tabular form. The study concludes with various provisions from the Model Accrual Budget Law of the National Municipal League.

Jersey Plan Urged as Model

The **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute** suggests that the New Jersey welfare department might well be used as a guide in the establishment of the Department of Health and Public Welfare which the new Missouri constitution requires the General Assembly to establish as one of the state's fourteen major departments. The Institute's *Mind Your Business* describes the New Jersey setup in detail.

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City Finance Made Digestible

The **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.**, has issued its fifteenth annual report on *Pertinent Financial Data, City of Baltimore, as at January 1, 1945.* One reason for the report, says William J. Casey, chairman of the commission's Board of Trustees, is "because official city reports of prosaic form do not supply quick and complete pictures of essential details of the municipal government, its structure, finances, general policies and related community factors."

* * *

Help for Legislators

The third edition of *A Manual for Alabama Legislators* has been issued by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama** for use of state legislators, whose sessions convened on May 1 to continue until June 29. The manual was compiled and edited by Dr. Hallie Farmer, professor of history and political science at Alabama College.

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Postwar Plans

"Seattle's postwar planning is not behind that in other cities of its size," concludes the **Municipal League of Seattle for Governmental Research** in a report to its City-County Planning Committee. The report is based on an investigation of the plans of Milwaukee, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Houston, Denver, Louisville, Portland (Oregon), Atlanta, Dallas and Memphis. Most of the cities express the hope that their postwar programs can be financed without materially increasing property taxes. Most cities, like Seattle, have a citizens' advisory committee working with their city planning commission. Tables set forth data on projects, costs, plans for financing, etc., of each city.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

High School Pupils Plan Their Communities

Civics Classes Try Hand at Local Redevelopment

"THE increasing trend to community life creates as great a challenge to educators as to governmental administrators or specialists in the fields of physical and social development," comments the **New England Town Planning Association** in *Community Planning for Younger Citizens—A Manual for Teachers.*

The planning association, originated in 1932, has chosen as its objective "the building up of interest in and loyalty to local government and community planning in New England," states William Roger Greeley in the pamphlet's foreword. It has worked chiefly with the pupils of civics courses in the public high schools. "The present pamphlet," says Mr. Greeley, "has been prepared to meet an apparent need which has come out of the experience of the last ten years, a manual for teachers which will present a brief outline of community planning and suggestive material for planning projects to be worked out in the schools."

Covered is a description of what is meant by community planning and such specific subjects as communications and transportation, land use, public buildings, housing, blighted areas, economic and social programs, how a plan is made and administered and how paid for. A short bibliography lists additional material for both the teacher and pupil.

Cooley High School students in Detroit are redesigning their neighborhood, according to *The American City* (April 1945). Students are working on a scale model of approximately four square miles covering the area around the school. Starting with the existing pattern, the students have shown on the model the expressways, interchanges, and major thoroughfares proposed by the city and county. From this they have gone on to recommending changes which they themselves feel desirable, introducing play areas for the small children, larger playgrounds, pedestrian paths to schools and playgrounds, new public buildings and an improved residential street pattern designed to discourage traffic through neighborhoods.

Teams of students working independently have developed individual plans for the neighborhoods within the area with the objective of solving traffic flow problems and making provision for recreation and agreeable living.

"By such a project," says *The American City,* "people all over a city may be led to look at their neighborhoods with forthrightness and resolution."

Augusta Citizens Union Surveys City Government

Adequate executive authority, with either a city manager or a strong mayor, is recommended in the report of an administrative and financial survey of Augusta, Georgia, recently completed by the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League for the **Augusta Citizens Union.**

The survey was made by Dr. Thomas H. Reed, assisted by Mrs. Reed. Dr. Reed formerly was director of the Consultant Service.

Other recommendations include a merit system, a modern system of registration and election, a scientific system of real estate assessment, a salary standardization plan, a sound pension plan, a central city garage, abolition of the position of public safety commissioner.

The making of a survey was one of the originally announced objectives of the Augusta Citizens Union when it was founded in 1942 by Berry Fleming, author and a member of the Council of the National Municipal League, who served as the Union's first president.

High School Civics Lessons on the Air

Recent topics of the Junior Town Meeting of the Air,[1] participated in by Philadelphia public, private and Catholic high school pupils, have included "Are Pressure Groups a Threat to Our Democracy" and "Philadelphia's Department of Public Works."

The "experiment in democracy," as it is called by Dr. A. J. Stoddard, superintendent of schools in Philadelphia, is now in its third year and its fourth score of broadcasts. Other cities—Boston, Cleveland, Cincinnati and Detroit—have asked if such a plan might be worked out for their school systems. Philadelphia school officials term the experiment the widest test of radio as an educational force yet tried.

The plan was conceived by the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy,** whose executive secretary, Major Harry K. Butcher, has given it credit for not only giving many young people their first lesson in democracy but also awakening greater interest in civic questions among parents. Thus far approximately 1,500 students have participated.

How Far Shall We Go in Pensioning Public Employees?

"Going wild on public employee pensions," is the comment of the **Civic Federation of Chicago** on the numerous bills before the Illinois legislature to provide pension benefits for public employees. Four of the pending measures would provide pensions for elective public officials. "Evidence that a responsible tax-levying body will hesitate to impose the full burden required to meet mounting liabilities of pension promises made years ago," cites the federation, "already has been supplied by the City Council of Chicago. For 1944 and 1945 the council refused to make the full levy certified to it by the trustees respectively of the Chicago Police and Chicago Firemen's Annuity and Benefit Funds." Taxes extended for the thirteen 1944 Chicago pension funds amounted to over $13,000,000. Actuarially, however, the Chicago police pension fund was insolvent by more than $68,000,000 and the municipal employees' fund by over $2,000,000. Other funds were also insolvent in varying amounts.

Here and There

Citizen Publications

What Your Taxes Bought is the title of the **Seattle Municipal League's** "annual report to the people." Pictographs set forth in primer fashion "where the money came from in 1944" for Seattle, King County and Seattle schools, what the city and county provided for this money, the cost of debt. Services for 1944 are compared with those for 1934. Postwar projects "and how to pay for them" are described. Finally, the work of the league—past, present and future—is described; graphs show "Where the Municipal League Gets Its Money."

The **New Jersey Taxpayers Association, Inc.,** has issued its annual report to members, *On Guard for You in 1945!* A chronological list of activities for 1944 is followed by a general description of the organization and its platform for 1945.

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[1] See "Youth Builds Today for a Better Tomorrow," by Herbert C. Morris, the REVIEW, July 1943.

The Master Plan

The **Citizens Union of the City of New York** offers its congratulations to the New York City Planning Commission in connection with its proposed new master plan for the Brooklyn civic center and downtown area,[1] on "a highly constructive piece of coordinated planning, bringing together for a single important area well considered plans for highways, parks and public places, schools, public buildings, redevelopment of blighted areas and future zoning to control the use of land by private developers." The union commends the planning commission also on its presentation of the plans to the public "with appropriate brief descriptions and explanations of significant items to supplement the maps."

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Joins Club from Italy

From half way around the globe a few weeks ago came an application for membership in the **Chicago City Club,** accompanied by a check for $50. The new member is Major John W. Clarke, a Chicagoan somewhere in Italy with the AMG.

The application was sent in by Captain Robert E. Garrigan, former civic director of the City Club, who wrote explaining that after wining and dining the major he followed up by asking whether he was a member of the City Club. The reply was "No." "Why not?" "No one ever asked me." "The major was asked," Captain Garrigan says, and he added: "He promises that if he ever gets back home he is going to do a lot of work for the City Club. He spent a couple of months at Anzio and after that one appreciates things like the City Club." *Chicago City Club Bulletin.*

P. R. Election

Elections for the Board of Trustees of the **Seattle Municipal League** were held May 8-16 by mail ballot. The league has a board of eighteen members elected for two-year terms. Terms of eight trustees expired this year and, as in former elections, their successors were chosen by the Hare system of proportional representation.

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Imitation Is the Greatest Flattery

According to the Yonkers *Herald Statesman,* five New York State municipalities have borrowed a leaf from Yonkers and established schools for civic service similar to the one carried on each week at Yonkers City Hall.[1] John E. Flynn, president of the **Yonkers Young Men's Chamber of Commerce,** which sponsored the school, reports that the communities patterning their projects after Yonkers, all under Junior Chamber auspices, are Rochester, Ithaca, Endicott, Brooklyn and Flushing.

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Citizen Lethargy

According to an analysis made by the **Port Huron** (Michigan) **Citizens' League,** less than 25 per cent of the city's voters, 5,223 out of 22,128, cast their ballots at the spring election for members of the city council. The League urges its members to show their interest in civic affairs by attending council meetings.

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Citizenship Day

"I Am an American Day," or "Citizenship Day," came on May 20, too late to make any report on the occasion in this month's Citizen Action section. We hope to include a story on its observance next month.

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[1] See "Can We Rebuild Our Cities?", by Joseph D. McGoldrick, the REVIEW, January 1945, p. 5.

[1] See the REVIEW, April 1945, p. 192.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

A Conversation with F. D. R.

President Favored P. R., Electoral College Reform

PROBABLY one of the least known facts about Franklin Delano Roosevelt was his sympathetic interest in proportional representation. His preoccupation with great affairs in which P. R. was not involved and the hostility to P. R. of his own party organization in New York City made his general silence on the subject a natural one, yet on at least two occasions he declared himself in no uncertain terms.

My one and only conversation with the late President was in the fall of 1930, when he was Governor of New York. I was then executive secretary of the Proportional Representation League with headquarters in Philadelphia, and the interview was arranged over a minor piece of proposed legislation.

P. R. progress in New York State had been blocked by the question of constitutionality. A favorably inclined charter commission in Rochester had turned away from P. R. when advised by lawyers that it might be thrown out by the courts, and a charter commission in New York City in 1922, while recommending P. R. for the Board of Aldermen, had also recommended a constitutional amendment to make sure of its legality. Yet repeated attempts to pass such an amendment through the legislature were not taken seriously, partly because no one could say with assurance that there was any need for it—and as it turned out there wasn't, since P. R. was later upheld by the courts after its adoption in New York City.

The P. R. League conceived the idea of getting a test case made by some small community which might be induced to adopt it with full knowledge that the constitutionality question would promptly be taken to court. Interest was developed in the village of Saranac Lake, where a number of leading citizens were convinced that the village manager government would be strengthened by a more thoroughly representative board of trustees. A local bill was drafted to let the village vote on the adoption of P. R. and introduced, but not passed, in the state legislative session of 1931.

Appointment at Albany

In September 1930 I wrote Governor Roosevelt for an opportunity to discuss the matter with him in the hope of enlisting his active support. He replied promptly, on September 26: "Could you run up to Albany right after the campaign is over; for I would like to have a talk with you?"

Accordingly on the morning of November 6 I was ushered into his private office just off the big reception room in the Capitol. The Governor was seated at his desk and greeted me with outstretched hand and a hearty welcome. I have seldom if ever been so favorably impressed with any other public official on first meeting as during the fifteen or twenty minutes of discussion which followed. The Governor was affable, democratic, a good listener and a spirited contributor to the conversation.

After I had outlined our idea about Saranac Lake, he said he had been a strong believer in proportional representation for many years. A local bill like the one we had in mind could hardly be made the object of gubernatorial urging, he explained, because such matters are considered largely the prerogative of local representatives, but he wanted to direct our attention to a much more important opportunity. Things were shaping up, he thought, for a new charter for New York City. He hoped the advocates of P. R. could spread enough understanding of the system so that it could be included in the new charter.

This was what Mr. Roosevelt had had in mind when he wrote that he wanted to have a talk with me. It took me by surprise, for it was his own party which had topheavy majorities in the legislative bodies in New York City. He was one of the few New York Democratic leaders who recognized these topheavy majorities as liabilities rather than assets. An accurate representation of the normal Democratic majority, including its best elements in due proportion, and a full representation of the opposition might have done much to prevent the excesses which led to the removal of Mayor Walker (with Mr. Roosevelt's help) and the complete discrediting of the local Democratic machine.

Later in Washington

When the long delayed New York charter finally came to a vote in 1936, with a chance to adopt P. R. as he had hoped, Mr. Roosevelt was President of the United States. The local Democratic party organization (Tammany and its allies) led the attack on the new charter and P. R., and the President was silent. Whether his influence was used behind the scenes with some of the more public-spirited Democrats, many thousands of whom voted for the charter and P. R., we never knew, but it was a comfort to know that his influence was not being used against us.

In 1934 President Roosevelt made his one public declaration in favor of the proportional principle. Congressman Clarence F. Lea of California, now chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, was sponsoring a constitutional amendment to divide the votes of each state in the Electoral College among the presidential candidates in proportion to their popular votes within the state.[1] The amendment was reported unanimously from committee that year and the President allowed himself to be quoted in its favor. Unfortunately the Rules Committee never allotted time for its consideration and in subsequent sessions it has been given less attention because of the urgency of world problems and the conduct of the war. Sooner or later it will receive the attention it deserves and it may be very helpful to cite a great President on its behalf.

G. H. H., Jr.

P. R. for the World Security Council?

From several sources recommendations have been made to delegates attending the San Francisco conference that proportional representation with the single transferable vote be used in the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council by the members of the world Assembly as the easiest method of getting a representative and fair result.

This suggestion corresponds to a proposal seriously considered in the League of Nations and urged by the government of Norway, following a suggestion by Viscount Cecil of England, in 1926. After the Assembly of that year the Norwegian government filed the following memorandum with the League of Nations secretariat:

"The Assembly at its meeting on September 25, 1926, after a report presented by the Danish delegate, Mr.

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[1] See article in this department for April 1934, page 219.

Zahle, on behalf of the First Committee, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

> The Assembly requests the Council to instruct the secretariat to study the system of the single transferable vote and the principle of proportional representation in general in connection with the problem of the election of the non-permanent members of the Council, in order that this question may be laid before the next ordinary session of the Assembly.

"The question mentioned in this resolution was originally raised by Viscount Cecil in the Committee on the composition of the Council appointed on March 18, 1926, as will be seen from the report of this Committee (C.299. M.139. 1926.V.). On pages 143-144 ot this report there is to be found a memorandum from him describing the use of the single transferable vote system, as applied to elections of the non-permanent members of the Council.

Norwegian Support

"This memorandum had attracted the attention of the Norwegian Government, and they instructed their delegation at the seventh ordinary session to take up the question of some form of proportional election, and ask that it might be studied. A proposal to this effect was laid before the Assembly, thereupon sent to the First Committee and there unanimously adopted in a somewhat modified form. The Norwegian member of the Committee underlined the conviction of his government that only some form of election which gives the right to possible minorities to be adequately represented on the Council can give proper security to all the interests in the Assembly.

"In referring to Lord Cecil's memorandum, he said: 'Like any form of proportional representation it looks on paper somewhat complicated, but is in reality very easy to practise. Where three members are to be elected the method mentioned gives the right to any group which numbers more than one-fourth of the Assembly to elect one member of the Council. This method has been used in Denmark at the election of their Senate for two generations and it is in use today in other countries represented on this Committee, such as the Irish Free State and South Africa at their Senate elections. The system of minority representation was created in Denmark and Holland, two highly civilized and progressive countries.'

"And the Norwegian delegate summed up his government's point of view as follows:

For Complete Representation

" 'We have not in this matter to deal with an ordinary political election. We have to elect a Council, and my government which have from the very first day taken a keen interest in the League of Nations and its work, are led to the present proposal by a warm desire of seeing the best possible Council elected. We desire the Council to be fully representative of the world which takes part in this League of Nations, fully representative of the world, politically, intellectually, geographically.

" 'Lord Cecil said the other day that we should all have the courage of our opinions. Let us hope that we all have. But it is necessary that all the different opinions should be able to show that courage in the Council, and my government dare not feel sure that that will always be so unless there is a right of minority representation. The future of the League may, to some degree, depend on the representative character of the Council.'

"In order to form an opinion whether it is necessary or at least desirable to adopt a new method of Council election, securing representation of the different interests, one has to keep in mind the character and work of the Council. It is the executive body of the League. Different opinions on even vital questions should meet there, but they will have to be consolidated into common action. After full and unbiassed discussion where all opinions should be voiced, the Council has to unite in resolution. It might then mean disaster if well founded viewpoints were ever deliberately kept outside the Council or under-represented thereon.

Under the Old System

"Under the present conditions, private conversations, underhand arrangements and agreements more or less binding interfere in the preparation of the elections and are of deciding importance for their result. The Norwegian government are of opinion that this method is neither desirable nor safe nor entirely dignified. It may lead to results which are not to the advantage of the League and not just. The Norwegian government, therefore, find that some reform is much needed. An improvement might perhaps be achieved if a responsible body within the League were charged with the task of presenting a list; the members of that body would feel their responsibility and know that criticism would await them in case the proposal were one-sided. This idea, however, may meet the objection that it would partly do away with the secrecy of the ballot, and perhaps no Committee would be anxious to take over the task.

"Much the best reform appears to be the adoption of the single transferable vote system. It does in no way pre-suppose fixed parties. It may, however, whenever desirable, lead to combinations *ad hoc,* occasional election agreements between members of a minority with fairly identical ideas on League questions which fears not to be included in the Council, or not to be properly represented.

"But it should always be remembered that the single transferable vote system does not make such agreements necessary. This will be seen from the following description of the system's technical character.

"1. *Purpose and Effect.* The single transferable vote system of election fulfils a double purpose. It allows electors to exercise a free and independent choice when voting, and it ensures at the same time their equitable representation. The method of voting and the rules for counting the votes of themselves provide that the result of the election shall be an ordered expression of the wishes of the whole of the electing body. Every substantial portion of the electorate is assured of representation."

Then follows a description of the method of voting and counting, with an illustration.

The Norwegian memorandum was referred to the Sixth Committee of the League, which reported unanimously that "the single transferable vote system would be a form of proportional representation which could be applied to the Council elections." In view, however, of the arrangements then being made for non-permanent seats, the Committee expressed the view that these arrangements "should be given a fair trial and the method of balloting now employed should not be changed until it was opportune to do so." The San Francisco Conference presents such an opportunity.[1]

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[1] For the material in this article we are indebted to the British P. R. Society, which has prepared a special memorandum on the subject for the consideration of the delegates at San Francisco.

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Financing Postwar Works Arouses Controversy

Two State Legislatures Seek to Upset Governors' Programs

VIOLENT disagreement as to the postwar use of state funds has already become apparent, at least two state legislatures providing a picture of controversies which may become more general as the day draws closer for the actual use of such funds.

In California the Governor's program to use the state surplus in part for tax reduction, earmarking the remainder for state construction purposes, met strong opposition from the cities and counties. The local units sponsored a bill allocating $100,000,000 for postwar improvements on projects in which the state had an interest. The fund would be divided 55 per cent to the cities and 45 per cent to the counties, with San Francisco, which has a consolidated government, sharing both as a city and as a county. Distribution of funds would have been in proportion to population, with the local units matching the state grants on a basis left to future legislation.

The local units were not wholly successful in their objective. After a long deadlock, compromise legislation was drafted which: (a) replaced the $100,000,000 postwar project aid fund with a postwar unemployment and construction fund of $90,000,000, without specifying either state or local government as the recipient; and (b) eliminated the formula outlining the method of allocating the money to the cities and counties.

Adoption of the compromise legislation, it is contended, has removed the possibility of the Governor's veto of the measure.

In Wisconsin the legislature enacted over the Governor's protest a law to segregate state highway revenues exclusively for state highway purposes, thereby jeopardizing the Governor's $23,000,000 postwar building program which relied on the availability of highway revenues as general income. Citing the need for new state buildings, Governor Goodland pointed out that in the eleven-year period 1933-44 "the university, state teachers colleges, and the public welfare institutions received a total of $2,320,785 for buildings and other improvements. In that same period the state of Wisconsin actually spent $107,129,102 for highway construction alone. An additional $1,500,000 was spent for park and forest roads." It was considered likely that the bill would be vetoed.

Philadelphia Income Tax Saved

Two bills to repeal Philadelphia's municipal income tax were defeated in the Pennsylvania legislature when the Senate Finance Committee refused to report them favorably. One measure was an outright repealer, the other would have exempted non-residents from the tax.

Last year, the income tax (which is levied in the guise of a gross earnings tax) yielded Philadelphia over $22,000,000, as compared with just under $40,000,000 received from the general property tax. Failure of proponents of the repealer to advance an adequate program of replacement revenue was said to have influenced the legislative committee in its decision to kill the bills.

Suggestions on Reporting Local Finance

In this column in April and May comment was made on some of the factors whose observance will permit local units to participate in the prevailing low cost of borrowing money. As has been described, most of the larger units which borrow with some frequency now have the "know how" to take full advantage of current conditions in the money market. Many smaller units, which borrow only occasionally, are now coming on the market to sell their bonds for postwar projects, and their use of the best prevailing practice can go far to assure that they too secure the benefits of present low interest rates.

The more interest there is in a bond offering, in general, the more bidders there will be, and the greater opportunity for a really advantageous sale. Probably no single factor will contribute more—in the case of a smaller and relatively lesser known unit—to wide interest on the part of prospective bidders than a good financial statement or prospectus, prepared well ahead of the date of the proposed sale, and sent to the national financial journals and to regional and national banking and investment houses known to specialize in municipal bonds.

The financial prospectus for a municipal bond offering is usually mimeographed or printed, although some good ones produced by the hectograph process are not lacking. It's the contents rather than the form that counts, although a pleasing appearance and easy readability add to effectiveness. As briefly described last month, the length is determined only by the necessity to cover certain essentials: correct legal title of the issuer, date of incorporation or establishment, area and population, description of form of government, description of debt and tax rate limits applicable to the unit (and whether or not bonds and interest are payable from taxes levied inside or outside such limitations) and statistics on assessed valuations, tax rates, tax levies and collections, bonded and unfunded debt and sinking funds, annual bond maturities, and summary statements of annual operations for governmental and public enterprise funds.

The non-statistical part of the prospectus will obviously show the greatest variation from unit to unit, and it also offers the greatest latitude for working in material which may be particularly informative. This is especially true of matter descriptive of area and population.

Patterns to Follow

As to financial statistics, there is a fair degree of standardization for some of the data. More than a decade ago the Investment Bankers' Association adopted a *pro forma* financial statement after discussion with various authorities on local finance, and some of their exhibits are now widely used. Two in particular merit detailed description, the tax collection statement and the debt statement.

The tax collection statement most widely used is in fact a statement of levies and uncollected balances. It usually covers a period of three or more years, one column identifies the fiscal year, the next shows for each year the amount of taxes levied, the third shows the amount uncollected on each levy at the close of each fiscal year, and the last column shows the amount uncollected on each levy as of the date of the statement. Uncollected balances are customarily shown also as percentages of the respective levies, the data of the third column showing what is now usually described as "year-end current tax delinquency." The table can be varied to add an extra column to show uncollected balances a year prior to the date of the statement, or to add a supplementary form giving comparative current collections for less than a full year, or to give comparative figures on the combined collection of current and delinquent taxes for several succeeding years.

The second form widely popularized by the I.B.A. is the over-all debt statement. This recognizes that local government is the responsibility of a variety of local units which generally overlap, so that the area of a city is responsible not only for city debt but also for, say, the debts of an overlapping school district, county and perhaps special districts as well. The debts of these several overlapping units are apportioned to the unit under study on the basis of assessed valuations. If a city accounted, for example, for three-fourths of the county assessed valuation and had a coterminous school district, then its overlapping debt would be represented by three-fourths of the county debt and all the school district debt.

A further concept is used in the over-all debt statement, that of tax-supported net debt. This concept has no legal status (as have the several state requirements as to legal net debt for computing borrowing capacity) but is simply a formula devised to secure roughly comparable debt statistics which will eliminate some of the more glaring dissimilarities between local units. A little thought will readily indicate that the debt of a city including that for water, light and power, transportation, or other utility services, cannot be equitably compared with that of a city where these so-called "utility" services are provided by privately-owned companies. If comparable statistics are to be secured, either these utility or public service enterprise debts must be excluded where they are municipally-owned or the debts of the private companies must be added to the public debt where they are privately-owned. Statistically, either method would be satisfactory. There are evident difficulties in the second alternative, however, so the simple method is to deduct municipal debt for public enterprise purposes. In practice, the deduction is often made only to the extent that the debt in question can be supported from the earnings of the enterprise, and only if it is of a type customarily regarded as non-governmental.

An explanation of this concept of tax-supported over-all net debt makes clear the reason for a considerable amount of the detail needed in good debt and operating statements. Obviously, if the customary deductions are to be made, the debt statement of a governmental unit seeking to sell its bonds must be in sufficient detail to yield the required figures. If there is any public service enterprise debt, such as water, light and power, street railway, bus, etc., it should be itemized in the statement, as should the sinking funds applicable to it. Similarly, in the bond maturity schedule this segregation would be preserved. And in the operating statements, separate statements of revenue and expense should be provided for each public service enterprise with debt outstanding which is represented to be wholly or partially "self-supporting."

In the case of the operating statement covering general government and payments on general improvement debt, sufficient detail should be shown to indicate the more important revenues and the chief expenditures. Also, there should be shown in summary form year-end cash and current liabilities, and all this operating data should be set up to cover three to five years on a comparative basis.

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Property Taxation in New South Wales

Local Government System Is Based on Land Values

THE articles in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for April and July 1944, discussing the methods of local taxation in Great Britain and the United States, suggest that readers of the REVIEW may be interested in the local taxation system of New South Wales. This country has had experience of two systems, both of which differ from the British occupancy tax and the capital value system of the United States.

Formerly municipal councils in New South Wales imposed rates—as local taxes are called—on the assessed annual values of properties. Such valuation was taken to be nine-tenths of the actual or assumed rental. Where a property was let the rental, less one-tenth, was the assessed annual value. Where it was occupied by the owner it was necessary to estimate what rental it would command.

Where land was idle, 5 per cent of the capital value was held to be the assessed annual value. This led to considerable areas near centers of population, obviously held for an increase in value, being let on nominal terms so as to be assessed on the rental. Substantially it was a system of occupancy tax, with very low rates on idle land. But there was no suspension of payments when premises were unoccupied.

The system did not give satisfaction so agitation arose with a view to abolishing the tax upon the use of the land in favor of local taxes upon the value of the land irrespective of the improvements upon it.

In 1904 J. H. Carruthers became premier. He had previously promised to alter the rating system and he was as good as his word.

Up to that time we had 192 municipalities in New South Wales. Governmental operations were confined to populous centers. The rural areas of the state had no form of local government. They depended upon the state for their local works and services. Mr. Carruthers provided for 134 shire councils for rural areas, except the sparsely settled western division. A form of local taxation was necessary. Mr. Carruthers said we have a clean slate, we can write what we like on it. So he provided for rates on the value of land, exclusive of improvements. We call it rating on unimproved values.

With the existing municipalities it was not so easy. Premier Carruthers felt that the local people should have some say in the matter. In accord with his promise he stipulated that a proportion of the rates should be on the unimproved value. For the balance they could rate on the capital value of land and improvements—the United States system. Annual assessed value rating was abolished. But if a council proposed to rate partly on land values and partly on capital values of land and improvements, a certain number of ratepayers could demand a poll and settle the issue themselves. Most councils, however, preferred the unimproved values system. In some cases where dual rates were proposed polls were demanded and in all cases the majority favored rating upon the value of land only, thus exempting the use of the land from the burden of local taxation.

As the land values system was so generally favored the option, so far as general rates were concerned, became obsolete and was abolished in 1919.

The city of Sydney had its own act and did not come under the Carruthers Local Government Act of 1906. The citizens, however, were so impressed with the success of the unimproved values system that the City Council sought power to raise local revenue in the same way. This was granted and rating on land values was partly adopted in 1909 and entirely in 1916.

Now a few words as to the reasons why the New South Wales system is so generally favored. It is held that the value of the land is a public or people value. It comes into existence with population, rising if it increases and falling if it decreases. With population arises the need for local public works and services. It is held that the value of the land is the natural source of revenue for such purposes. If drawn upon to pay for them the use made of of the land is exempt. The old injustice, as it was regarded, of increased rates when improvements were made was abolished.

The new system had social advantages. It attached some responsibility to owning land. It checked land speculation to some extent, though not entirely because the rates represented only a small proportion of the economic rent of the land. It made it easier for those requiring land for homes or business purposes to get it. It operates to lessen the effect of depressions. When land becomes excessively high in price, through speculation, it does not pay to use it. This especially applies to all who have acquired land at rising values on terms. A fall in prices often means ruin to them.

Mr. Collins[1] refers to the objection to the English system that land is withheld from use until a high price, one might say a famine price, can be obtained for it. There have been so many cases of this sort that a record of them would fill a good sized book.

I agree with the view that is generally expressed by authorities in the United States that the capital value basis is better than the English occupancy basis. Professor Simpson puts it clearly in his reference to Chicago.[2] He stated: "Why one-third of the urban area should be completely exempt from any contribution to the city whose growth created its value is not clear. To Americans it does not make sense." He also refers to the effect of destructive taxation adding to land vacancy.

Can we not use the great power of taxation so intelligently as to make it destructive only of what is pernicious, and in favor of all the good things that make for human progress and happiness?

A. G. Huie, *Secretary*
Free Trade and Land Values League
Sydney, New South Wales

Many Countries Concerned with Housing and Planning

The Minister of Health in England has warned local housing authorities that the rate at which housing sites are being prepared for temporary prefabricated dwellings is entirely too slow and must be speeded. He has also said that the government has decided to change over to the construction of permanent houses as soon as conditions permit.

Through such proposals as are contained in the Distribution of Industry Bill and the Requisitioned Land and War Works Bill, the central government proposes to give itself increased powers as to planning and land use. Through the means of the former the government would have power to influence the location of industry and through the latter it would be enabled to acquire requisitioned land on which expensive buildings or other works have been erected for war purposes.

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[1] See "Occupancy Taxes in Britain," by Arthur Collins, the Review, April 1944.

[2] See "Shall U. S. Use Occupancy Tax," the Review, July 1944.

Emphasizing that planning, housing and reconstruction problems are truly concerns of all countries, several articles have recently appeared on the problems of particular areas. Some provincial and local plans in India are summarized in *Indian Information,* November 15, 1944. Comments on the housing problems of several European countries are to be found in the *Municipal Journal and Public Works Engineer* of January 19, 1945. Several issues of *Free France* have commented upon France's reconstruction problems, both from national and local viewpoints (January 15, February 1 and March 1, 1945). In the latter country, the number of buildings destroyed according to preliminary estimates is in excess of 1,200,000; the percentage of buildings destroyed varies from 20 per cent in some cities to as high as 90 per cent in others.

Planning for Russian Local Governments

The fundamental thing about Russian local government is that it cannot be separated from the national government, according to a recent article.[1] Exemplifying this fact is the planning process. For each five-year period the growing needs of the country are assessed and the resources in work and materials calculated. Then the plan is prepared to cover the whole industrial, agricultural and economic life of the country. Each district, city, village and farm is given its own yearly plan, and the planning is reciprocal. On receiving its plan, the city or village soviet, the industrial or agriculture organization, calls a meeting at which the plan is discussed. Emendations go back to "Gosplan"—the central planning authority—and more discussion follows until the final plan is accepted.

There are local elections in Russia, although rival parties are not permitted and the candidates compete only with respect to the excellence of their records as workers and citizens.

English Committee Makes Valuation Proposals

The Central Valuation Committee, a national advisory body in England's system of property valuation, has come forth with a plan to revise the valuation system in that country.[1] The committee is of the opinion "that in the light of past experience it is unlikely that a satisfactory measure of uniformity of valuation . . . will be achieved so long as the existing organization for valuation is maintained."

Four principal changes are recommended: (1) Special *ad hoc* valuation areas should be constituted of such a size as will allow full-time employment of a skilled valuation officer for each area with the necessary staff. At present valuation areas are the counties and county boroughs, which are evidently considered too small. (2) For each such area there should be a valuation authority representative of the local authorities within the area. (3) This authority should act as a first appeal tribunal for the hearing of objections and proposals. The existing practice is to have assessment committees —numbering some 340, mostly on a sub-county basis—act in this capacity. (4) Special appeal tribunals should be established replacing the practice of having the regular courts hear such cases.

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[1] From an account by D. M. Adams in *Local Government Service,* March 1945.

[1] The plan as outlined by the committee is described in the *Municipal Review,* February 1945, pp. 40-41.

These proposals are significant for at least two reasons. In the first place, uniform valuation is becoming increasingly important because of the greater importance of central grants to localities, which are frequently based upon local valuations. Secondly, the proposals underline the tendency in England and Wales towards larger local units of administration.

News in Brief

Government by Secrecy

The February issue of *Local Government Service* criticizes what it terms a growing evil in English local government, namely, a system whereby local public policy is determined by party caucus behind closed doors. In one local unit, for example, "should an unexpected issue arise in the council, the meeting would be adjourned to enable the caucus to decide its policy in private before presenting it to the council as a *fait accompli.*" Such a practice, declares the journal, "is the antithesis of democracy and if it spreads it will mean the end of local government as we know it."

* * *

Equal Pay

The National Executive Council of the National Association of Local Government Officers (England) has approved the case for equal pay for equal work as between men and women. NALGO recently presented arguments supporting equal pay before the Royal Commission on Equal Pay.

* * *

Security of Tenure

A recent court action in England held a town clerk partly liable for certain expenses incurred by the council because he had failed to bring to its attention a report strongly condemning the course of action taken. His defense was that a member of the council warned him that if he disclosed the report he would be fired. *Local Government Service* uses this case to demonstrate that all principal local government officers need security of tenure. Most are at present employed at the pleasure of the council, although a few, such as the medical officer of health and the public assistance officer, now enjoy such protection.

* * *

School for Election Candidates

One local branch of the British Labor party is organizing a school in local administration for prospective candidates for local office and any other citizens who are interested.

* * *

Local Government in Scotland

A Local Government and Public Health Consolidation Committee for Scotland is at work but is expected to make only minor recommendations.[1]

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Indian Education

India is considering a national system of education for after the war which would replace in part and supplement the present provincial and local system.

* * *

Brazilian Elections

The expected fall elections for Brazil may include local as well as state and national offices, according to the latest information. However, an electoral code has not been formally proclaimed yet.

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Milk Supply

In Victoria a state-controlled agency has been set up to regulate metropolitan milk supplies from the point of production to delivery to the consumer.

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[1] Summarized in the *Municipal Journal and Public Works Engineer* (London), February 2, 1945, p. 220.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Efficiency Trends in County Government

Missouri Counties Consider Home Rule

CIVIC organizations in Missouri have begun to consider the possibilities of improving their county governments under provisions of the new state constitution. The local chambers of commerce in Jackson (Kansas City) and St. Louis Counties are taking the lead in considering the advantages of home rule charters for their respective counties.

City-County Departments of Health Increase

A recent report by the International City Managers' Association indicates that 25 per cent of the nation's municipalities of 10,000 or more population participate in the operation of joint city-county health departments. This represents a slow but steady growth in adoption of the idea.

The 1944 combined budgets of the 210 joint city-county health departments represent an expenditure of $8,305,000, or 70 cents per person covered. The activities of the departments include venereal disease control and maternal and child health services under the impetus of federal health programs, sanitation, communicable disease control, dental hygiene, health education and vital statistics.

Wisconsin Considers Sheriffs and Justices of Peace

Under the present Wisconsin state constitution county sheriffs can serve no more than two consecutive terms, but the 1943 and 1945 state legislatures have approved an amendment removing this prohibition. Final action will be taken by the electorate of the state through a referendum to be held in April 1946.

The voters of the state recently approved a constitutional amendment abolishing justices of peace in Milwaukee.

King County, Washington, Secures Central Purchasing

The major piece of legislation enacted by the 1945 Washington state legislature for King County (Seattle), Washington, was a statute providing for centralized purchasing and the appointment of a county purchasing agent. By centralized and competitive buying, county officials anticipate savings of approximately 15 per cent in county purchases. The purchasing agent, appointed by the county commissioners, will do the purchasing now performed by thirty county departments. Contracts and purchase orders involving more than $1,000 can be let only through competitive bidding.

In 1939 the county commissioners established a centralized purchasing system, but the Washington State Supreme Court ruled they did not have legal authority to do so. It is believed the present statute will survive the test of legality.

County Budgeting Wins Commendation in Nebraska

After seven years of experience under the Nebraska county budget law, the Nebraska Federation of County Taxpayers Leagues voices its approval and lists the accomplishments of the law as follows:

1. Infinitely better administration of the affairs of county government;
2. Transformation from slipshod, deficit-financed government to one

well operated on pay-as-you-go basis;

3. Tax levies drastically lowered; and

4. Many hidden obligations, such as unpaid bills and leases, eliminated.

Local Officials Organize In Pennsylvania Counties

Local government officials in Northampton and Chester Counties, Pennsylvania, have organized in county-wide associations. In addition to permitting their members to become better acquainted, the associations will give opportunity to consider the problems the members have in common such as acquisition of property being declared surplus by other governmental units, influencing state legislation which affects the local units and other matters.

Dane County, Wis., Postpones Action on Merit System

The expiring Board of Supervisors of Dane County (Madison), Wisconsin, adjourned *sine die* recently without action on a merit system ordinance which had been pending before it as a special order of business for several meetings. The attitude of the board appeared to be summarized by one member who stated, "Dane County has got on since its organization in 1848 without civil service, and I think it could stand a few more months."

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from page 270)

effective central figure who charged the batteries of all the younger men who developed around him. The Public Administration Clearing House really became possible at the beginning because Brownlow was available to develop it. And experience proves that his selection was an inspired choice!

Mr. Brownlow was chairman of the President's Committee on Administrative Management in 1936, and with Dr. Charles Merriam and Dr. Luther Gulick made the recommendations which were enacted in the Reorganization Act of 1939, simplifying the departmental structure under the President.

He was awarded an LL.D. degree by American University, Washington, D. C., in 1938. He has been decorated Knight of Polonia Restituta (Poland); Officer of Ordre de la Couronne (Belgium); and Gran Oficial de la Orden Heraldica de Cristobal Colon (Dominican Republic).

He will remain as a consultant to Director Emmerich to give particular attention to international contacts through the International Union of Cities, the Institute of Administrative Sciences and the International Town Planning and Housing Federation, which until 1940 maintained headquarters in Brussels. He is director-general of the Inter-American Congress of Municipalities, with headquarters in Havana.

Mr. Brownlow has been active for many years in the affairs of the National Municipal League. He has served as first vice president, a member of the Council and on various League committees. He is a member of the editorial council of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Death of Mayo Fesler

Mayo Fesler, director of the Citizens League of Cleveland for 32 years, died May 6 at the age of 73. He had retired a few weeks earlier because of ill health and was succeeded by John E. Bebout, former director of the New Jersey Constitution Foundation.[1]

Dean of civic secretaries, Mr. Fesler was a noted and always aggressive fighter for causes which would contribute toward good government in Cleveland and elsewhere. During his more active years, Mr. Fesler was considered one of the most forceful and clear-visioned of civic leaders. As a high government official said at the time of his retirement: "In his lexicon there was no such word as appeasement, in his geography there was no Munich, and in his stock in trade there was no molasses."

Mr. Fesler was educated at DePauw University and the University of Chicago, later organizing the Alumni Association of the latter university. He became secretary of the St. Louis Civic League in 1904 and in 1910 transferred to the Cleveland organization. For five years, 1917-22, he was secretary of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, then for a year secretary of the Chicago City Club before returning to the Cleveland position in which he served until his death.

He was identified with the National Municipal League for many years, serving at various times as a member of the Council and on special committees. He was an honorary vice president at the time of his death.

Augusta Survey Report Published

The report[2] on the recently completed administrative and financial survey of Augusta, Georgia, made by the League's Consultant Service, was published in May by the Augusta Citizens Union. The report was written by Dr. Thomas H. Reed, former director of the Consultant Service, who was assisted in the survey by Mrs. Reed.

Charles P. Taft to State Department

Charles P. Taft, an honorary vice president and former member of the League's Council, has been made a special assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State and in that capacity attended the United Nations Security Conference at San Francisco.

New Honor for Murray Seasongood

Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati civic leader and former League president, has been appointed a member of the Harvard Overseers Committee to Visit the Department of Government. He is also a member of a similar committee to visit the Graduate School of Public Administration (Littauer School).

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[1] See REVIEW, May 1945, p. 247.

[2] See also p. 301, this issue.

Books in Review

Municipal Research Bureaus. A Study of the Nation's Leading Citizen-Supported Agencies. By Norman N. Gill. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. 178 pp. Clothbound, $3, Paperbound $2.50.

This significant study of twenty of the leading citizen-supported governmental research agencies in the United States was made in 1937-38 under the auspices of the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council. Questionnaires, bureau reports and documents, and personal interviews provided the author with the material upon which the study is based.

The book opens with a brief history of the research bureau movement which emphasizes its relation to the growing citizen demand in the early part of the twentieth century for greater efficiency and economy in government—a relationship also stressed by Dr. Lent D. Upson in his foreword to the volume.

The New York bureau, established in 1906, was the first to appear on the municipal scene, followed by the Philadelphia and Cincinnati bureaus in 1908 and the Chicago bureau in 1910. The decade of the twenties witnessed a marked expansion in the number and financial strength of these research agencies, but they were hard hit during the depression years, from which they had only begun to recover at the time the study was made.

This historical account is followed by a description of various types of citizen research agencies in order to differentiate the municipal research bureaus here studied from taxpayers associations, chambers of commerce, and other civic organizations. Nonpartisanship, professionally trained staffs, attention to problems of administration rather than matters of policy, dissemination of information to the citizen, and cooperation with, rather than antagonism toward, the public official are said to be distinguishing features of the true research bureau.

Subsequent chapters are devoted to an analysis and interpretation of research bureau activities, methods of citizen education, composition of boards of trustees and professional staffs, and sources and trends in financial support. In all these respects the bureaus have had reasonable success, but not without difficulties and certain obvious shortcomings.

One chapter is devoted to the efforts of the research bureaus to band together for purposes of mutual benefit in a Governmental Research Association—an organization which has had its ups and downs due mainly to problems of finance and membership.

The author also gives attention to some of the more recently established governmentally-supported research bureaus, observing as follows: "While public bureaus may assume many activities which citizen agencies have been performing, the former can hardly take over, with appropriateness, the entire field. There will always be need for the independent agency, at liberty to appraise and criticize policies and administration. Playing different roles and supplementing each other's activities, both agencies can function in the same community."

In conclusion, the author summarizes the most notable achievements of the municipal research bureaus and then offers some constructive suggestions for the future, including new areas for research activity, a greater representation of professional and labor leaders on boards of trustees and a broadening of the base of financial support, a greater degree of professionalization in staff, and closer cooperation with the universities.

This interesting and informative little book should have a wide reading among municipal officials, scholars and public-spirited citizens. The gap between theory and practice in the municipal research movement is rather obvious, but that democracy has need for effective organs of citizen information and criticism is equally obvious. Consequently Dr. Gill's contribution to our knowledge and understanding of the points of strength and weakness in the municipal bureaus during their early years should provide the stimulus and the guides to the development of more effective citizen-supported research agencies in the future.

LLOYD M. SHORT
University of Minnesota

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Aviation

Aviation and the States. Chicago, Council of State Governments, *State Government,* May 1945. 18 pp. 35 cents.

Employment

Jobs for Californians in Retail Trade. Sacramento, California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission, 1945. 38 pp.

National Budgets for Full Employment. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1945. viii, 96 pp. 50 cents.

Planning Jobs and Jobs in Planning. By Otto H. Ehrlich. Boston 8, Bellman Publishing Company, 1945. 40 pp. $1.

Federal Government

United States Government Manual—1945 (first edition, revisions through March 10). By Office of War Information, Division of Public Inquiries. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1945. 714 pp. $1.

Homes

Home Ownership: Is It Sound? By John P. Dean. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1945. xiv, 215 pp. $2.40.

Housing

War Housing in the United States. Prepared for Use at the Conference of the United Nations in San Francisco, California, by National Housing Agency. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945. 36 pp. 10 cents.

Metropolitan Areas

The Boston Contest 1944. Prize Winning Programs.[1] Boston, Boston University Press, 1945. 148 pp.

Monetary Policy

Money and the Law. Proceedings, The Institute on Money and the Law 1945. New York University School of Law and the Economists' National Committee on Monetary Policy. New York, Supplement, *New York University Law Quarterly Review,* 1945. viii, 159 pp. $2.50.

Personnel

Civil Service in Colorado. Denver, University of Denver, Bureau of Business and Social Research and School of Commerce, Accounts and Finance, 1945. iv, 16 pp.

Planning

American Planning and Civic Annual. A Record of Recent Civic Advance in the Fields of Planning, Parks, Housing, Neighborhood Improvement and Conservation of National Resources, Including the Addresses Delivered at the Citizens Conference on Planning, Held on the Fortieth Anniversary of the Organization of the American Civic Association at Saint Louis, Missouri, on June 14, 15, 16, 1944. Edited by Harlean James. Washington, D. C., American Planning and Civic Association, 1945. xviii, 178 pp. $3.

Planning for Schenectady. Progress

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[1] For a discussion of prize winning programs see the REVIEW, January 1945, p. 30.

Report of the Interdepartment Postwar Planning Committee. Schenectady, *Your City Government,* 1944. 24 pp.

Public Works

Public Works and the Construction Industry. By Mabel L. Walker. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1945. 12 pp. 25 cents.

Recreation

Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Chicago Recreation Conference, November 22, 1944. Sponsored by the Chicago Recreation Commission with the Cooperation of 115 Civic and Service Organizations. Chicago, Municipal Reference Library, 1945. 58 pp. $1.

Survey Making

A Selected List of References on Technical Procedure in the Making of Surveys. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Harvard University, Library of the Departments of Architecture and Regional Planning. 2 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Financial Study of the Montreal Metropolitan Commission with Proposed Debt Reorganization Program, Montreal, The Commission, 1944. 102 pp.

Municipal Financial Reports for the Citizen. Chicago 37, *Municipal Finance,* Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, February 1945. 28 pp. 50 cents.

The Need for State Financial Aid to Florida Municipalities. A Report by the Florida State Planning Board. Tallahassee, The Board, 1944. 32 pp.

Report of the Commission on Municipal Revenues and Reduction of Real Estate Taxes. Albany, The Commission, 1945. 35 pp.

Report of the Committee on Additional Tax Revenue for the City of Baltimore. Baltimore, The Committee, 1945. 49 pp.

Virginia Local Tax Delinquency. A Ten-Year Review. By John H. Russell. Richmond, State Division of Purchase and Printing, 1944. 32 pp.

Transportation

Proceedings, The Institute of Transportation, 1944. New York University School of Law and School of Commerce, Accounts and Finance in cooperation with Transportation Association of America, New York City, May 23-24. New York, Supplement, *New York University Law Quarterly Review,* 1945. 190 pp. $2.50.

Units of Government

The Units of Government in the United States (Revised). By William Anderson. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1945. iv, 49 pp. $1.

Veterans

Postwar Jobs for Veterans. Edited by Paul Webbink. Philadelphia, *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1945. vi, 233 pp. $2.

Veteran's Guide. By Dallas Johnson. New York 20, Public Affairs Committee, 1945. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Voting

Army and Navy Voting in 1944. By Richard C. Spencer. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 20 pp.

War

Official War Publications (Volume VIII). Guide to Federal, State and Canadian Publications. By Jerome K. Wilcox. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1944. 296 pp.

War Memorials

Memorials That Live. Columbus 15, Ohio, The American Commission for Living War Memorials, 1945. 59 pp. Illus.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

161

New Spending Spree on the Way

Editorial

Perils of a Military Governor

Captain Robert E. Garrigan

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

City Seeks War-Housing Control

W. K. Peery

England Plans Area Changes

Lady Ernest Simon

Federal Business Manager Gains Support

H. M. Olmsted

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Contents for July 1945

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS 322

EDITORIAL COMMENT . . . . *Alfred Willoughby* 323

PERILS OF A MILITARY GOVERNOR . . . *Captain Robert E. Garrigan* 325

CITY SEEKS WAR-HOUSING CONTROL . . . . *W. K. Peery* 329

ENGLAND PLANS AREA CHANGES . . . . *Lady Ernest Simon* 332

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION . . . . *H. M. Olmsted* 337

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST 343

CITIZEN ACTION . . . . *Elsie S. Parker* 348

TAXATION AND FINANCE . . . . *Wade S. Smith* 351

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION . . . . *George H. Hallett, Jr.* 354

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP . . . . *Elwyn A. Mauck* 355

LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROAD . . . . *Edward W. Weidner* 357

BOOKS IN REVIEW 362

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

William E. Mosher Dies Suddenly

The country was deprived of one of its most constructive and broad-gauged minds in the fields of citizenship and enlightened political thought with the death on June 1 of William E. Mosher, dean of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University.

Dr. Mosher, who was 67, died suddenly at the home of a son, Major Frederick C. Mosher, in Alexandria, Virginia, where he was visiting.

With characteristic versatility, Dr. Mosher made distinguished records in several comparatively unrelated fields. After his education in this country and graduate work abroad, he was author of several works in German which he taught at Oberlin College. His interest turned to public affairs and from 1918 to 1924 he was with the New York City Bureau of Municipal Research and the Institute of Public Administration. He went to the Maxwell School in 1924.

Dr. Mosher was frequently called upon by the federal government and others to serve as an expert consultant on utilities, civil service and postal affairs. In 1934 he was chosen to direct a nation-wide survey of electric power and light rates for the Federal Power Commission. Last year he was given a three-months leave to serve the Foreign Economic Advisory Commission.

A deep, thoughtful and creative student of politics and the problem of developing a responsible citizenry, Dr. Mosher was the author of a number of books and wrote widely on related subjects in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and other publications. He spoke many times at the League's National Conferences on Government and served as a member of the League's Council and on its committees coping with governmental and civic problems. He was an honorary vice president at the time of his death.

He was vice president of the American Political Science Association in 1937, a member of its council from 1929 to 1931, chairman of the executive committee of the Governmental Research Association in 1939, first president of the American Society for Public Administration in 1940, and president of the Oberlin Alumni Association from 1932 to 1935.

Charter Guide Committee Meeting

The League's committee to develop a guide for city charter commissions scheduled its first meeting for late June in Chicago to begin work on the project, assisted by a grant from the Columbia Foundation. Members of the committee are: Richard S. Childs, chairman of the National Municipal League's Council, *chairman*; William Anderson, chairman, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota; Edwin A. Cottrell, dean, School of Social Sciences, Stanford University; John N. Edy, city manager, Houston, Texas; Herbert Emmerich, director, Public Administration Clearing House; Arnold Frye, attorney, chairman of the Subcommittee on Style and Draft, Model City Charter Committee; John B. Gage, mayor, Kansas City, Missouri; C. A. Harrell, city manager, Schenectady, New York; Herman Kehrli, director, Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon; George R. Sidwell, staff attorney and charter consultant, Michigan Municipal League; and Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary, National Municipal League.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

New Spending Spree on the Way

LAST October the REVIEW, cogitating on the apparently irresistable tendency of governments to become entangled in red tape, suggested that it would pay many governments to have a semi-detached agency devoted wholly and positively to the task of eliminating confusion, inefficiency and political perversion.

The recent presidentially proposed office of "business manager" for the federal government[1] could, if given adequate power, perform such functions at the national level with tremendous benefits. The multiplicity of agencies and employees must be cut and most certainly will be; but, unless this is done in an orderly, scientific and thorough manner, it is not unlikely that the public could easily be satisfied with halfway measures.

It is in state and local government, however, that special watchfulness is in order. The recent report[2] of the National Civil Service League warns that the number of employees in these governments, which decreased 3½ per cent since Pearl Harbor, will increase substantially as new public projects are undertaken on an enlarged scale after the war. In a great many instances unfilled vacancies will be filled whether or not they need to be.

"It is estimated," says the report, "that the total number of employees in all branches of government five years after the war may approximate five million, with an annual payroll of eight billion dollars."

"Predatory political machines," the report warns, "will be tempted to use a large part of these five million public places for partisan patronage, and all the more so if opportunities for employment lessen in private enterprise."

This is putting it mildly. Predatory political machines already are tempted, are now wasting public funds in prodigious quantities to "take care of" friends and relatives, and have ever-present plans to use every situation for their selfish advantage.

Many comparatively well informed persons are prone to believe that the appetite for political spoils has diminished, and they cite the impressive spread of the merit system in civil service, the council-manager plan, the career ideal in public service and similar specifics. Unfortunately, it just isn't so. The truth is that there is widespread evidence of the shameless misuse of public funds. It is done more artfully than in "the bad old days" and the political bosses don't talk out of the corners of their mouths any more. A great many of them have graduated from college instead of the corner saloon.

This is not irresponsible guessing. If another Lincoln Steffens should appear on the scene today, any local bureau of governmental research, any local civic organization, hundreds of able students of government and any number of public employees could give him authentic facts which would be just as shocking as the thievery of a generation ago.

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[1] See p. 337, this issue.

[2] See the REVIEW, June 1945, p. 297.

No less an authority on state government than A. E. Buck of the Institute of Public Administration contends[3] that "political jobbery is still rampant in more than half of the states" and that "the turnover of state employees, in some instances, is almost 100 per cent when one party or faction succeeds the opposing party or faction in office. The resulting deterioration in the state services is appalling. But patronage alone does not suffice to keep the political machine oiled and going; money is also necessary. To secure this money knockdowns or turnbacks on state contracts for construction, supplies, materials and equipment are sometimes required of those who do business with the state government."

This is an understatement. The situation is even worse and in many cities and counties it is still worse. It is slightly alleviated, but only temporarily, by the wartime lack of pressure for soft public jobs.

Watch the pent-up demand which will come as an overwhelming flood the moment there is a recession of private employment opportunities.

Watch those funds which have been set aside for postwar projects in states and cities.

Watch the burgeoning city, county and state payrolls the moment it becomes possible to follow through on postponed public works projects.

Watch the free-spending pressure groups who for the last several years have been put off by the war.

It will be a miracle if in the postwar period we are not beset by the wildest orgy of public spending yet. The situation will be a challenge to public-spirited citizens and to the many statesmen in public life at all levels of government whose attention will likely be distracted and who may be lulled into a feeling of complacency by the diminishing of the federal government plant. State and local government will provide the stage for the next big spree.

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[3] See *War Time Problems of State and Local Finance,* Chapter I, "Effect of the War on Costs of State Governments," by A. E. Buck. Tax Institute, New York.

Perils of a Military Governor

American officer tells of his varied experiences in bringing order out of chaos to liberated Italian town on heels of the armed forces as Partisans gather guns and hunt down Fascists.

By CAPTAIN ROBERT E. GARRIGAN*

WITH the war in Europe over I feel a responsibility to record a description of the ordinary duties and activities of a civil affairs officer in military government. On the basis of my experience in many towns and cities in Italy I feel that the following story represents a fair average of an Allied Military Government operation.

I arrived in town X north of Bologna late in the afternoon, a few hours after our first troops had liberated it. When I entered the *Municipio* (town hall), the usual destination of an AMG officer on his first visit to a town, I found pandemonium.

The *Partigani* had been having a field day rounding up Fascists and Germans, shooting some, and collecting German ammunition and supplies. They had piled immense quantities of explosives in the piazza in the center of the *Municipio*. Why they selected that spot I cannot understand—unless they considered it the most public for an exhibition. There were several large boxes of dynamite most of which were broken open and their contents scattered around. There were literally thousands of hand grenades, tons of machine guns, rifles, pistols, ammunition and gasoline. There seemed to be enough explosives in this one spot to blow up any medium sized city.

There were hundreds of *Partigani,* male and female, milling around in the ammunition demonstrating to each other how the various types of grenades should function. Most of them had had copious quantities of *vino,* were smoking cigarettes, and were full of excitement at their liberation.

A *Partigano* away from explosives is a fearsome sight in itself. He or she usually has from five to ten potato masher grenades stuffed in a belt around his or her waist and carries every kind of a gun or weapon that the body will support. For the most part they are inexperienced youths without military training and their general over-enthusiastic appearance and the way they handle their weapons gives one near them a sense of confidence comparable to that one would have shooting off sky-rockets in a room full of loose gunpowder.

Most of them got their guns, ribbons and red bandannas well after the Allied troops had passed through their town. Do not misunderstand this. The *Partigani* have done tremendous things for Italy and the

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*Prior to his entry into AMG via special training at Harvard University, Captain Garrigan was assistant regional director of the Office of Community War Services—Region VI, comprising Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin. He had previously been civic secretary of the Chicago City Club. As a civil affairs officer he has seen much of North Africa, including Oran, Algiers and the battlefields around Bizerte, and has helped straighten out more than a hundred Italian communities.

Allies, but like any organization back home 10 per cent of them have done all the work and the others have jumped on the band wagon when victory and security seemed assured.

My first job was quite obvious. I had to get the *Partigani* out of the munitions immediately if I wanted to have a *Municipio* or even a town. My driver and I were the only Allied soldiers present at the time. I asked for the *Capo* (chief) of the *Partigani*. He appeared immediately, and what a sight he was. Any movie portrayal of Pancho Villa at his worst would be a pipsqueak to this bird. I introduced myself according to instructions, "I am the civil affairs officer for this town." That never has any effect but my conscience always makes me do it first anyway. When it brought the usual signs of non-recognition my driver, who speaks some Italian also, added, "He is the military governor of this town."

Picking the Duds

The *Capo,* however, was exhausted from organizing *Partigani* and chasing Germans and possibly from too much celebration also. He had little influence. Nobody paid any attention to the *Carabineri* who were present as the *Partigani* had completely humiliated and discredited them by disarming them. I then tried ridicule on the people in the dump. "Hey, you with all the grenades! You're a fierce looking guy. How many Germans did you kill? How many times were you shot at? When did you first put on those ribbons and that red scarf?"

I was lucky. The first two I examined were real duds and everybody laughed heartily, probably as much at my Italian as at their answers. At any rate, by the time the examination of the second had finished everyone had eased out of the ammunition.

Just as I was beginning to feel comfortable along came two *Pompiere* (fire protection and bomb disposal) carrying a seven-inch unexploded projectile with a damaged fuse by what seemed to me a piece of unravelling five-and-ten-cent-store string. They pointed to it and said for all to hear, *"Molto pericoloso."* As if they had to tell me! Frankly, I seemed to be the only one who was frightened or the least bit conscious of the situation. The *Pompiere* wanted to know what to do with it. My profanity in Italian is not quite as direct as it might be, but they seemed to understand for they disappeared immediately.

I then began to explain to the *Partigani* leader why he had to disarm his *Partigani*. But that was impossible, he said. There were still any number of uncaptured Germans strolling around the commune, to say nothing of a large number of Fascists some of whom were still sniping. There were no troops in the town to cope with the situation. His argument, therefore, made a little sense. "Well, all right, they can keep their weapons tonight but first thing in the morning we will talk about disarming them. Put more guards on that ammunition pile and don't let anybody in." I knew the guards wouldn't do any good but that was the best I could do.

A sergeant of the F.S.S. (British Counter Intelligence) arrived on the scene. He was in a rage. The American C.I.C. had arrived in town before him. They had arrested every Fascist they could find and placed them under town arrest or in the jail along with the Fascists the *Partigani* had locked up, and to the chagrin of the F.S.S. had taken with them the documents of all the persons arrested.

He was angry also because he could not get adequate responses out of the *Partigani* leader. He insisted that I lock up the *Partigani* leader or agree that he do it, and expressed his opinion very strongly as to what he thought of all *Partigani*. Needless to say, I could not see any wisdom in his suggestion. That conversation came to a close with my lecture number three on why I didn't come to Italy to fight Communists. It is surprising how many people seemingly did.

By this time the president of the National Committee of Liberation appeared. To my questions he replied, yes they had selected a *Sindaco* (mayor). He would arrive tomorrow from hiding. There was no water or light, but there was no problem to their immediate arrival. There was plenty of food except for meat, fats, salt and sugar. The hospital was still functioning. The committee would meet tomorrow morning. There seemed to be no urgent problems so, as it was then about nine in the evening, I looked for a billet and found a small hotel and some food.

Because of the circumstances my driver and I ate in my room. Half way through the meal some shelling started and it seemed that a few came in close. The rest of the meal didn't arrive. The driver went down to investigate. He returned shortly with part of it to say the hotel personnel was in the shelter and probably would not come out for the night. It was a swell shelter and if the shelling continued he was going to sleep there for the night. The hotel proprietor had a beautiful daughter.

The War Goes On

Shortly after the meal a bomb dropped nearby. The ack-ack tended to prove it but I talked myself into the idea that it must be a mistake, that the Germans didn't have a plane left, and crawled into bed. If it was a Jerry he wouldn't be back anyway. The ack-ack would have scared him away. He came back every half hour until five o'clock. He would glide in until he seemingly got directly outside my bedroom window and then open up with his motors and machine guns in an attempt to strafe the convoys moving up the nearby main road. There was no sleep that night.

The next morning I called on the *Partigani* leader. The F.S.S. sergeant was there again and more furious than ever. A Fascist under town arrest had been taken out by the *Partigani* and shot and two more Fascists under town arrest were missing. The *Capo* insisted that none of his *Partigani* did it. He explained there were other brigades and groups of *Partigani* roaming over the countryside, over which he had no control. I believed him. After he had had a night's rest he really impressed me. I thought I could use him to good advantage. I still refused to concur with the further suggestions of the F.S.S. that he should be locked up. Why lock up the one man who did more than any other to help our side just because three Fascists had been killed after we placed them under arrest. There was no evidence pointing to him and locking him up certainly would not help anybody. I left by informing the *Capo* that the red flag which was hung alongside my British and American flags during the night had to come down.

A search was made for an office after which I attended a meeting of the committee. It was explained to them as politely as possible, too politely, that they were now living under military government, that they should read well the proclamations which had been posted, that I would work with them and so forth. There were the usual questions. The *Sindaco* arrived before the meeting was over. I had previously announced that I would accept him as *Sindaco* if he was the selection of the committee. The *Sindaco* made little difference to me as I knew I would be able to depend on the *Secretario* to get things done.

The first caller in my office was the head priest of the town—a fine old guy, and as usual an able politician. He talked freely about everybody but refused to express himself on the *Partigani.* He knew that he gave me his answers to my questions, however.

The *Marascello* of the *Carabineri* came in. Could the *Carabineri* have their guns back? Was he to continue as the chief police officer of the town? How could he contact his superior? How would he feed his *Carabineri?* What would he do about all the Fascists locked up in jail? How would he feed them? What would he do with the German prisoners? Were the *Carabineri* the police or were the *Partigani* the police? There were a thousand other questions most of which I could not answer. What was he to do about that red flag that was flying outside? Was that still up? I sent him to bring the *Partigani* leader immediately.

The *Capo* Cooperates

By this time the usual crowd of people who had read the proclamations had collected outside my office. During the first few days of AMG operation there are usually hundreds of people milling around outside the CAO's office. They want everything, or permission for everything, most of which you cannot give them. Most of them want passes to travel. The AMG proclamations prohibit people from travelling more than ten kilometers without a pass. No one can issue passes but you. That is the biggest nightmare of the CAO's job. You cannot leave your office door open an inch without a hundred people swarming in yelling for *permessos*.

The *Marascello* arrived with the *Partigani* leader. I started by asking him to find a secretary for me. I felt that our relations would improve if he had an informant in my office. We then talked about cooperation and the need of law and order and the utter foolishness of

(Continued on Page 365)

City Seeks War-Housing Control

"Vancouver Plan" demands final say in disposition of government-built stores, utilities, thousands of homes; wants to prevent haphazard development and future slums.

By W. K. PEERY*

THE global war in which we are engaged will leave many scars in the war-boomed communities of the United States when hostilities cease and we return to normal. The city of Vancouver, Washington, is one of those towns that will have more than its share of after-effects. To minimize some of those scars the community, through joint action, has developed its "Vancouver Plan" for the utilization of war housing properties after the war. It is a plan calling for active community participation in decisions relative to land-use and redevelopment.

War housing was singled out for study because that was the biggest enterprise war brought to the community. When the Maritime Commission built a great shipyard here for the Henry Kaiser interests, a yard that was destined to employ at its peak 38,000 persons, housing became an urgent necessity. In a few months the Federal Public Housing Authority built 12,350 family dwellings and dormitory accommodations for 10,000 persons, and private construction added 1,500 more houses. Within fourteen months after the shipyards opened, the population of Vancouver and its immediate suburbs had jumped from 24,000 to 86,000.

These vast housing projects sprawl out over 1,950 acres of land, mostly outside the city because there was not enough land within the corporate limits of Vancouver to accommodate them. Having to use unimproved land for the most part, the government was obliged to build water and sewer systems, an electric distribution system, and many miles of streets and sidewalks. It had to build nine new schools, five child-care centers, eight recreation buildings and five shopping centers. These projects, which we call our six satellite cities, are located from one to four miles from Vancouver's city center.

Since all but 1,000 of the dwellings in the public housing program are of a temporary nature, the Housing Authority of Vancouver had been concerned since the projects were started over what would happen to them after the war.

Primary concern at first was the disposition of temporary dwellings. Would they be sold to syndicates for rental properties, eventually to deteriorate into slums? Or would they be left to rot? Congress disposed of this problem by amending the Lanham Act to provide that all temporary structures must be removed from the area when no longer needed for dwelling use. Since then the Federal Public Housing Authority has developed some definite plans for the temporaries. Some can be used for stop-gap housing in other parts of the country and of the world, and others can be converted into buildings of other types. There is a huge salvage value in those that are not adaptable to dismantling and rebuilding.

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*Mr. Peery is executive director of the Housing Authority of Vancouver, Washington, and chairman of the Committee on Disposition of War Housing of the National Association of Housing Officials. Previously he had been a private builder, specializing in low-cost homes. Mr. Peery was appointed to the Clark County (Vancouver) Planning Commission in 1935 and was instrumental in the adoption of a zoning ordinance covering land use in the county, which is one of the few of its kind in the country.

Small City's Problem

But here are the unsolved problems that still face Vancouver—and every other city in similar circumstances. What of the permanent units of public housing? What of the permanent community buildings, schools, shopping centers and playgrounds? What of the 1,500 acres of land with all utilities that will be left when the temporary houses have been removed?

These are not grievous problems for great cities, because the larger communities can absorb the land quickly. But Vancouver, Washington, is likely to return to "small town" status when the war is over, because its shipyard probably will employ at best only two or three thousand men, if it remains in operation at all. Until new industries locate here, Vancouver can see no appreciable expansion. And the people of the city are worried about what's going to happen to the housing projects.

The worry is over the way the government will dispose of the properties. Will the 1,000 permanents, representing 15 per cent of all permanent housing, public and private, in the community, be dumped on the market for sale to speculators? Will the 1,600 acres of potential home sites in the cleared-off temporary housing projects be unloaded at one time to the highest bidder? Will the result be several thousand home sites thrown on the market in areas the community does not now want to develop?

Many problems are involved in land dumping. In the first place, there are nearly 2,000 home sites in scattered locations within the city of Vancouver that should be developed before an unbridled and unregulated development is permitted in the housing areas. This is good sense from the standpoint of keeping the cost of city services at a minimum, because as sure as suburban housing areas are redeveloped at the expense of city property, there will be pressure to extend the city limits.

There is a need for some postwar public housing in Vancouver which the existing permanents can fill. The community needs additional recreational facilities, cemetery space, a tuberculosis sanitorium, a trade school, a junior college campus, an experimental farm. The housing areas would lend themselves admirably to conversion to these uses.

But what assurance does Vancouver—or any other community—have that the federal government, operating from far-off Washington, D. C., will dispose of the housing properties in such a manner as to help the community realize its ambitions?

In the fall of 1944 the Housing

Authority called together representatives of all local agencies including city and county officials, school board, city and county planning commissions and other interested parties. From that meeting authorization came for an exhaustive study. This was made with the assistance of Joshua Vogel, planning consultant for the Association of Washington Cities and a nationally known authority on city planning. The result was *Vancouver's Plan,* issued in March of this year. The response we have received indicates that our ideas have struck a responsive chord in similar communities throughout the nation.

Constructive Proposals

Briefly, this is what the plan proposes:

1. That the local housing authority be made the government's disposition agent for selling the land suitable for private home sites, that the land be released for use only when the community feels it is needed, that certain restrictions be placed on its use, and that the property be sold at established prices rather than on bids.

2. That the 1,000 permanent houses be sold to the Housing Authority to operate as low-income public housing, or to individuals as the market will absorb them, or both.

3. That an adequate site be made available for a municipal golf course to replace the community's only course which was purchased by the government in 1942 and torn up for a housing project.

4. That a community building and a nearby school building be converted into a junior college campus for an existing institution that plans to expand after the war; and that a large shopping center and maintenance building be converted into a trade school.

5. That other school buildings be made available to the local school district, and that other community centers be retained for public use.

6. That sites be set aside for a sanitorium, a cemetery, a Smith-Hughes experimental farm and a fair grounds.

The plan is unorthodox in that it proposes the federal government make a local organization the agent for disposing of federal properties, and opposition from the federal level is expected on that score. But housing authorities throughout the country have been operating their war housing projects for three years for the federal government, have been making capital expenditures for the government, and have acquired a fund of knowledge of federal procedures and responsibility to federal authority. In the long run, the government would realize more from the sale of land at established prices than if the property were unloaded right after the war, as we understand some agencies are considering.

We in Vancouver do not claim that the mechanical details of our plan are perfect. The principal goal we wish to achieve is local participation in the disposition of these properties. By local participation we do not mean that we will merely "advise" the government. Advice is not enough. We believe we should have the final say as to the use of the properties. We can't afford to

(Continued on Page 364)

England Plans Area Changes

Seeks to strengthen local government framework through work of commission to review boundaries within counties and make alterations in accordance with present-day needs.

By **SHENA D. SIMON***

IF IT be true that it is as difficult for an American to understand the English system of education as it is for an Englishman to understand the American system of politics, this is not the case with regard to local government. American local government bodies — counties, cities, townships and villages—have their counterpart in the English counties, county boroughs, boroughs, urban and rural district councils and parish councils.

The constitutions and powers of these bodies are not the same in both countries. But the chief difference is that there are no states in England, all local governing bodies deriving their status and powers from general legislation passed by Parliament. This means that they all exercise the same powers, although some of the larger authorities have, by means of private acts of Parliament, additional powers for special purposes. There is not in England the variety in the powers of local authorities which exists in the United States where the different states can grant different powers, and where even within a state charters can, and do, differ considerably.

Another result of the absence of state governments between the national government and the government of the locality is that some functions exercised by the states in America fall in England to the larger local government bodies, i.e., education in county councils and county boroughs.

Local government in England—excluding London which has a special system of its own—is carried on by means of a two-tier system in the counties and a one-tier system in the larger towns. The latter are county boroughs and, as their name suggests, they combine the powers of both counties and boroughs. They are responsible for all the local government services in their area and are quite independent of the county in which they are situated. Some of them, like Birmingham and Liverpool, have populations of about a million, others are much smaller.

Two-Tier System in County

The two-tier system in the county consists of a council, elected from the whole county and exercising certain powers over it all—with the exception of any county borough within its geographical boundaries—combined with boroughs, urban district councils, rural district councils and parish councils. Which of these is found in any part of the county depends partly upon historical chance—in the case of some ancient boroughs, charters were granted by the King hundreds of years ago—

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*Lady Simon is the wife of Sir Ernest Simon, well known British industrialist and former Lord Mayor of Manchester. She is an authority on education and has written a number of books on the subject.

and partly upon population. Urban district councils, as the name suggests, govern areas which consist of more concentrated population than rural district councils. Roughly speaking these bodies exercise the same powers over their respective territory—none of them is subordinate to the other but all are subordinate to the county council in certain respects. Thus, although boroughs have their own police force, neither urban districts nor rural districts have them, the county police operating in their districts.

The county council has been for a long time responsible for secondary (high school) education over the whole area, and elementary education in that part of it which is not under a borough or an urban district council. Now, by the new education act, all education is put under the county council.

Parish councils have very limited powers but are important as giving the smallest units a place in the local government system.

All local government bodies have direct access to the national government departments. Because there are no states in England, local government is perhaps of greater importance since these bodies are the only ones which stand between Parliament and the people for whom Parliament legislates. In some respects they are older than Parliament and, although as the country developed many of their functions had to be taken over by the central authority, they are powerful enough to exercise great influence over the laws Parliament passes concerning home affairs. When they come to administer these acts, they are allowed a great deal of discretion, based upon the fact that about half the cost of the services for which they are responsible comes from the rates and half from government grants—namely out of national taxation.

There is another difference between local government in England and in the U.S.A. which should be mentioned. During the last 50 years, two *ad hoc* elected bodies, school boards and poor law guardians, have been abolished and their functions given to county boroughs and county councils. In England opinion has decided against *ad hoc* elected bodies.

Needs Readjustment

It has been clear for some time that local government in England needed readjustment to meet modern conditions. Boundaries that were suitable before the age of motor transport are now out of date, the shift of population to different parts of the country because of the development of new industrial areas has led to a demand for urban powers of government in what were previously rural counties, and the development of services such as education and health has made larger areas necessary if an efficient and varied service is to be available to every one and the cost shared fairly. Public utilities such as water, transport, electricity and gas, which in England are often provided by the municipality, demand larger areas than are necessary for other local government services.

The need after the war for big

developments, particularly with regard to education, town planning, housing and health, would, it was realized, bring to the fore the question of local government areas, and the government was pressed to appoint a Royal Commission to overhaul the whole system. After considering the question, however, and discussing it with the various bodies representing local authorities—who, perhaps naturally, did not agree among themselves as to which bodies should be abolished and which extended—the government issued a *White Paper* which explains the policy they propose to follow. Parliament has debated this *White Paper* and given it general approval.

Review Each County

Instead of another Royal Commission to inquire into the whole subject—the last was appointed twenty years ago—the government proposes to set up a Boundary Commission consisting of about five people to exercise certain powers with regard to the alteration of boundaries. Exactly what these powers are will not be known until the "Directions" in which they will be embodied are laid before Parliament, but an idea of their scope is given in the *White Paper*.

It will be the duty of the Commission to review each county and, unless it considers that the position is satisfactory, it will either make its own proposals for alterations of the areas within a county or examine any proposals put to it. When these concern authorities within a county the Boundary Commission will have power to give a decision. It will, for instance, be able to make alterations to the boundaries of a borough, an urban or rural district council, or transfer part of a borough to an urban or rural district, or to convert a rural district or part of it into an urban district, or to form a new urban or rural district. It will usually, but not always, hold a local inquiry, and its more important decisions will be submitted to the Minister and be subject to review by Parliament.

With regard to major alterations, namely those of boundaries of county boroughs and county councils, the commission will consider them and make recommendations, but in these cases, if there is not agreement, the method by which the alteration is made will be, as at present, by means of a private bill passed through Parliament. That is to say, if the commission recommended that a county borough should extend and take in a piece of the county, the county council could—and probably would—refuse to accept the decision. Recourse would then be made to parliamentary procedure. It is to be hoped, however, that if the Boundary Commission gains the confidence of local authorities time may come when its decision—after a full local inquiry—may be accepted, or that the government in the future may feel, after an experimental period, that it can give it greater powers.

Until that time comes the ordinary constitutional safeguards are maintained, and that will undoubtedly give confidence to county councils who fear encroachments on their territory by the growing cities.

The town planning and housing proposals now being made public by the large cities show that if their citizens are to be properly housed with all the necessary amenities, including private gardens and public parks, there will not be room for them all within existing boundaries. English people are convinced that a separate house with a garden is essential for families with children, and show no inclination to solve the housing problem by building high apartment houses. The proposal to "overspill" the population, which will still work in the city, will give the Boundary Commissioners their greatest problems. Should the parent city be allowed to expand into the county, so as to be able to keep its "overspill" within its own boundaries and still provide for it the necessary social services, or should the "overspill" form a new borough or urban district council within the county, and pay rates to it? The government proposes to issue guidance to the commission to help it to come to decisions upon the best size of an area for satisfactory administration, but it realizes that existing areas cannot always be made to conform to new rules.

Another decision which only Parliament and not the Boundary Commission can give will be on the reduction of the status of ancient charter boroughs. Some of these, like Abingdon near Oxford, are only small towns and should probably be merged in the county, but they are very jealous of their privileges which were granted hundreds of years ago and can be deprived of them only by Parliament itself.

The Boundary Commission is to have power to set up joint boards or joint committees where it feels that a coordination of services between two counties or two county boroughs is desirable, but it is not clear whether it could recommend a more drastic solution of the problem that arises in about six or seven areas of England, namely that of the large "conurbations." Here a collection of towns, county boroughs and boroughs have grown up so close to one another that their boundaries are indistinguishable by the ordinary citizen, yet their governments are separate. Some people think that the best solution is to amalgamate them into one big county borough, which could then delegate certain functions to bodies elected for smaller parts of the area. It is not clear from the *White Paper* whether the Boundary Commission could recommend such a change if it thought it desirable, though it is to be hoped that the consideration of such a solution will be included in its "Directions."

Inquiry Into Finance

Today, about half the cost of local government services comes from local rates and half from government grants, but this average conceals wide variations throughout the country. Fears have been expressed that the new schemes for extension of the social services will prove too heavy a burden for the ratepaper, and an inquiry into the system of local finance has been asked. Though the government realizes that such an inquiry must take place after the war, they promise that, before then, adjustments will be made in the main grant for general purposes, called the block grant, which is equal to 22½ per cent of all the expenditure by local authorities, and that special financial assistance will also be given to areas which have suffered from extensive war damage.

For special reasons in each case, both London and the county of Middlesex are excluded from the powers of the Boundary Commission.

Local Government Essential

At the beginning of the *White Paper* this passage appears:

> The government are satisfied that, so far from there being any ground for fear that the work of democratic local government may diminish, the real problem for local administrators is how to strengthen its framework to bear greater responsibilities and fulfil new tasks. The solution of this problem turns largely on the capacity and public spirit of the persons who, as members and officers of local authorities, are prepared to devote their services to local government. If throughout the *Paper* emphasis is laid on the need for improving local government machinery, it should be understood that the government's primary aim is to secure an organization which by its fitness for its purpose will attract administrators of the right type, will give them proper scope for their activities, and will ensure fruitful results.

There will be general agreement that this is the big problem which has to be solved. In spite of periodical attacks on local councils and their members, there is widespread belief throughout England that a strong and healthy local government system is essential to the proper working of democracy. The way in which local government has handled many new services during the war—evacuation, billeting, civil defense, the innumerable problems arising after an air raid, management of British restaurants where the general public can supplement its rations by means of extremely good meals at low prices, wartime nurseries—has shown the value of democratically-elected institutions in close touch with the people.

The weaknesses of the system arise usually from the inequality of the financial burden when concentrated on too small a population, and the limited scope of certain services —chiefly hospitals and schools— when the area is too small, and from the fact that the smaller authorities do not always attract the right people to serve on them. The problem is how best to combine the advantages of large areas with the close personal touch that exists in small authorities.

The Boundary Commission will prove an extremely useful experiment, and will show how far the changes necessary to bring local government up to date can be made without arousing too much antagonism. If it fails, Parliament itself will have to face the problem.

Since many of the problems involved are similar to those across the Atlantic, we in England will watch American methods, and perhaps Americans may find something of interest in following ours. A fundamental belief in local government is common to both our democracies.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Federal Business Manager Idea Gains Support

President Truman Seeks More Efficient Organization

THE proposal that the federal government should include a "general business manager," reporting to the president, has recently received consideration in important quarters. Such a plan was presented some time ago to President Truman by Chairman Ramspeck of the House Civil Service Committee, who reported, "The President is seriously considering the proposal and is very interested in it. It fits in with his desire for better management policies in government."

The suggestion contemplates a special assistant to the president who would be charged with promoting economy and efficiency in the huge federal civil establishment, and who would have authority superior to that of agency heads in certain respects—as to operational methods or procedures, the handling of personnel, and duplication of effort and expense—but who would not determine policy.

President Truman's requests to Congress for greater freedom in organizational adjustment would permit such an innovation, as well as many others. In his special message of May 24, six weeks after his accession to office, he said: "No agency of the executive branch should be exempted from the scope of the legislation, and the legislation should be sufficiently broad and flexible to permit of any form of organizational adjustment, large or small, for which necessity may arise. . . . . Experience has demonstrated that if substantial progress is to be made in these regards it must be done through action initiated or taken by the President. The results achieved under the Economy Act (1932), as amended, the Reorganization Act of 1939, and Title I of the first War Powers Act, 1941, testify to the value of presidential initiative in this field."

He urged that presidential authority to make necessary adjustments in the executive organization, conferred by emergency legislation, be made permanent. Among criticisms of the emergency legislation it was pointed out that some of it required reversion of various duties to the original organization six months after the termination of hostilities—which in some cases would mean the re-establishment of agencies that it would be better not to revive.

As the Congressional session drew near to a summer recess it appeared unlikely that any action on executive reorganization would occur until after the recess.

It is expected that the Byrd economy committee, which has been conducting studies and investigations into federal practices for two years, will in the near future provide a pattern of reorganization into which such a coordinating manager could readily fit, whether or not one is actually advocated.

Demobilization, Reorganization in Federal Civil Service

The National Committee on Postwar Civil Service Problems of the National Civil Service League warns in a recent report that the public service must be reorganized and readjusted so as to cope with the demands of a modern economy, and that unnecessarily cumbersome methods and procedures in the administration of our public personnel systems should no longer be tolerated.

The report was prepared by the subcommittee on demobilization and reorganization, headed by Leonard D. White, president of the American Political Science Association. It states:

"The principal consideration governing the rate of demobilization of federal civilian personnel must be the essential needs of the departments and agencies. Employment should not be continued under pressure from employees except as sound economy and efficient service may require. The civil service should not be made a means of unemployment relief."

It is recommended that a plan be devised for making talent already in the federal government service available to agencies that can best use such talent, rather than recruit new employees from outside the service. Attention should be given, however, to the claims of returning veterans for special consideration for opportunities to compete for public positions filled on a temporary basis during the war period.

Pointing out that it has been the public policy not to include civil service employees under the Social Security Act, the report states that it would appear only fair and reasonable that public employees who are separated from the service without fault of their own should be entitled to some form of unemployment insurance payments for a reasonable period of transition.

New York Senator for Unicameral Legislature

State Senator Thomas C. Desmond, prominent Republican member of the New York legislature, announced June 13 that he will press for establishment of a unicameral legislature in his state. He claimed that a single house would be "a more efficient agency of the people's will" than the present two-chamber body, and that it would save over $2,680,000 annually.

He urged that the Joint Legislative Committee on Legislative Methods, Practices, Procedures and Expenditures[1] would only be drawing the logical conclusion from its studies if it would support a constitutional amendment for a unicameral legislature, and said: "No other reform in the direction of legislative efficiency and economy can be anything but trivial by comparison."

Virginia Holds Limited Constitutional Convention

Members of the nation's armed forces from Virginia were enabled to vote in state and local elections for the duration of the war without payment of poll taxes or registration by action of a special constitutional convention. Members of the convention were elected on April 24 convening on April 30. Many wished the convention to consider permanent repeal of the poll tax. But the ballot question for the referendum was framed in such a way that the people had to vote for a restricted convention or no convention. Numerous lawyers thought this an unconstitutional infringement upon the sovereignty of the convention, but the State Supreme Court ruled otherwise.

Georgia Voters to Pass on Constitution

The proposed new constitution for Georgia[2] will be voted on by the people of that state at the general election in August. Drafted by a special commission, it was approved by the 1945 legislature with few changes.

Constitutional Amendments Shelved in New Jersey

Thirteen proposed amendments to New Jersey's century-old constitution, which were drafted by two committees of the legislature and backed by Governor Edge, have been abandoned, at least for the present. They had been advocated in an effort to bring about some measure of state reorganization and modernization following the defeat of the complete new constitution submitted to the voters last November. Although favored by the Republican administration they were opposed by the Republican delegation in the assembly from Essex County, including Newark, which left insufficient support in the legislature.

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[1] See the REVIEW, June 1945, p. 290.

[2] See the REVIEW, February 1945, p. 80, and May 1945, p. 238.

Nebraska Adopts Merit System, School Retirement Plan

The fifth session of the unicameral legislature of Nebraska which adjourned May 9 adopted a number of measures of permanent and general interest to students of state and local government.

Agitation which has continued for several years bore fruit in the enactment of L.B.143—An Act to Create the Nebraska Merit System. The first section of this act declares its purpose to be "to aid in the efficient and economical administration of the state government through the impartial selection of qualified employees." The provisions of the act apply to the seventeen departments and agencies at present under the control of the governor, but it is expected that other agencies not specifically covered by it will avail themselves of the service provided by the act.

The act is not applicable to any agency receiving funds under laws of the United States requiring the choice of personnel by a merit system as a condition for receiving funds, "except that the Nebraska Merit System Council shall administer any merit system established by such an agency." Present employees in the agencies affected may be covered into the system if they receive a passing score in an examination administered by the director. Veterans are given a preference of five points, or ten if disabled.

The act is to be administered by a Merit System Council of three members named for three-year terms by the governor with the consent of the legislature. Council members are forbidden to be officeholders or candidates or party officials or employees during their term of office. They are paid ten dollars per day and expenses while actually employed.

The detailed administration of the act is in the hands of a director named by the council after an open competitive examination. The act provides for the classification of employees in the state service and the adoption of a schedule of salaries and wages to be approved by the state tax commissioner (who is the state budget officer) after a public hearing.

For many years the school employees of the state have agitated for a retirement system only to find the legislature hostile. The 1945 session, however, adopted a comprehensive act applicable to all school employees of the state. Under the act retirement is compulsory after 35 years of service or at the age of 65 years provided, in the latter case, that employment may be continued year by year beyond the retirement age if desired by the employer. Five per cent of all salaries not in excess of $2,400 are to be paid into the retirement fund. Retirement allowances are to be paid out of the savings annuity which is the actuarial equivalent of the member's accumulated contributions, and from the state treasury in the form of a service annuity calculated at one dollar per month for each year of the employee's service; the total annual payment from the state treasury shall not exceed $360. The retirement fund is to be administered by the *ex officio* Board of Educational Lands and Funds, consisting of the governor, the superintendent of public instruction, the state treasurer, the secretary of state and the attorney-general. The new act goes into effect July 1 and payments are scheduled to begin September 1.

Another act of more than ordinary interest was that repealing the municipal budget act passed at the 1943 session. This act, while embodying sound principles of local housekeeping, was opposed by the League of Nebraska Municipalities on the ground that compliance with its provisions worked a hardship on many smaller communities whose resources in personnel and money are inadequate. The legislature, however, accompanied the repeal by a resolution directing the legislative council to study the question and bring in a proposal calculated to meet these objections. It is altogether likely that the legislature will pass an acceptable act at the next session.

Other acts of the legislature of interest to local governments are a comprehensive law with respect to local airports, an act authorizing counties to levy a tax to be spent in cooperation with the United States in the building and improvement of principal and secondary feeder roads including rural mail delivery and public school bus routes, a comprehensive county salary law increasing salaries on the average about 10 per cent, an act increasing the maximum monthly amount of blind relief from $30 to $40 and an act providing for an annual instead of a biennial audit of all county offices and appropriating funds to give the state auditor four additional auditors.

LANE W. LANCASTER
University of Nebraska

Racial, Religious Discrimination Outlawed in Three States

Legislatures of New York, New Jersey and Indiana have passed laws designed to prevent discrimination in employment because of race, color, creed or national origin, and certain other states have adopted less specific legislation aimed at such discrimination, according to the Council of State Governments.

New York led the country in establishing the first State Fair Employment Practices Commission under the terms of the Ives-Quinn bill which became law early in March. The five commissioners were recently appointed by Governor Dewey. The law is designed to prevent an employer from refusing to hire, or to discharge, or to discriminate against any individual with regard to terms of employment or compensation because of race, creed, color or national origin, and also prohibits exclusion, expulsion or discrimination by a labor organization against any individual for these reasons. Complaints of violation will be received and investigated by the commission which may issue cease and desist orders that are subject to court review.

The New Jersey bill passed in April is similar in most respects to the New York bill. It provides for the enforcement of the Act's provisions by a newly formed Division Against Discrimination which can be backed up by the courts if necessary. New Jersey also passed six laws banning racial and religious discrimination in schools, municipal hospitals, hotels and places of entertainment.

The Indiana law declares the right of opportunity to obtain employment without discrimination because of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry. It authorizes the commissioner of labor to make studies of discrimination and to recommend to the general assembly plans and legislation for its elimination.

In Utah a three-man committee will investigate all forms of discrimination because of race, color or creed in the state; it will study the need for anti-discriminatory legislation and the form which such legislation should take.

Other anti-discrimination bills have been passed by legislatures during the current sessions. An Iowa bill extends the law prohibiting discrimination against men in military uniform to women in military uniform. A Maryland bill equalizes salaries of Negro school supervisors.

Kansas Legislative Council Shows Good Results

Out of 47 recommendations made to the 1945 legislature by the Kansas legislative council 72 per cent were followed by the lawmakers, according to a report of a council committee. Eighteen, or 75 per cent, of 24 bills finally submitted by the council became law, and four others were passed by one house.

The council is a permanent joint committee of the legislature, giving advance consideration to problems likely to confront the coming legislature; it formulates a program for the ensuing session. A committee of two senators and three representatives from the council was responsible this year for the presentation of council recommendations to the proper committee of the legislature.

State Direct Legislation Holds to Average

The Bureau of the Census reports that 34 states submitted 152 legislative propositions to their voters in 1944, which compares with an average of 155 proposals in 34 states in the last three even-numbered years (when more state elections occur) and 61 proposals in eight states in the last three odd-numbered years. Constitutional proposals included in the 152 numbered 130, of which 99 were approved. Of the 22 statutory proposals only ten became law.

Council-Manager Plan News

A state law, authorizing the council-manager plan for **Key West** in place of the present form of government, has been passed by the Florida legislature.

Inasmuch as the legislative representatives from **Tampa, Florida,** and vicinity (Hillsborough County) did not back the proposed city manager bill for that city, the Tampa Better Government Committee has postponed its efforts for the manager plan this year and is concentrating on obtaining a popular referendum on changing the organization of the council from a membership of twelve elected from districts to seven elected at large but required to be residents for two years in given districts which they would be expected to represent.

A council-manager charter for **Sarasota, Florida,** patterned after the model charter of the National Municipal League and that of Tallahassee, has been introduced in the Florida House of Representatives. If carried in the legislature the charter will be submitted to local vote in November. The Sarasota Chamber of Commerce has been active in promoting the manager plan.

Citizens of **Smyrna, Delaware,** at a referendum election on May 22 voted 181 to 9 to empower the town council to employ a manager, thus following the lead of Dover, Milford and Rehoboth. The manager will act as clerk of the council and will have charge of streets and sewers, electric and water plant and the general business of the town, including collection of taxes (the office of tax collector will be abolished). All employees under his supervision are to be appointed by the mayor and council, however; hence he will evidently not be full-fledged manager in the usually accepted sense.

An organization under the imposing name of the People's League for Government Reform is working for a return to the mayor-aldermen form of government in **Schenectady, New York,** which has had the manager plan since 1936. Petitions are being circulated to restore Plan G, with fourteen aldermen elected from wards, and the mayor, comptroller, treasurer and two assessors to be elected at large. Meanwhile a charter revision committee has been preparing charter changes including election of the mayor and three councilmen at large, and of five other councilmen from districts; but no change as to basic manager plan is proposed. It is expected that the revised charter will be ready for submission to the voters by fall at the latest.

Rochester, Michigan, voting on June 11, defeated a proposed council-manager charter by the narrow margin of six votes out of a total of 271.

The Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce of **Red Oak, Iowa,** has recommended to the City Council that it employ a city manager. The *Red Oak Express* endorses the recommendation.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Poplar Bluff, Missouri,** is studying council-manager government for that city.

The Citizens' Good Government Association of **St. Joseph, Missouri,** is initiating a campaign for a charter for Buchanan County, as permitted by the new state constitution, and is particularly interested in the county manager plan.

Petitions calling for an election on the adoption of the manager plan for **Cheyenne, Wyoming,** circulated by the Junior Chamber of Commerce and other civic organizations, have been filed. They are reported to contain signatures of 1,770 voters, as against a minimum requirement of 1,288. The county attorney attacked the legality of the petitions, but they were sustained as legal in a mandamus suit. The constitutionality of the city manager statute has been called in question, however, and is now before the State Supreme Court.

The City Council of **McAllen, Texas,** on May 16 adopted an ordinance providing for appointment of a city manager, who will act also as budget officer and purchasing agent. Bill N. Taylor, formerly manager of Port Arthur, Texas, has been appointed to the position.

Interest in the manager plan is being demonstrated in **Farmington, Michigan**; **Milledgeville, Georgia**; **Hattiesburg, Mississippi**; **Greeley, Colorado**; **Tillamook, Oregon**; and **Tucumcari, New Mexico.**

Many council-manager cities made outstanding showings in the National Traffic Safety Contest, although none won first place in their population groups. Manager cities receiving awards or honorable mention in various groups were: 250,000 to 500,000, Rochester, New York, and Cincinnati, Ohio; 100,000 to 250,000, Sacramento, California, Yonkers, New York, Wichita, Kansas, Flint and Grand Rapids, Michigan; 50,000 to 100,000, Pasadena, California, New Rochelle, New York, and Cleveland Heights, Ohio; 25,000 to 50,000, Hackensack, New Jersey, and Wichita Falls, Texas; 10,000 to 25,000, Albert Lea, Minnesota, Two Rivers, Wisconsin, McAlester, Oklahoma, Kingsport, Tennessee, Ames, Iowa, Sherman, Texas, Alpena and Birmingham, Michigan, and Reidsville, North Carolina.

In the National Fire Waste Contest, Wichita, Kansas, a manager city, was winner of the grand prize and also of first place in its population group (100,000—250,000). Other manager cities gaining notice were: 250,000 to 500,000, Cincinnati, Ohio, Rochester, New York, Houston, Texas, and Toledo, Ohio; 100,000 to 250,000, Sacramento, California, and Schenectady, New York; 50,000 to 100,000, Hamilton, Ohio, and Clifton, New Jersey; 20,000 to 50,000, Fort Lauderdale, Florida, Watertown, New York, Charlottesville, Virginia, Newburgh, New York, and Bluefield, West Virginia; under 20,000, Fort Collins, Colorado, Newton, Kansas, and Waynesboro, Virginia.

Chicago Adopts Publicly Owned Transit Plan

The state enabling act to create a municipal corporation for public ownership of local transportation in Chicago and vicinity was approved at the polls on June 4 by a majority of approximately eight to one. The total vote in Chicago was 20 per cent or less of the city's registration. The referendum was taken at the regular election for judges, usually involving few if any contests. The voters also approved a city council ordinance setting up a Metropolitan Transit Authority.

Public Administration Fellowships Announced

The National Training School for Public Service, Inc., of Detroit, Michigan, announces ten or more $1,200 fellowships and a number of tuition scholarships, for the twelve months September 1945—August 1946, to graduate students, men and women, of demonstrated ability and interest in public service; applications close September 1.

The University of Denver announces the eighth annual granting of ten graduate fellowships in government management of $1,200 each for the year beginning September 1945. They must be applied for by September 15.

Researcher's Digest

GRA to Open National Office

Board of Trustees Appoints Secretary

THE president and Board of Trustees of the **Governmental Research Association** have announced the establishment of a permanent secretariat and the opening of a national office at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City. G. Gordon Tegnell was appointed secretary, and Dr. John F. Sly, consultant.

Established in 1914, the Governmental Research Association is the national organization of individuals professionally engaged in governmental research. Included on its roster are several hundred persons representing more than one hundred privately supported research bureaus and civic agencies, located in 31 states, dedicated to the improvement of government and the reduction of its cost through citizen participation in government and cooperation with officials.

The new permanent office with full-time personnel represents an important step toward a broader and more effective service to the GRA membership. The objectives of the organization are:

> To further the establishment of local governmental research, taxpayer and civic agencies, which, by the collection, analysis and distribution of facts to citizens and officials aid in the improvement of government and the reduction of its cost;
>
> To aid and coordinate the activities of such citizen agencies in the furtherance of their objectives, particularly on the local level, but as applied to state and national governments in so far as those may affect local government;
>
> To encourage the development and use of effective organization and

> methods for the administration and operation of government and of common standards for the appraisal of results;
>
> To facilitate the exchange of ideas and experiences and to serve as a clearing house for members with respect to available results of research in government.

To further these objectives, the secretariat will develop a series of publications for the information and guidance of GRA members. It will provide a service center for counsel in the planning and development of projects in governmental research, foster the establishment of additional agencies, maintain field contacts with the membership, develop close association with schools of government and public administration, and encourage training and scholarship in the field of American local government.

Mr. Tegnell, who resides in Short Hills, New Jersey, is a graduate of Wesleyan University and has studied at New York University and Princeton. He was formerly assistant research director of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce and is author of several studies on New Jersey governments. He is a veteran of this war, having served as an officer in the Navy for more than two years.

Dr. Sly is well known in education and government circles. Secretary of the Princeton Surveys, he has been intimately associated with governmental research for twenty years. He has written extensively on state and local governments. Dr. Sly will act as consultant to the Governmental Research Association, particularly with respect to the program and operations of the secretariat.

The president of the association is Leslie M. Gravlin, director of the Governmental Research Institute, Inc., Hartford, Connecticut. Other officers and trustees are: Loren B. Miller, director, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research; Alvin A. Burger, research director, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce; A. E. Buck, Institute of Public Administration, New York City; Carl P. Herbert, director, St. Paul Bureau of Municipal Research. Lennox L. Moak, executive director, Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans; and Douglas Sutherland, executive secretary, Chicago Civic Federation.

How Can We Improve Legislative Committees?

The third in a series of studies dealing with *The Legislative Process in Alabama* has been issued by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama.** *Standing Committees,* as well as the two earlier publications[1], has been prepared by Hallie Farmer, professor of government and history at the Alabama State College for Women. Professor Hallie calls committees "legislative devices of ancient lineage," and points out that they were used in the British Parliament as early as 1340.

Major shortcomings of the system are these: There are too many committees, they frequently are too large, work is not properly distributed among them, rules of both houses could be revised to provide more effectively for their work, committees must have a more effective means of acquiring knowledge of bills upon which they act.

Numerous suggestions are made for improvement in the committee system; for instance, it is suggested that greater efficiency and a saving of time would result from the creation of joint standing committees; the number of committees in each house could be reduced by abolishing those which have out-lived their usefulness and by consolidating those to which few bills have been referred over a period of years. The most effective way to reduce the number of committees, suggests the author, would be to set up one committee for each of the major executive departments.

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[1] *Legislative Apportionment* and *Local and Private Legislation.*

As to the size of standing committees, Alabama law, in 1932, fixed fifteen as the maximum but in reality the maximum has become the minimum, only five committees containing fewer than fifteen. It is suggested that the maximum size for each committee be provided in the rules of each house and that the rules committees be authorized to set a smaller number whereever feasible.

The tendency seems to be to refer bills to a few important committees to the neglect of others. Suggested solutions include: specify more definitely in the rules the presiding officer's power to refer bills, limit the jurisdiction of such committees as appropriations and judiciary, and elaborate and simplify the procedure whereby private members may appeal from the presiding officer's action in referring bills. Another suggested solution is the sending of all bills on first reading to a committee which would examine the bills and refer them to the proper committees.

The need for knowledge appears most clearly in the committee room, committees turning constantly to the executive departments for information. The legislature needs specialists of its own, suggests Professor Hallie.

Appendices tabulate the size of standing committees for both houses, total committee positions and average number of positions per member, assignments by districts, counties, etc., for the years 1903 to 1943.

What Type City Jail for Baltimore?

"The problem of a new city jail" is bothering the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.** Baltimore voters will be asked (November 1946) to approve a bond issue of $2,500,000 for a new jail. But, the commission points out, the first job is to determine just what function a city jail should perform.

At present the Baltimore city jail is a "catch-all and do-all." It is "worn out, inadequate, inefficient and a social and financial liability." According to the grand jury and other investigatory groups, the jail is used as a temporary detention place, a prison, workhouse, hospital and asylum. It is difficult to segregate inmates according to offense, age, condition. Juveniles and first offenders mingle with old and confirmed lawbreakers, minor offenders with more serious offenders, more or less feebleminded with the intelligent, the ablebodied with the infirm.

A study made by the commission emphasizes the need for a comprehensive survey by competent authorities of the entire correctional system. "Not until full consideration has determined exactly what function the institution is to perform and just what physical facilities that function requires, should any definite step be taken towards providing a building or buildings."

Appointment vs. Election

"Is this election necessary?" inquires the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** speaking of the city's June 19 primary. Nominations were made for two judges of the State Superior Court (statewide) and for two Orphans' Court judges, one Municipal Court judge, thirteen magistrates, city treasurer, city controller, register of wills, coroner, constables in a number ofwards and election officers in all election districts. "It is doubtful," says the bureau, "whether there is a single one of these offices that could not be filled without the trouble and expense of popular election, and with at least equal chance of obtaining satisfactory service."

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Help for the Legislator

At the request of California legislators the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California** (Berkeley) has issued four studies dealing with current state problems: *State Organization for Fair Employment Practices,* by John F. Duffy, Jr.; *Problems of the Veteran,* by John F. Duffy, Jr., and Robert W. Binkley, Jr.; *Financial Aspects of Health Insurance,* by Samuel C. May; and *The Role of the States in Postwar Aviation,* by Patricia L. Waterman. According to the bureau, all are "based upon extensive materials which could form the basis of a more detailed report if specifically requested." In keeping with its usual policy of acting as a fact-finding agency, the bureau makes no recommendations.

* * *

Pensions

Pensions for Policemen and Firemen is the title of a study issued by the **Research Department of the Illinois Legislative Council.** It includes a comparative digest of Illinois laws now in force for policemen and firemen, funds in operation, a summary of data on Illinois systems, basic factors in retirement planning and a discussion of the retirement provisions of other states. In keeping with the council's practice no recommendations are made. The study suggests "Alternative Lines of Improvement," however, based on developments in other states.

The **Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee** has issued a bulletin on "How Other Cities Established a Single Pension System for Firemen, Policemen, and General City Employees." A committee appointed by the Common Council to study the pension situation has recommended that fire and police pension systems be liquidated and the policemen and firemen taken into the city employees' retirement system. It is pointed out that Baltimore, Boston, Cincinnati and San Francisco have already done this and that other cities are in the process of doing so.

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Assessment

A copy of the report of the **Oklahoma County Citizens Re-Assessment Committee** has been sent by the **Research Institute of Oklahoma City** to all its members. The institute's board has expressed full agreement with the committee's recommendations.

These cover two major points: (1) That an over-all equalization of property values for tax purposes be accomplished in Oklahoma City as soon as possible; (2) that this equalization be made under the supervision of the assessor and a committee of local citizens employing professional assistance only in setting up the plan and the mechanics of the operation — using local appraisers, field men and clerical help to carry on all but the most technical phases of the job. The committee suggests that the project will cost between $125,000 and $150,000. The report lists some 46 citizen groups, business organizations and city officials throughout the country who have rendered assistance to the committee.

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State-City

The **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research** is publishing a series of articles on "The State Constitution and the City of Rochester" in its bulletin, *Municipal Research.* Pertinent sections of the constitution are quoted with such comment as seems desirable.

Fiscal Year

The **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute** suggests that it is time to change the city's fiscal year. It points out that the present fiscal year, beginning on the second Tuesday in April, is of "irregular length as between years which causes serious difficulties in budget preparation and administration." It suggests that a fiscal year running from July 1 to June 30 would coincide with that of the state government under the new constitution and also with that of St. Louis schools.

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Population

Population figures for Detroit have been estimated by a local Population Committee at 1,700,000 as of July 1, 1944, according to a research bulletin of the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.** Total population for the Detroit area, including Wayne, Oakland, Macomb and Washtenaw Counties, is given as 2,738,200. These figures show an increase of nearly 12 per cent over the 1940 census. The Population Committee's figures for Detroit are also slightly higher than those announced by the Census Bureau in June 1944, when a "sample" census was made. The committee was composed of the following persons: Lent D. Upson, National Training School for Public Service; Stuart Walker, Detroit City Plan Commission; John Stewart, Detroit Board of Commerce; G. Arthur Blakeslee, Detroit Health Department; Leon S. Church, Detroit Edison Company; Rosina Mohaupt, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.

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Taxes

Two more studies have been issued by committees of the **Municipal League of Seattle for Governmental Research**—*The City Business and Occupation License Tax* and *Situation in King County Treasurer's Office Relating to Payments and Posting of 1945 Property Tax.* The first includes the distribution of taxpayers, tax yield, annual cost of collection, number of employees, purpose of tax, who pays tax, etc.

The second study summarizes conditions in the King County Treasurer's Office as found by the league's special committee of realtors, title insurance, mortgage, savings and loan concerns, and banks. The committee sent questionnaires to 41 firms handling over 15,000 tax bills involving a million and a half in general property taxes. It discovered that many taxpayers failed to receive tax statements because of incorrect addresses, others found errors in property descriptions or in assessments or taxes due. Many taxpayers discovered that their 1944 and 1945 payments have not yet been posted on any official record.

A basic difficulty, it is stated, is "lack of competent supervision over the operations of mechanical equipment." The committee comes to the conclusion that one man cannot do the job properly. The successful operation of the mechanical equipment requires the undivided attention of a supervisory officer who is not only familiar with the operation of business machines but who also has a clear idea of what they can do and how they can do it. Without reflecting on the capabilities or energy of the present treasurer, who has tried to make the system work effectively, the committee believes that a competent superintendent should be employed, and recommends that the State Tax Commission issue such an order to the King County treasurer. Included in the report is a summary of replies to the questionnaire.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Citizenship Day in Transition?

Few Communities Retain Manitowoc Plan Ideals

CITIZENSHIP Day, as it was once-upon-a-time designated, originated in Manitowoc County, Wisconsin.[1] The day's ceremonies were the climax of weeks of preparation on the part of 21-year-olds for their responsibilities as good citizens. The Wisconsin legislature later endorsed the idea and, in 1940, 38 counties in the state used the plan. The same year Congress passed its resolution calling on the President to proclaim the third Sunday of May as "I am an American Day."

What is "I am an American Day"? According to the *San Francisco Examiner* of May 21, "'I am an American Day,' originally sponsored by *The Examiner* and other Hearst papers, now is an event of deep national significance by proclamation of the President of the United States. It [the celebration on May 20 in San Francisco] was a spectacle of lavish entertainment... Dramatic highlight followed dramatic highlight to send the packed thousands into gales of thunderous laughter and applause. World, state and civic leaders shared—in the American way—the spotlight with some of radio and Hollywood's brightest stars."[2]

On this citizenship day Jack Benny, Rochester, Rita Hayworth in San Francisco; Humphrey Bogart, Lauren "The Look" Bacall, and Sophie Tucker in Chicago; Claude Rains in Springfield, Massachusetts; Gene Krupa in Baltimore—all gave freely of their talents.

Of course, all was not "lavish entertainment." Throughout the country the salute to the flag was given, patriotic songs were sung. Present were veterans, especially wounded veterans, and in Chicago and elsewhere wives and mothers of those who had given their lives in the country's service were honored. In California Governor Warren lauded the ideals of true Americanism; former Governor Herbert H. Lehman, director general of UNRRA, made a plea before New Yorkers for America to feed Europe.

Other ways of featuring the day were observed. In Cleveland the Women's City Club and WAC Mother Association sponsored a program featuring "The Future of Our Returning Service Women" and a seventh war loan rally. As a prelude to its giant "I am an American Day" tribute to new citizens, Baltimore staged a street dance for service men and women the night before. Trenton's program featured a children's pageant.

Parades marked the day in Baltimore, Lexington (Kentucky) and elsewhere. Chicago, in addition to its Hollywood stars, featured a "spectacular pageant of nations participated in by thirty nationality and racial groups attired in native costume, led by 200 Indian braves and members of veterans' organizations." In Detroit the chief assembly was at night in the main auditorium of the Detroit Institute of Art. Other functions and ceremonies were numerous, however, in suburbs and in the city's principal park, Belle Isle, where the *Detroit Times* carried out its own program.

In most communities some small part

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[1] See "Citizenship Day in Manitowoc," by S. V. Norton, the REVIEW, July 1939; also "For the Record" (editorial), the REVIEW, June 1944.

[2] No other daily papers in San Francisco reported the celebration.

was played by newly naturalized citizens who were invited to attend and join in the festivities. In Hartford, Connecticut, a hundred newly naturalized citizens were awarded their papers.

Lost in the shuffle—or perhaps in the armed forces—were some two million 21-year-olds—those boys and girls who had attained their majority during the previous year. Only in scattered instances were these young people given specific recognition.

The celebration in Atlanta—in Georgia the voting age has been lowered to eighteen years—emphasized this angle of the day. Ralph McGill, editor of *The Constitution,* admonished the eighteen-year-olds to "vote and study while you're voting and encourage others to go to the ballot box. Become a participating American citizen," he charged them, "and I am convinced that you eighteen-year-olders will improve the ballot."

In Rochester a young man—a returned veteran of the Marshall Islands—and a young woman, recently marking their 21st birthdays, were presented to the assembly. An address in Lexington admonished the young people of the community as well as newly naturalized citizens on their duties as Americans. Dr. Jay J. Sherman, professor of government at Wayne University, Detroit, addressed a gathering in that city on "Registration for Voting—The First Step in Effective Citizenship." Native-born citizens reaching voting age were represented on the program in Cincinnati by speakers chosen from the university.

Sergeant Edgar A. Moore, of Caldwell, Texas, speaking in Seattle, declared: "Speaking for my fellow leathernecks, we are willing to accept the full responsibility of citizenship. We are willing to give our lives for our country as we have seen our buddies do."

Colby Junior College at New London, New Hampshire, observed the day with a chapel service at which those students (girls) who had reached their 21st milestone, or will have reached it by the next election, were awarded diplomas which welcomed them into the "privileges and responsibilities" of citizenship.

But what about the Manitowoc Plan? The report below comes from Dr. R. J. Colbert, one of the originators of Citizenship Day in Manitowoc County, Wisconsin.

Manitowoc Celebration

"Perhaps in half the Wisconsin counties, including Manitowoc County where Citizenship Day had its origin, an attempt was made not only to stage an induction ceremony but to precede it with a program of forums and local discussions dealing with the problems and issues which new voters are expected to help think through.

"It was this educational aspect that was most emphasized in the founding of Citizenship Day. It is recognized that the 21st birthdays of our sons and daughters have more than a personal meaning—they have a significant meaning to our community, state and nation.

"A new voter is entitled, we believe, to a free and frank review of at least two fields of thought.

> 1. Where and how far have the older voters brought government to date—what are we getting for our tax dollar?
> 2. What issues and problems am I now as a new voter expected to help think through—beginning with the problems and issues confronting my local government.

"It is quite clear that such a program of adult education, sponsored annually by each succeeding crop of new voters, would do much to deepen and vitalize the citizens' interest in democratic government and in laying more firmly the foundation of a truly progressive and healthy administration of public affairs.

"The demands of war have absorbed the interests of our local leaders and Citizenship Day did not receive, generally speaking, the thoughtful attention that the times warrant. As the requirements of war relax, however, as servicemen begin to return to civilian life, and as we as citizens are forced to center our attentions on the tremendous job of transition from war economy to peace, this program of forums, round tables and free and frank discussions preceding Citizenship Day will not only make this annual celebration one of the outstanding events of the year in American life but will, we believe, go far toward the building of a more alert citizenry and understanding of citizens' responsibilities. No task in postwar education offers more of a challenge to our schoolmen and civic leaders throughout the nation."

EDITOR'S NOTE—The REVIEW would like to hear from readers who know of instances in which the original ideals of the observance of Citizenship Day were retained and not submerged in super promotion.

Here and There

Annual Meetings

Charter revision was the theme of the 35th annual dinner meeting of the **Seattle Municipal League** held on June 7. Members of the Freeholders' Charter Committee conducted a panel discussion on what they are planning to suggest for the city's government.

The **Minneapolis Taxpayers Association** was addressed by Lawrence M. Hall, four times speaker of the Minnesota House of Representatives, at its annual meeting. Mr. Hall discussed the results of the 1945 legislative session.

The **Detroit Citizens League** held its annual dinner meeting, commemorating 33 years of service to the community, on May 21. The three speakers included Louis H. Schimmel, director of the Municipal Advisory Council of Michigan and chairman of the special commission named by Governor Kelly to investigate and report on the problems of taxation, who spoke on the "Urban-Rural Issue in Michigan"; Edward Connor, executive director of the Citizens Housing and Planning Council, whose subject was "Housing All Our Citizens"; and Dr. Benjamin Jay Bush, whose topic was "Can We Live Together?"

The **New York City League of Women Voters** featured transit problems at its annual meeting. A panel discussion entitled "A Recurring Problem—the 5c Fare" was participated in by Dr. Paul Studenski of New York University; Paul Windels, president of the City Transit Committee and former New York City corporation counsel; C. D. Williams, assistant counsel to the New York City Board of Estimate at the time of unification of subways; Morton Baum, former assistant corporation counsel and tax consultant; and Dr. John Bauer, director of the American Public Utilities Bureau. A distinctive feature of the convention was the kit given to each delegate as she registered for the all-day meeting. On one side of the envelope the program for the day was mimeographed; on the other were listed the names of members of committees responsible for the meeting—convention, board of elections, credentials and registration, nominating, general information, membership, publications, and pages and ushers. Inside the delegates found a chart giving data on New York City's transit system as an aid to following the panel discussion, the budget to be adopted, the League's proposed program, committee reports, and rules governing the convention. Included also was a pad of blank paper for note-making.

Publication on Leadership

The **National Bureau of Civic Research** at Los Angeles has published its 34-page *Civic Conference Leadership: Institutes for Training Leaders,* by Russell H. Ewing. Included is an "Annotated and Classified Bibliography of 316 Books, Pamphlets and Magazine Articles on Leaders and Leadership."

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Chicago's Pocketbook

Looking into Chicago's Pocketbook, issued by the **Chicago Civic Federation,** was prepared to supplement an address by James A. Cunningham, president of the federation, before the **Commercial Club of Chicago.** On the front cover a large wallet is being investigated by four little men of pictorial statistic design. Inside pie and bar charts show financial data on Chicago, Cook County, the Board of Education, and Chicago's numerous taxing districts.

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Candidates Questioned

The fourteen mayoralty candidates running in the Minneapolis spring primary were questioned by the **League of Women Voters** as to their ideas on the adequacy of the city's present charter. All agreed that changes are needed but varied greatly as to how many and how such changes might be achieved. The questionnaire also covered city-county consolidation, public housing, home rule, regional planning, law enforcement, postwar plans and finance. Questions and replies were published by the *Minneapolis Tribune.*

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Strictly Personal

Loyola College, Baltimore, has conferred an LL.D. degree on **William J. Casey,** one of the founders and the guiding spirit and perennial chairman of the Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, in recognition of his work in advancing the efficiency of public administration through effective citizen participation.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Pennsylvania Commission Urges Restudy of Tax, Fiscal Systems

Massachusetts and Maine Review Property Taxes

LATE spring saw reports filed by special commissions established in three states to study state-local fiscal systems and property taxes. In Pennsylvania the broader aspects of local government finances were under scrutiny; in Massachusetts and Maine study was restricted to the property tax.

The investigating agency in Pennsylvania was the Postwar Planning Commission, created by the legislature in the spring of 1943. Its report was undertaken "to review the general condition of public finance in the 5,241 political subdivisions of the commonwealth, to determine the main problems that now call for attention, and to suggest possibilities for their solution." The Commission did not undertake to recommend specific legislation but did make a number of suggestions for further inquiry.

Among other things, it urged that the liquid fuel tax, now going mostly to the state but shared in small part by the counties and second-class townships, be distributed so that the cities, boroughs and townships also get a share. State aid for schools, the subject of a special commission's inquiry, was also listed for re-examination, and it was suggested that a special commission be set up to study the special problems of metropolitan areas.

Continuing study of local governmental problems and finances through expansion of the existing Bureau of

Municipal Affairs in the Department of Internal Affairs was also urged, and the commission requested that the legislature specifically ask the Local Government Commission to study and report to the 1947 legislature on government-owned tax-exempt property, on possible improvements in the present tax collection system—especially in boroughs and townships, on modernization of local government auditing systems, on mandatory local government expenditures, and on the allocation of functions between the state and its subdivisions in order to determine changes yielding greater efficiency and economy.

In Maine, the fifth and final report on property taxes in the state was released by the state tax assessor and handed to the legislature. The conclusions of this study in general recommend procedural changes in property taxation, but hold that "the burden of real estate taxation in the state of Maine does not appear to be disproportionate to income," with the exception of taxes on forest land in municipalities. The report also recommends against immediate elimination of the state levy on property. Additional training of officials, education, and funds for financing assessment procedures are recommended to eliminate existing inequalities in assessments. The present tax on intangibles is described as "unworkable and unsatisfactory" and consideration is urged to lowering the basis of assessment or taxing intangibles at a lower rate assessed against the income.

The Massachusetts report, made by the Special Recess Commission on Real Estate Taxation, reached three conclusions: that real estate in Massachusetts is "grossly, even dangerously" overtaxed, that the cost of government in Massachusetts must be sharply cut, and that legislation should be devised to insure by statute that the cost of government does not rise above present levels. Recommended were a limitation on local expenditures to the average of the five preceding years, except for exceptions for emergency purposes; assumption by the state of 75 per cent of the cost of all relief, exclusive of amounts received from the federal government; a 2 per cent sales tax to finance welfare costs; elimination of the tax on personal property (with adjustment to the realty tax to make it include some fixed utility property now classed as personal); and abandonment by the state of the property tax as a budget-balancing revenue.

Philip H. Cornick, of the Institute of Public Administration, was director of research for the commission.

Chicago Approves Postwar Projects

Chicagoans, notoriously sensitive in matters affecting their pocketbooks, went to the polls on June 4 and joined the procession of cities preparing for large postwar improvements by approving seven bond issues totaling $50,000,000. They also voted yes on a proposal to create a transit authority for the purpose of acquiring ownership and operation on a self-sustaining basis of the privately-owned surface and elevated transit systems.[1]

Six of the bond issues approved will be obligations of the city government, and they total $26,000,000. Of this $5,000,000 is for "slum clearance," and will go—together with an approximately equal amount expected to be received from a pending state appropriation of $10,000,000—for acquisition of property needed for rehabilitation or redevelopment of blighted or slum areas. Airport bonds total $15,000,000, to be used for large-scale development of the municipal airport. Finally, $2,000,000 each was voted for playgrounds and for fire and police department buildings, $1,500,000 for waste disposal equipment, and $500,000 for a city garage and repair shops.

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[1] See page 343, this issue.

At the same time that the city issues were submitted, the Chicago Park District—which is co-extensive with the city—asked for and secured approval of $24,000,000 of park improvement bonds. To be issued at the rate of $6,000,000 annually, in the period 1946-49, the authorization is part of a $60,000,000 park development program additional portions of which will be submitted to the voters later.

The Park District and the Chicago Sanitary District (which embraces the city and much of the surrounding areas in Cook County) have been frequent borrowers for capital purposes in recent years, but the city itself has incurred little new debt for capital purposes in the last decade and a half. Outside observers, recalling the long period of "tax strikes" in Chicago during the early 1930's and the disgraceful handling of payment of teachers' salaries at the depth of the depression, expected at least some of the proposed bonds to be defeated, but all appear to have passed with comfortable margins.

What obligation will be incurred by the newly authorized transit authority in securing the privately-owned properties is not yet determined, although figures as high as $80,000,000 have been mentioned. The bonds of the authority will be of the revenue type, not eligible for property tax support but payable solely from operating revenues.

Seattle Citizens Survey Budget Laws

In Seattle, where a freeholders commission is drafting a new city charter for submission to the electorate, the Seattle Municipal League has surveyed[1] practices of sixteen cities in Seattle's population group (250,000 to 500,000), with some interesting results as to the safeguards provided to help insure balanced budgets.

In many cities revenue failures are insured against by provision for an overlay or allowance for uncollected taxes or other revenues. The most common allowance is for uncollected property taxes. The city of Newark makes an appropriation in its budget of 10 per cent of the tax levy to absorb possible shortages in tax collections. In Houston the city comptroller usually deducts 10 per cent from the original tax levy as an allowance for tax delinquencies. Kentucky statutes require that the Louisville Board of Aldermen appropriate for the annual budget not over 95 per cent of the tax levy.

The Minneapolis budget revenue estimate is figured on 96 or 97 per cent of the tax levy. Denver budgets only 90 per cent of its estimated tax levies. Other cities make similar provisions in their budgets for tax delinquencies. Seattle anticipates in its annual budget a 100 per cent property tax collection.

In Atlanta a provision in the charter prohibits a revenue estimate for the next year's budget of more than 99 per cent of the previous year's actual collections.

Another budgetary device is the law or custom which exists in most cities prohibiting the making of emergency appropriations during the year in excess of the current year's revenue. Louisville, Dallas, Memphis, Atlanta and Minneapolis cannot make any such emergency appropriations during the year until the original budgeted estimate of revenues has been received in full.

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[1] See also June REVIEW, p. 300.

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Governor Dewey Vetoes Curb on P. R.

Bill Would Have Blocked P.R.-Manager Combinations

GOVERNOR Thomas E. Dewey has vetoed a bill passed by the New York legislature which would have prohibited the submission of a P. R. city charter amendment by petition except as a separate question uncombined with any other proposal. At the present time there is such a limitation on submissions of charter commissions, growing out of the separate submission of P. R. when it was adopted in New York City, but no such restriction on charter proposals submitted by the local legislative body or by petition.

The two times that the right to amend a city charter by petition and popular vote has so far been used successfully in New York State are the adoptions of the city manager form of government in combination with P. R. in Yonkers in 1939 and in Long Beach in 1943. The vetoed bill would have prevented such combined adoptions in the future and forced the submission of the manager plan and P. R. as separate questions.

The bill was actively promoted by the Mayor of Long Beach, who had led two unsuccessful attempts to avert the P. R.-manager government which goes into effect this fall in his city, presumably on the theory that P. R. would be easier to defeat if submitted by itself. The Long Beach experience, however, illustrates why it should remain possible to combine P. R. with other matters in a single question. The Long Beach Citizens Union, which led the successful campaign for adoption of the new plan and the successful defense of it a year later, did not want the city manager plan unless it could get a representative council to choose and control the manager. Separate submissions would have made it impossible to vote for the manager plan without the danger that it would be adopted without P. R. and strengthen the hold of the political machine which has regularly monopolized the council under plurality elections and partisan primaries.

The bill to extend the charter commission restriction to amendments initiated by petition was backed by the Conference of Mayors and introduced by Assemblyman Frank J. Costello of Syracuse, chairman of the Assembly Committee on Cities. By a strange coincidence it immediately followed in its introductory number a bill introduced the same day, on behalf of the New York and Long Beach Citizens Unions, by Assemblyman Joseph F. Carlino of Long Beach, which would have removed the restriction from charter commissions and permitted them to submit P. R. either separately or in combination like any other subject. The Carlino bill, which was similar to a bill that passed the Senate last year under the sponsorship of Senator Thomas C. Desmond of Newburgh, chairman of the Senate Committee on Cities, was killed in committee.

Greetings from Britain

The following welcome cablegram has been received from our friend and mentor John H. Humphreys:

> Annual meeting British Proportional Representation Society June 7 sends cordial greetings to fellow reformers in America. Meeting resolved to press more determinedly during and after general election the cause of just representation.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Legislation Sought for City-County Consolidation

Philadelphia Steps Forward; Birmingham Suggests Study

ANOTHER step toward complete unification of the city and county governments of Philadelphia was taken on May 2 when the Governor signed the county payroll bill which greatly increased the City Council's control over county salaries paid from city treasury funds.

The new law provides that beginning January 1, 1946, the salaries, wages and other compensation of all public officials and employees payable out of the city treasury shall be fixed by ordinance of the City Council. Only two exceptions are made: salaries of elected officials fixed by state law and those of officers and employees of the courts which are fixed by state law or the courts. Hundreds of employees of the county government, whose pay has been fixed under state law by officials, boards and commissions, will now come directly under City Council, the body which levies the taxes and provides the money from which the payrolls are met. This act, states the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, will "go far toward unifying and simplifying Philadelphia's government."

Two bills proposing constitutional amendments to effect the complete consolidation of the city and county governments of Philadelphia, whose boundaries are identical, failed of enactment. Both passed the Senate by unanimous vote but did not get out of committee in the House. One of these bills, introduced by Senator George Woodward of Philadelphia, was the same, except for a slight change, as the amendment originally drafted by the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research and submitted to the voters of the state in 1937. It was defeated by an adverse vote upstate. Its effect would have been to integrate under the mayor and City Council the many county functions now scattered over numerous independent and semi-independent officials and boards.

Home Rule Advocated for St. Louis County

The local Governmental Research Institute is recommending that St. Louis County, adjacent to the city of St. Louis, adopt a home rule charter under provisions of Missouri's new state constitution.

In support of its recommendation the Institute states: "Many of the laws applicable to other counties have proved to be inadequate to meet the needs of St. Louis County. It has been necessary to make frequent requests to the General Assembly for the passage of laws concerning matters that are primarily matters of local concern. In many instances large delegations of officials and citizens have traveled to Jefferson City to explain statutes required only by St. Louis County. Such procedure not only wastes the time and money of local officials and citizens, but it also diverts the attention of legislators from matters of statewide concern.

"In spite of the many statutory provisions applicable only to St. Louis County, its powers and governmental machinery are inadequate for present-day needs. For example, the increasing population of unincorporated areas in the county has given rise to serious problems of health, fire and police. Wellston and Jennings are areas of this type. Although densely populated, they depend wholly upon volunteer workers for fire protection, and they have no police protection except that provided by the sheriff's office and the constables. The absence of adequate health and sanitation standards in these unincorporated areas presents a hazard to the residents of both the county and St. Louis city. The county now lacks the ordinance-making power to handle such problems."

Montgomery County and Dayton Plan Cooperatively

The Montgomery County, Ohio, Planning Commission, recently organized, has appointed a committee to cooperate with the Dayton Plan Board and other city officials. Most important tasks of the County Planning Commission which will require close integration with the city include relief of traffic congestion through rerouting highways around the city, control of water supply and sewage disposal in the county, and control of subdivisions through zoning in the suburban areas.

Washington Adopts Scientific Allocation of County Road Funds

In order to enable it to make its biennial distribution of county road funds on a scientific and nonpartisan basis, the Washington state legislature has adopted a formula whereby three factors are weighted in regard to their relative significance to road repair and construction programs. The formula was developed by the Public Administration Service after a nine-months study and survey. The formula gives county trunk mileage a value of 70 per cent, motor vehicle registration a value of 20, and an equalization factor a value of 10 per cent to encourage smaller counties to organize and administer road programs at acceptable standards.

Two Wisconsin Counties Adopt Merit System

Resolutions establishing merit system programs have been adopted in Wood and Outagamie Counties, Wisconsin. In the former the resolution applies only to county highway patrolmen. The Outagamie resolution requires the establishment of a merit system covering all county employees. Employees with six months or more of service accumulated prior to adoption of the resolution automatically receive civil service status. The Wisconsin State Bureau of Personnel is responsible for classifying all positions under the program. Open competitive examinations and the certification of eligibles to fill vacancies in the county service also will be administered by the state bureau.

Wisconsin Interim Committee on County Government

As a result of a joint resolution passed by the two houses of the Wisconsin state legislature, an interim committee has been established to study the question of county government. The committee will make its report to the 1947 legislature.

Arlington County May Become City

The Arlington County Board of Supervisors has passed by unanimous vote a resolution which may transform Arlington County into a Virginia city of the first class. The resolution calls upon the circuit court judge to appoint a charter commission of not less than five county voters to hold public hearings and prepare a draft of the charter. The draft would be presented to the next session of the General Assembly, and if approved it would be submitted to popular referendum in the county.

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Local Government Trends in Australia

The Problem of Area in Relation to Function

THROUGHOUT Australia, local government is organized on the basis of municipal councils to manage urban affairs and shire councils for rural affairs. Municipal areas are usually restricted to about nine square miles while shires may administer areas of several hundred square miles.

For historical and other reasons local government in Australia is restricted in scope. Police, education, transport, justice and social services are administered by the several state governments on a rigidly centralized pattern. Fire protection, harbor facilities, main roads, water conservation and irrigation, electricity, water and sewerage are usually committed to statutory corporations, and only in a few cases are some of these services tied into the local government structure.

Just after World War I an experiment was made in New South Wales with another municipal area called the county district. It was found that a river in northern New South Wales was being obstructed by a luxuriant growth of water hyacinth which impeded navigation. The contiguous municipal and shire councils found the task of eradicating the growth beyond their separate capacities. It was decided to delegate the job to a county district council composed of representatives of the constituent councils which also delegated to the county council the right to levy a rate and borrow money to do the work on their behalf. The experiment was a signal success and this led to the creation of several other county districts for the similar cooperative handling of a service which could not be done as well by individual councils.

The county council was not different in kind from the ordinary statutory corporation save that it was a purely local government agency. It was confined to a single function and it derived its power by delegation from the constituent local governing bodies. From time to time there have been suggestions that the county council should become a compendious authority, introducing another level of local government above the municipality and the shire. It was not until 1944, however, that an initial move was made. A county district to embrace the Blue Mountain area immediately west of Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, was formed to administer seven separate functions including water supply, sewerage disposal, retail sale of electricity, development of tourist resorts, and the construction of roads other than main roads.

If this experiment succeeds it may pave the way for the creation of another local government authority in a country that has been disinclined to experiment with areas and functions, other than using the device of the *ad hoc* statutory authority under central governmental jurisdiction.

Another line of thought is looking to the region as the desirable type of larger local government area. This must be appraised against the background of size and resources. There are upwards of a thousand local government councils functioning in the six states whose areas range from 26,000 square miles for Tasmania to nearly a million square miles in Western Australia. New South Wales comprises 310,000 and Victoria, the next most populous state, has 87,000 square miles. The

Northern Territory with 523,000 square miles has no local government institutions of any kind and is administered from Canberra, over a thousand miles away. South Australia embraces 310,000 square miles and Queensland 670,000.

Population is unevenly distributed but clusters round the seaboard, principally that of the eastern states. There are only 25 towns with more than 10,000 people and of these towns New South Wales accounts for eleven and Queensland for eight. Three states have each only one town of more than 10,000 people. On the other hand, the six capital cities contain almost 50 per cent of the entire population of the commonwealth.

There are two schools of thought attracted to the regional idea. There are those who believe in unification, and believe that if the existing federal system could be scrapped, the place of the states could be taken by a number of regional authorities. On the other hand, there are those who believe that the federal system will function more efficiently if the centralized administrations based upon Canberra and the six state capitals were to devolve the administration of many governmental functions upon local authorities. Since the existing municipal and shire councils are too small and lack adequate financial and administrative resources, and since the county councils have not yet developed into all-purpose authorities, they look to the region as the only suitable alternative to the centralized system.

The latter school of thought was sufficiently organized to force the Postwar Reconstruction Division of the federal government to consider the desirability of creating regions to facilitate postwar rehabilitation and development.

At a Premiers' conference held at Canberra in October 1944, immediately after the refusal of the people to agree to a referendum which proposed to enlarge the powers of the federal government at the expense of the states, it was unanimously agreed that the states should appoint regional boundaries committees to survey the resources of the several states by regions which were to be delineated by the regional boundaries committees. This delineation has now been completed in some of the states. In New South Wales seventeen such regions have been mapped. In each region a committee has been appointed by the government comprising representatives of the central departments and of local residents in the region, and detailed surveys of resources are now proceeding.

Whether the regions will develop into autonomous local authorities, as is desired by those who seek an extension of local government, is uncertain. One resolution passed at the Premiers' conference declared that the new regional committees "should be available to assist and advise commonwealth and state authorities, through state government channels, on regional aspects of policy and administration." It is obvious that this emphasizes the traditional centralized outlook rather than that of local government. If the vested interests of centralized politics and administration prevail, local government will cease to have any future in Australia.

Town Planning

This belief in centralization found expression in two bills brought down in the state legislature of New South Wales early in 1945. While giving lip service to the idea of local government, other provisions provided for an extension of central control over local authorities. This was especially the case with the town planning bill which proposed to give the Minister for Local

Government power to assume the functions of metropolitan councils and to prepare schemes for town planning himself. This particular proposal was defeated and finally the bill emerged as an enactment authorizing the creation of a Metropolitan County Council to prepare a town planning scheme for the approval of the Minister.

Another bill was passed which authorized the State Main Roads Board, a statutory authority for the construction of main and developmental roads, to demand that municipal councils seek the approval of the Main Roads Board to any expenditure upon roads from their own funds in excess of five thousand pounds. This means that the Main Roads Board, which is responsible for only 12,000 miles of roads, will also be able to control the municipal and shire councils which have the care of over 100,000 miles in the state of New South Wales.

Similar developments are occurring with respect to harbors and rivers. The Maritime Services Board, which controls the Port of Sydney, is reaching out to take over the control of all harbors from local authorities, while the central Public Works Department is claiming to be regarded as the state public works authority and to act as agent for existing municipal and shire councils for all capital works of any size.

Summer School

These challenges to the continued existence of local government as an integral part of public administration aroused municipal authorities to take action to stem the tide and to inform public opinion of the trends and dangers involved. As one method of doing this, there was organized at Sydney University in April a summer school on local government. The school was opened by the Governor of New South Wales, the Lord Wakehurst, who also read the first paper comparing recent developments in England with trends in Australia. Other papers were read by Professor F. A. Bland; R. Windeyer, K. C.; Hon. E. S. Spooner, a former Minister for Local Government; and by Councillor E. S. Shaw, president of the Local Government Association of New South Wales. The papers are to be published in book form, and already the publicity achieved by the school is having a beneficial effect in arousing public attention to the danger to democratic institutions if they have no sound basis in local government.

F. A. Bland
University of Sydney

Local Government Affairs in New Zealand

Mayors, councillors and town clerks of New Zealand held a municipal conference last November at which action on many suggestions was taken. Among the more important recommendations of the clerk's conference were the favoring of the annual system of rating and proposals to have all municipal elections held on the same day, to allow all local employees to appeal to an independent board against their dismissal and to repeal the law permitting local employees to run for local office.

Conference Recommendations

The municipal conference as a whole recommended that the parliamentary Select Committee investigating local government reform be abolished and a royal commission established in its place,[1] that fire services be municipally controlled,[2] that all hospital and charitable aid costs be paid out of the social security fund and not in part by local rates,[2] that retirement provisions for local employees be liberalized, that the central government be urged to build houses in small suburban areas where acute housing shortages exist, and that the principle of regional planning be approved. In addition other resolutions called upon the government to further rural electrification and soil erosion programs.

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[1] See the Review, September 1944, p. 434.

[2] See the Review, January 1945, p. 52.

The conference was addressed by Dr. Leslie Lipson, professor of political science and public administration at Victoria University College, on the subject of reconstruction in local government. He suggested two principal reforms: (1) fewer *ad hoc* authorities and larger areas for general purpose authorities; (2) establishment of local personnel systems under control of the town clerks, including a unified system of recruiting, examining, training and promoting.

County Councils Proposals

In a memorandum submitted to the select committee investigating local government reform in New Zealand, the County Councils Association suggested that functions of several kinds of *ad hoc* units of rural government be given to the counties and that some consolidation among counties be encouraged. The association favored alleviation of hospital rating and proposed that the central government pay full rates on land it owned. It repeated its opposition to last year's legislation which permitted all residents as well as ratepayers to vote in local elections.

Local Government Trends

Consolidation of various units of government in two urban areas is being considered. . . . A trend toward more free public libraries and a larger number of libraries is in evidence. . . . Local units have been authorized to conduct emergency farming activities. . . . A milk bill giving central compulsory control over milk sanitation standards has been introduced as a result of municipalities failing to act adequately. . . . The central government intends to establish regional councils to consider postwar reconstruction and redevelopment problems. . . . A recent housing survey has revealed that only 700 of the 352,000 houses in New Zealand have been built by local governments.

American Committee of IULA Meets

At the April meeting of the American Committee for the International Union of Local Authorities, Chairman Louis Brownlow stated that in the future the work of the IULA would probably be undertaken along regional organization lines. The large congresses would be held regionally and smaller meetings attended by delegated members would be organized on a worldwide basis.

Former Mayor Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee made two suggestions for municipalities in this country in their relations with Latin Americans. First, he suggested that through organizations represented by the members of the American Committee, an attempt be made to bring about recognition of Pan-American Day. Secondly, some action should be taken to encourage the creation of welcoming committees in cities and municipalities, under the auspices of mayors and the chief executives, so that we may reciprocate something of the same sort of hospitality that Latin Americans would extend.

Czech Election Reforms Instituted

Equal voting rights for women, reduction of the voting age to eighteen, and extension of the franchise to include members of the armed forces are some of the reforms being introduced in Czechoslovakia. Former collaborationists cannot hold political office or vote.

On the basis of this extended electorate, local national committees are being elected except in districts with a majority of unreliable non-Slavonic population which are being temporarily governed by an administration especially appointed for the purpose. From local committees district committees are being elected, while the district committees are electing provincial committees. Dr. Edvard Benes has repeatedly expressed a desire to thoroughly decentralize the work of the Czechoslovak government.

News in Brief

Education in England

The Minister of Education has announced that central government grants for the year 1945-1946 are to be at an average of 55 per cent of local education expenses, an increase of about 5 per cent. Meanwhile the Minister issued a final list of excepted districts under the new education act. Forty-five non-county boroughs and urban districts in England and Wales will be excepted from the elementary and secondary education plans of the counties in which they are situated.

Scottish Planning

Glasgow City Council has found three objections to the Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Bill: (1) no financial assistance to local governments is provided; (2) too much power is vested in the Secretary of State for Scotland; (3) the provisions giving a local government power to acquire land outside its boundaries are not clear.

Australian Municipal Elections

According to the *Shire and Municipal* (Australia) recent local elections were characterized by the large number of votes cast and the defeat of many candidates who relied primarily upon party endorsement for election.

Planning in Latin America

A trend toward more extensive exercise of local planning and zoning powers is indicated in Peru, Puerto Rico and Buenos Aires according to reports in *Boletin, the Municipal Digest of the Americas.*

English Bills' Progress

The Representation of the People Bill and the Compensation of Displaced Officers (War Service) Bill have been enacted into law. The Local Authorities Loans Bill has been read a third time in the House of Lords and the Wages Councils Bill has passed the committee stage in the House of Lords. The Water Bill has been given a second reading in the House of Commons.

Recent Publications

The Slums Are Still With Us is the title of a recent Opportunity Clubs booklet presenting in brief some of the housing problems confronting Australia, and suggesting possible solutions. British Information Service has issued *Whitechester, England, A Town at War,* a booklet about an imaginary English town and the problems that confronted it during the European war.

English Housing

Housing is one of the most important domestic issues in the current election in England. Recently the Minister of Health announced that the government plans to deliver to localities all temporary houses which have been applied for and allocated—some 100,000 in England and Wales. Delivery has been speeded by the promise of the United States to send 30,000 houses, similar to the temporary war housing in existence here. By the middle of March, however, 70,000 to 80,000 sites for the 100,000 temporary houses had not yet been developed.

The permanent housing program was somewhat further advanced at that time. Land for 240,000 houses had been acquired by local governments and layout plans had been prepared for 90,000.

Books in Review

Relationship of Budgeting to Planning and Management. Unit IV of **Budgeting: An Instrument of Planning and Management.** By Catheryn Seckler-Hudson. Washington, D. C., American University, 1945. 248 pp. $2.

This "unit" is the sixth in this series of seven mimeographed volumes on governmental planning and management through budgeting.[1] The present unit, to even a larger extent than some of the volumes previously published, relies on the experience of the United States Bureau of the Budget. In fact, it contains no general appeal to local, state or foreign practice. In the opinion of this reviewer, however, most of the 21 discussions in the symposium contain ideas as significant for city or state as for federal government administration.

The plan of arrangement provides for presentation of the general idea of using the budget to achieve unified executive control over a government's work. This first half of the volume is followed by several specific applications of this practice. The concluding chapters show how particular divisions contribute to the bureau's overall planning and management functions.

Despite the limitations of the symposium method of securing a well rounded view of complicated subject matter, this unit appears to be successful at the expense of comparatively little duplication. Indeed, except for the first unit, this one is perhaps the most generally useful of all the six volumes now available. And the whole collection is highly important for the future of governmental administration.

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Planning for Postwar Municipal Services. An Analysis of Problems and Trends with Suggestions for Developing Local Policies. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1945. v, 90 pp. $2.

The purpose of this study is to analyze some of the current and probable future problems and trends in fields of municipal government and to suggest ideas to stimulate municipal administrators and councils in developing sound local policies and plans for improving local services. Leading authorities in the various local fields outline the extent of municipal responsibility, anticipate postwar conditions and needs, indicate services that may be expanded, abandoned or transferred to other units, suggest questions and problems that should be answered locally, and outline methods of making plans. Chapters in the study have already appeared as articles in *Public Management,* the last in April 1945. A list of selected references is added. The study was a project of the Committee on Wartime and Postwar Planning of the International City Managers' Association.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accounting Machines

Use of Electric Accounting Machine Equipment by the City of Bridgeport. Bridgeport, Connecticut, The Comptroller, 1945. 52 pp.

Airports

A National Airport Program. Report Submitted to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Washington, D. C., The United States Conference of Mayors, 1945. 35 pp.

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[1] For a review of Units I, III, and V see the Review, September 1944, p. 435.

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Recent Publications of Governmental Problems. ,By Joint Reference Library. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1945. 7 pp.

Budgets

State Budgets for 1946 and 1947. Biennial and Annual Budgets Presented to 1945 Legislatures. By N. B. Gerry and Howard S. Ryan. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 12 pp.

Council-Manager Plan

Recent Council-Manager Developments and Directory of Council-Manager Cities. Chicago, The International City Managers' Association, 1945. 16 pp. $1.

Education

Should the Federal Government Subsidize Education? New Jersey's Answer. By Alvin A. Burger. Newark 2, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, 1945. 16 pp.

Efficiency

The Daily Trip to Work: A Bibliography. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Harvard University, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, 1945. 1 p.

Work Simplification. As Exemplified by the Work Simplification Program of the U. S. Bureau of the Budget. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1945. 49 pp. Illus. $1.

Employment

Fiscal Policy for Full Employment. By John H. G. Pierson. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1945. 54 pp. 25 cents.

Public Employment and Pay Rolls in the United States, 1929-39, and Postwar Implications. By Carol P. Brainerd. Washington, D. C., United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1945. 31 pp.

International Affairs

The Stakes of Bretton Woods. A Statement by The Committee on International Policy. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1945. 24 pp.

Land Use

Confronting the Land Question. By Jackson H. Ralston. Bayside, New York, The American Association for Scientific Taxation. xxi, 104 pp. $1.

Multiple Dwellings

Multiple Dwelling Law—A Clarification. By Committee on Housing. New York 10, Community Service Society, 1945. 384 pp. $5.

Parking Meters

Parking Meters in Pennsylvania Municipalities. By Charles F. LeeDecker. State College, Pennsylvania, Institute of Local Government, 1945. 40 pp.

Planning

Action to Date. Highlights from Reports of Committees. Louisville 2, Area Development Association, 1945. 21 pp.

Planning Your Community. A Manual of Suggestions for Practical Community Planning. By C. Earl Morrow. New York 17, Regional Plan Association, Inc., 1945. 42 pp. 50 cents. (Special prices on quantity orders.)

A System for Classifying City and Regional Planning Materials. By the Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, City Planning Commission, 1944. 39 pp.

Public Health

A Food and Nutrition Program for the Nation. Report by a Subcommittee of the Agriculture, Business and Labor Committees on National Policy. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1945. 35 pp. 25 cents.

Recreation

Places for Playing in Cleveland. Standards for Public Recreation Areas. Cleveland, City Planning Commission, 1945. 32 pp. Illus.

State Government

Governors' General Messages to State Legislatures in January 1945. By Louise H. Clickner. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 17 pp.

Taxation and Finance

City Debt for the Fiscal Year 1943. (Volume 2, City Finances: 1943) By Josef Berolzheimer. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 6 pp.

Governmental Finances in the United States: 1942 (Second Supplementary Extract from). Table Summarizing State and Local General-Government Finances by Type of Government. U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 11 pp.

Local Government Finance in Pennsylvania. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Postwar Planning Commission, 1945. 42 pp.

New Sources of Municipal Revenue. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* May 1945. 36 pp. 50 cents.

Summary of State Government Finances in 1944. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 8 pp.

Veterans

The Disabled Veteran. Edited by Wilma T. Donahue and Clark Tibbitts. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* May 1945. v, 237 pp. $2.

CITY SEEKS WAR-HOUSING CONTROL

(Continued from Page 331)

delegate the responsibilities of local planning to a federal agency. What happens to this community in the next quarter of a century is our responsibility, and we cannot see how any federal agency, no matter how brilliant its experts, can prescribe what is best for us.

The problem in Vancouver is unique only in its magnitude. In the Pacific Northwest housing authority commissioners have banded together to discuss this problem and they are united in the belief that local say-so is going to be the key to intelligent re-use of lands now federally owned. They plan to make the necessary approaches to Congress for legislation that will give local communities a chance to escape the permanent injury that certainly threatens.

PERILS OF A MILITARY GOVERNOR

(Continued from Page 328)

anybody having a gun at this time. The reason for the order that no other flag but the British and American flags could fly over a *Municipio* where there was an AMG officer was explained to him. By this time we were pals. He agreed to everything and even surpassed my greatest anticipation as to cooperation. The *Carabineri* got their guns back, a plan for disarming the *Partigani* was agreed upon, and the red flag was to come down immediately.

The parade of customers then started again. Can I have a pass to go to Sicily? I am a refugee from Tunisia, and I want a pass to go home. My father is in jail in Bologna. Can I have a pass to take him some food? And so on and so on—most of the answers are "no."

The Struggle for Water

The *Secretario Communal* (city manager—almost) was sent for. We had a heart-to-heart talk. He is able, intelligent, informed and professional as are most of the Italian communal secretaries. Incidentally, we can learn almost as much about communal administration from the Italians as they can learn from us, possibly more. I explained that I would hold him responsible as the administrative head of the city.

The city engineer came in with the engineer from the aqueduct with an armload of plans. Could they dig up a road to repair the aqueduct? When it was repaired the city could have water. Certainly! Why not? Well we thought that since there are tanks using the road the military might object. Tanks going over the road? Of course you can't dig it up. Do you want to get shot? But there are detours. Where is the road? We lose ourselves in the plans and maps and end up by going out to look at the road. There were no tanks since the night before. Would there be any that night? How was I to know? No one seemed to know where the headquarters of any military unit was. Everybody was on the move and moving fast. Can't you get water any other way? No. How long will it take to dig up the road? Two days. What! Two days to dig a ditch across this road and fill it up again? No, two days more to fill it up again. Ridiculous! It can all be done in four hours. Put every man in town to work on it if necessary. Start now and keep some guards here to show the detours to military transport, and have the whole job done by tonight or the town will have to go without water.

But that is impossible. We do not have the pipe yet. You do not have the pipe yet? Why that is the most scarce thing in all of Italy. But we think we know where there is some if we only had a truck and some gasoline. Where would I get a truck and some gasoline, with every unit on the move as they were? Get that German truck I saw the *Partigani* running around in. But we do not have permission to travel. You will get that immediately but do not start to dig until tomorrow morning and be finished with it all by noon.

On the way into the office I saw the red flag still flying. Into the office of the *Partigani* leader I went and found there the same F.S.S. sergeant wrangling with him and the crowd hanging around inside and out of the office. He greeted me with, "Sir, that red flag is still up." I was embarrassed and angry. The *Capo* explained that he had sent someone to take it down but that the committee wanted to talk it over first before it was taken down.

Here I put on my number one mad act which includes yelling in a loud voice three or four times in my stupid Italian such nonsense as "I am the governor, the military governor of this city. In fact I am the government of this town for my superiors. There isn't any other government except that which I or my superiors through me dictate. When I give an order I want it obeyed immediately. Anybody failing to do so will be locked up or sent away." The red flag was down before I finished the speech and didn't go up again. That is, not exactly.

The New Secretary

That was about the finish of the first morning. The afternoon started with the appearance of my secretary. Yes, she was a *Partigani*. Yes, she was a Communist. Why? Because she thought she ought to be something and it seemed that Italy had tried about everything else. She had been specially trained in a Bologna school for secretaries and was professionally first class. If we eliminate the shorthand, typing and filing the Italian secretarial training has it all over ours. She couldn't speak a word of English but I did not have much difficulty in getting her to avoid dialect.

The water engineer came in again. If I would give him some kind of a note he could get the pipe and truck. You learn to never ask questions about things like this. They prepared the note and I signed it. You solve every problem in Italy when you do not know the answer by writing a note or signing one that somebody else has prepared, and of course always putting your rubber stamp on it. The latter is the most important. It is really astounding what the Italians can do with a note with your signature and stamp on it. How they do it you never ask because you know from experience that you will never really understand.

The parade then started again. Can I have a pass to move my furniture to Bologna? Why shame on you! Do you not realize there is not enough transport to haul food to your most unfortunate brothers and now you want to use valuable transport to haul furniture? I am an American citizen. Here are my papers. I always hated the Fascists. Oh how glad I am you came. Let me kiss your hand. How do I get back to the states? What part of the states are you from? Argentina!!! Can I have permission to slaughter my ox? It was critically wounded when it stepped on a mine.

The *Marascello* entered with another *Marascello* who had been locked up by the *Partigani*. It was all a mistake; he had really been a *Partigani,* so number one *Marascello* said. The problem, could he be released from jail? Yes I could release him from jail but I could not guarantee that he would not be killed if he was a Fascist. I sent for the *Partigani* leader. He hadn't known the *Marascello* before but cross-examined him severely. The *Capo* had no use for anyone who had not been a *Partigani* before '43. The discussion got off into Bolognese dialect in which I was able to follow little. The *Capo* had my money, however. Finally, he said he had no objection to the man being released and he was sure that none of his people would disturb him, although the *Marascello* was a fake or feeble *Partigani*.

"We are escaped South African prisoners of war. We want to report, sir, and to see that somebody does something for this bloke who has kept us in his house for twenty months. He fed us and look at these clothes he has given us. We actually saw the Fascists hang and shoot everybody in other houses where prisoners were sheltered, even the little children, and burn the houses also, but this bloke treated us like his own sons."

The Food Situation

An American colonel studying the food situation in the area arrived. There was a discussion about the food problem. There was a mill that provided most of the flour for Bologna. Where was it? Was it in good condition? Was there grain in it? Could it be protected from troops, etc.? The *Secretario* was brought into the conversation. There were four thousand quintales of rice in a building nearby. The roof had been blown off by a bomb. If it was not moved all of it would be destroyed by the next rain. The colonel said he would get a truck. I explained that it would take one truck a long time, probably too long. "Don't fear, there will be more trucks." I had heard that story before.

Il Professore (chief doctor) of the hospital had to have curfew passes for his personnel. A civilian entered and said, "Here is a certificate from a hospital in Bologna that my child must have milk in order to live. Can I have a pass to take him some? Can you make the pass for military transport?" The *Secretario* presented the engineer responsible for the electricity. If he can go 30 miles north he can do something so that we can have electricity by tomorrow. Certainly, here is the pass. But he needs some gasoline. Where would I get gasoline? But he knows where he can get some if you will give him a note. He got the note without further questioning. The note is in English and is absolutely meaningless because I do not know how it is to be used, but since it will probably never be translated it doesn't make much difference what it says, for the time being.

The *Marascello* entered. He was alarmed. They found another one of the missing Fascists murdered. What should he do? I ordered everyone under town arrest to be locked up pending the disarming of all the *Partigani*. But where would he put them, the jail was already full? Find a place, that is your job. I may be able to find a place if you will give me a note.

Three American medical officers dropped in. "Where can we buy some good cognac? You must come and have dinner with us." The two directors of the local banks stated that they had been operating all day. Were they supposed to close? Now let me see; what was that order about banks? As I remember, it was changed. Did you read the proclamations? Yes and there wasn't any mention of the banks. I guess they did change that order. Yes, you can stay open until I get further information but remember all Fascist accounts are blocked.

Two beautiful blondes came in. My secretary explained that their cards indicated *countessa* and *duchessa*. Their husbands had been taken away by the C.I.C. yesterday. They were never Fascists. They were never even written into the party. They were such good men. They did everything for the community. Really I haven't the slightest idea where your husbands were sent and I haven't even the slightest idea where the C.I.C. is. You must come to dinner tomorrow night. Thank you, but really I am so busy right now. Wait a week. It is a good system in AMG to postpone everything you are afraid of for a week or two. By that time you are usually in some other place.

No Rest for Weary

Please, *Governatore,* can I have a pass to go to Milano? Please, *Governatore,* my wife is going to have a baby. Can I have a pass to take her home to Sicily? When will the baby arrive? Any day now. Any day now and you want to start to Sicily on foot? But you can provide military transport. Your wife will have to have her baby here.

That night I planned on sleep. Dinner was finished at ten o'clock and I climbed into bed. At one I was awakened by shots being fired and a terrific pounding. In a half dream I was trying to figure out what it was all about when my driver called me. "Sir, there are two GI's outside trying to shoot the door down and the *Padrone* is scared." There was a terrific commotion outside. I went to a front window and found two very inebriated GI's kicking and knocking on the door and shooting in every direction with 45's. I supposed I should go down and place them under arrest. Then just what would I do with them if I did? It would mean I would probably have to stay up all night that night too. I did the usual thing and yelled at them in soldier-like language. They replied in Italian. I explained in Italian that I had been speaking in English. They had been told there was plenty of wine and women in this place and wanted to get in. Just what kind of a place was I staying in? I explained that it was an officers' billet and that if I came down they would be in for a lot of trouble. They left surprisingly sober.

The next morning I gave orders that I wanted the best house in town. It looked like rain. I called the *Secretario*. What could he do about finding covering for that rice in case it rained. He would see.

The water engineer had been running the water pump by gasoline. Where could he get some more? I called the *Secretario* again. Make out a list of all the commune's needs for gasoline including the ambulances. The *Marascello* reported that the reputed Fascist *Marascello* had been rearrested by the *Partigani* and placed back in jail. The *Capo* was called. What was the meaning of this? "You told the *Marascello* and me to lock up all the Fascists or suspected Fascists under town arrest for their own protection."

Two war correspondents wandered in. They were investigating Fascist and German atrocities, activities of *Partigani* and also looking for news. That meant calling in the notable figures in town for them.

We Get Lights, Water

An old friend, an AMG officer, dropped in. He wanted lunch. He was trying to catch up with the Corps. He sat around while the flood of people came in to ask for this and that. "Why don't you use your buzzer system?" He had discovered that we had electricity. Electric lights and telephones in two days. What a difference from our experience south of the Appenines. I had not used a telephone in two years except the occasional military telephone.

After lunch the water engineer came to report that the water system was functioning perfectly. He had completed the job on the road that morning as I had ordered. I called in the directors of the banks. My friend the AMG officer had told me I was wrong, the old procedure still stood. The directors were told that the banks would have to close until further notice.

A young girl of about sixteen and her grandmother were ushered in. Could she bury her father? It turned out that she was the daughter of one of the Fascists killed the day before. Certainly, you can bury your father. But the *Partigani* will break up the funeral. No, nobody will break up the funeral. I will place a *Carabineri* guard on it. But the *Partigani* do not pay any attention to the *Carabineri*. The grandmother was wailing but the little girl was marvelous. Her bearing and demeanor could not have been better to win the respect of anyone. Then I will place a *Partigani* guard on the funeral. That would hardly be proper. After all, they killed my father. Yes . . . Hmmmm . . . well what do you want me to do? Write a note for me. I wrote a note: "This funeral shall not be disturbed or interfered with in any way." That was in English but she was happy and left. I then called the *Partigani Capo*. He would be glad to have a couple of *Partigani* trail the funeral at a respectable distance to see that there was no interference. I didn't have quite as much confidence in my note as did the little girl.

The *Sindaco* had started the clean-up program I had ordered. What wage-scale was he to pay the people who worked at removing the bomb and shell debris? I am an American citizen. How can I get some money from the states? I am a British citizen. How can I get some British rations? I am an escaped Russian prisoner of war. How do I get home? We are Turkish citizens. Can you send us home? The Germans requisitioned my truck but the *Partigani* have recaptured it. Can I take it away from them? The Germans left some money in one of the banks when they left. Can I levy on it for the cattle they took from me?

It started to rain. I called the *Secretario*. How about that rice? Don't worry! It is all covered and safe. Yes we will have the best house in town for you tomorrow.

The *Sindaco* wanted to know what he would do for money to pay the employees now that the banks were closed. Tell the banks that I will authorize them to pay any account when you bring in a statement that the payment is necessary for the normal functioning of the commune.

I then met with the directors of the Italian equivalent of unemployment compensation and public assistance. There were a large number of unemployed and a large number of people not covered by any agency who were in serious circumstances. The agency's accounts were overdrawn at the bank and the Fascists had completely confused their administration before leaving. What laws and directives are in effect and what are not? I asked them to bring me a program the next day that would provide for at least emergency care for the indigent. Oh, if a welfare officer would only appear on the scene.

A "Bad Show"

The custodian of the combination post office and tax office reported that South African troops who had stayed in the post office the previous night had looted the entire building. I went and inspected the building and even I was disgusted. I found the officer of one unit. He agreed that it was a "bad show" but was certain that none of his troops would do anything like that. See the officer of the other unit that moved into town last night. I did. No, it couldn't be any of his men but if the Italians could identify any of his men I could be assured that severe disciplinary action would be taken. I told the Italians to file a claim and made out a report.

The Italian equivalent of our Chamber of Commerce met with me to discuss ways and means of getting the industries in the town functioning, and regulations regarding the blocking and unblocking of strategic materials.

A civilian came in with a receipt for twenty quintales of wood taken from him by some American soldiers. Could he get paid immediately? I looked at the receipt. It read, "This wood is going to blazes. Signed Mata Hari." You would think the boys would be more original. I saw the same wording over a year and a half ago.

An Indian soldier entered with an Italian civilian. Neither could speak English, and I still do not know what language they used to communicate between themselves. The Italian explained that the Indian company of which the soldier was a member hadn't had any fresh meat in a long time and wanted to buy an ox from him. Could he have permission to sell it? Yes, if the soldier would bring me a note from his officer.

The former Fascist director of health was brought in by the *Marascello*. He was very sick. Could he be transferred from the jail to the hospital? Certainly. The hospital has fixed up an apartment for me so that I can bring my family to stay with me. What!!! You stay in the jail until two doctors certify that you are so ill you must go to the hospital, and then you will go to a bed and not to an apartment with your family. And by the way, *Marascello,* tell the head of that hospital I want to see him. They leave. My secretary and another person explain the doctor's criminal Fascist record to me and how he is the most hated and despised Fascist in town.

The president of the committee, the *Sindaco* and the *Secretario* want to know about the problem of transport. Who should requisition it, how should it be requisitioned, what types should not be requisitioned, who would control it after requisitioning and how, and what should the prices of transportation be?

The Army Sells a Horse

The *Marascello* brought in another civilian. This man had bought a horse from two soldiers. But the soldiers had given this man authority to buy and use the horse. There was the authority, it read: "This silly ——— thinks we are a couple of dumb ———. Please explain to him that he is the dumb ————. Signed, Two smart ———." I had no choice but to do what the soldiers requested.

An attractive girl entered to explain that she was never a Fascist but that there were people in town who did not like her. These malicious persons sent soldiers on the search for women to her house where they insisted upon entering. They shot in the air and made a terrible disturbance when they were refused admittance. Can you help me? Yes, I will put an "out of bounds" sign on the door. No—she did not like that because they put that sign on houses of prostitution and she was no prostitute. Would I write her a note? I wrote, "Notice to Allied Soldiers: There are no prostitutes in this house. This is a normal decent family. You have been directed here by people who wish to disturb them. Please go away without knocking." Silly. I didn't think it would work, but she was happy.

The president of the committee wanted to know if the commune could discharge all the women working for it and put men in their jobs as a partial solution to the unemployment problem. I replied with an emphatic "no" and added that there was no subject in the field of government on which I had a more positive opinion. If there is anything wrong with Italy it stems from the way it treats its women, how it wastes half its brain power.

The *Sindaco* and *Secretario* wanted to know if they could get the *Annonario* (ration cards, etc.) out of jail. He had been a strong Fascist but not a bad man. He was an excellent administrator and everything was in confusion without him. Yes, certainly. But if you let him out somebody might kill him. It is suggested among other things that a safe conduct note by me will be adequate. The confidence these people have in my notes amazes me.

A British Colonel dropped in looking for some Fascist Republican stamps for his stamp collection. An old-time Socialist and a short-time

Socialist came in to complain about the hair-cutting and other partisan disturbances in one of the *fractiones*. As the only man I can find I send the *Capo* to investigate. He disarms the *Partigani* in the *fraction* and stops the haircutting.

The *Marascello* and the *Partigani* leader meet with me. An order is prepared that any one found with a gun after tomorrow will be dealt with severely by a military court regardless of any previous service to the Allies and the Liberation movement.

That night I got some sleep. The next morning I left early for Bologna to see if I could get some action on food, gasoline and police for my communes. I found the confusion I expected. There seemed to be about five different military agencies, all of whom made some claims to be running the town or contributing to its confusion. No one could help me on police. No one knew for sure whom I was working for. No one knew where Corps was. The line was simply moving too fast. I did get a promise out of one supply officer to send me some fats, salt, sugar and gasoline if he could find some transport to send them.

There was nothing else to do but to go back to X and hope that the confusion would get straightened out quickly. After all, things were really in better condition in X than in any town I had seen before. I was beginning to love the town and looking forward to staying there for some time. That was a very dangerous attitude to allow myself. When things begin to work well and you get to like a place, that is the time when you always have to move.

I arrived at X just before noon. A British Lieutenant Colonel arrived half an hour later with orders for me to leave immediately to catch a team moving north to another province. I left within an hour without even saying good-bye. It is much easier that way. Saying good-bye to Italians even though you have worked with them only for a few days can be one of the most painful processes in the job of a civil affairs officer. The Colonel took over my confusion without the slightest explanation from me. He had been in the Army long enough to know not to expect explanations.

That Flag Again!

As we drove past the *Municipio* on the way out of town I commented on the absence of the red flag to my driver. "They did take it down, sir, but look where they put it. On the wall behind the balcony." "Well, I'll be ————, and I thought we had perfect understanding on that matter." "I think you did, sir. On second sight that isn't a flag, that just happens to be a piece of red cloth they have used to cover up the obnoxious Fascist plaque that is cemented into the wall." "Your observation is quite correct. It makes me happy. I guess they really did carry out the orders. There really was understanding."

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

61

Georgia Steps Out in Front

Editorial

Wanted: 12 Million New Houses

John B. Blandford, Jr.

Secret Ballot and Soldier Vote

Richard C. Spencer

County Reform Run-Around

Edward W. Weidner

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War's End Spurs Reconversion Efforts

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Contents for September 1945

EDITORIAL COMMENT........................*Alfred Willoughby* 374

WANTED: 12 MILLION NEW HOUSES......*John B. Blandford, Jr.* 376

SECRET BALLOT AND SOLDIER VOTE..........*Richard C. Spencer* 381

COUNTY REFORM RUN-AROUND...........*Edward W. Weidner* 386

'NON-PROFIT INC.' IN PUBLIC POWER.............*John Bauer* 393

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION..................*H. M. Olmsted* 401

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST.................................. 408

CITIZEN ACTION..........................*Elsie S. Parker* 412

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION........*George H. Hallett, Jr.* 417

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP..................*Elwyn A. Mauck* 420

TAXATION AND FINANCE...................*Wade S. Smith* 422

LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROAD................*Edward W. Weidner* 427

BOOKS IN REVIEW...................................... 430

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service,* the *Index to Legal Periodicals,* the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Georgia Steps Out in Front

THE spurious argument that we should make no fundamental changes to put our affairs in order during a war has been repudiated by the voters of Georgia who last month adopted a new and forward-looking state constitution.[1]

Earlier in the year the voters of Missouri took similar action.[2]

Regrettably, it must be admitted that in both instances the essentially conservative approach of the revisers and their reluctance to propose changes which might be controversial contributed to the ease of adoption.

Nevertheless, when it is considered what moth-eaten conglomerations of accumulated patchwork most state constitutions are, it will be recognized that both Missouri and Georgia took definite strides forward and have set examples of mature action which might well be given thought by other states which need to bring their basic charters out of the horse-and-buggy stage.

Georgia's method of revising its constitution was notably simple and logical. A revision commission of 23, composed of members of each branch of the legislature, members of the appellate and superior courts, certain constitutional officers of the state and representative citizens, was appointed to study the problem and prepare a document. The General Assembly debated the proposals, made some changes and submitted the draft to the voters. Unfortunately, most states would not find it possible to follow the same easy course.

In a discussion of the Georgia experience,[3] Governor Ellis Arnall remarked that "the primary objective of the Georgia revision program was to get the state government in step with the times. We in the south have a feeling that momentous events will follow victory in the Pacific, that there will be a decentralization of industry enabling this section to realize its dream of a sound industrial-agrarian society with genuine economic security for all citizens. It was imperative that state government keep in step with the change, be more efficient and more responsive to public needs. The constitution of 1945 prepares the state government for its new obligations."

Nearly every state would benefit by following the lead of Georgia and Missouri. They would benefit even more if they could rise above their political inhibitions and outworn traditions and face the problem unhampered by the feeling that bad habits become sacrosanct in proportion to their age.

The saboteurs of progress in the conduct of public business are fond of hoodwinking the public with such shibboleths as "We've got to expect a certain amount of inefficiency and waste motion in a democratic system," "What was good enough for grandfather should be good enough for us," "Look at what a great country we've become doing things this way," etc., etc.

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[1] See page 402 this issue.

[2] See "New Constitution for Missouri," by Tess Loeb, the REVIEW, April 1945.

[3] See "The New Constitution for Georgia," *State Government*, July 1945, p. 109.

That kind of eyewash would be laughable if it were not successful so often. We would face the difficult problems ahead in a better frame of mind if we would temper the fetish we have made of success by the frank admission that the natural wealth of this continent made us so rich we have been able in the past to endure shocking waste and antiquated, unworkable methods in public affairs.

Now that we have added the huge bill for the war and its aftermath to the high cost of government, taxpayers may not remain so tolerant—it would be more accurate to say apathetic—toward ineffective, inefficient, wasteful methods in the statehouse, courthouse and city hall. This sort of thing is not "the American way." Industry, when it changed almost overnight to war production to surpass all other nations in the making of arms, gave a better example of this country's talent and "way."

The Burden Grows Heavy

ONE of the many indications of growing rebellion against the burden of financing political machines from the public purse comes from the Committee of Seventy, a smart Philadelphia civic organization.

Demanding economy and efficiency in city and county government which, it says, could save Philadelphia taxpayers at least $2,000,000 annually, it calls on citizens to "check the actions of public officials and let them know that the 'easy money' days are over."

The committee in its publication *Civic Affairs* boldly exposes some of the highly paid boards and commissions as the soft patronage beds that they are, not only in Philadelphia but in many other places.

"In private industry," says *Civic Affairs,* "management takes the initiative and voluntarily improves the service that it renders. However, in government this seldom occurs. With but few exceptions the people have had to depend upon civic leaders who hold no political office and others interested in better government to work for improvements. If our public servants had been interested in properly filling their positions and in giving the people progressively better government we would have had a modernized system years ago:

"When improvements in our present laws have been proposed by recognized authorities, public officials and political parties have, in most instances, opposed and defeated them."

This is the chief reason the proportion of independent voters continues to increase, especially at the local level. Local political leaders too often neither lead their people to progress nor do they even willingly carry out the known wishes of the voters. They have forfeited public confidence.

Wanted: 12 Million New Houses

Ten-year program would produce jobs for over four million, National Housing Agency's administrator believes; private industry is expected to meet much of this pressing need.

By JOHN B. BLANDFORD, JR.*

POSTWAR housing in the United States is only one segment of the broad postwar challenge in this country, and of the still broader challenge of world reconstruction and progress. But the subject of housing —of providing good shelter—is in a sense symbolic of the whole range of postwar goals, dedicated to raising the condition of living for the peoples of the world and to bringing to bear on those conditions the full benefits of modern technology and industrial resources.

When I speak of postwar housing in the United States, I am not speaking of a separate and distinct housing era, wholly divorced from the past. We will start on postwar housing largely with what we had before the war, as modified by the impact and experience of the war and transition economies. That will be the starting point for our progress toward the ultimate housing goal laid down for us by the late President Roosevelt in his economic bill of rights—"the right of every family to a decent home."

Before the war we had been making good progress for several years in stimulating housing construction, in encouraging better standards of planning and design, and in making a start on the replacement of slums with decent housing for families of low income. Nevertheless, when we entered the war our national supply of standard housing was still far below the full needs of our population; our cities were still marred by slums and by expanding areas of housing blight, and our rate of housing production was still well below its potentials in terms of jobs, consumption of materials and equipment, and investment outlets for private funds.

The war inevitably intensified these conditions. Because of the tremendous demands for materials and manpower to produce the weapons and equipment of war, all housing construction was necessarily stopped except where imperatively needed in support of the war effort. Our wartime housing program was focussed, of course, on the 4,000,000 migrating war workers and their families who had to be recruited from outside areas to meet the labor needs of war production plants. This was a migration without parallel in our history.

With the cooperation of communities, we were able to house over half these workers in existing dwellings —at the cost of crowding but with important savings of critical materials and construction manpower. For the rest, we have built about 1,800,000 new war housing units in 1,200 localities. We converted existing buildings into apartments wherever feasible; we assisted privately financed building to the extent that a postwar market for the housing appeared likely; and we built temporary housing, dormitories and stopgap shelter with federal funds.

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*Mr. Blandford is administrator for the National Housing Agency in Washington. He has long been identified with public administration in private organizations as well as public agencies. He was director of the Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research from 1926 to 1931, when he was appointed Cincinnati's director of public safety. More recently he has been coordinator and secretary of the board, later general manager, of the Tennessee Valley Authority and assistant director of the Bureau of the Budget.

Beyond these critical war needs, however, we were not able to spare materials and manpower to take care of the normal new housing needs of the nation, to accommodate the increased number of families, or to replace substandard housing or slums. Repairs and maintenance were greatly curtailed by wartime shortages. And we face the critical problem of housing for the returning veterans of this war.

I do not mean to overemphasize the gravity or extent of this wartime impact on housing as compared with the sacrifices generally necessitated by the war. Nor do I mean to say that the sole effect of the war on housing has been to aggravate the shortage and to defer our efforts to overcome that shortage. In building 1,800,000 units of war housing under difficult limitations on materials and manpower and under constant pressure for speed, we have acquired valuable experience in large-scale construction and new building methods, in pre-fabrication and on-site fabrication. There has been valuable experience in project planning and in housing management. The private building industry has been brought into contact with new markets, particularly rental housing and lower priced sales housing. All these should be helpful in moving ahead in the postwar period.

With the end of the war, our first objective will be to remove restrictions on home building as promptly as the best interests of the transition economy permit and to do all in our power to stimulate a rapid expansion in home building. This will have a direct bearing on the speed with which we are able to reach a large volume of postwar residential construction since its effect will be to reestablish momentum in the housing industry.

Extent of Need

But to move up intelligently we first must seek to determine the size of the postwar housing need in this country and then examine the plans which are currently being developed in American communities, industry and the federal government to go about meeting that need.

Before considering these matters in detail, perhaps we can get a better insight into the basic importance of housing by a quick look at its impact on the individual American family and the individual American city, as well as on the economy as a whole.

First, as to the individual family. During the thirties, 29 per cent of all consumer expenditures were for housing and household operation, the biggest single item in our national consumer budget next to food. Moreover, the lower the family income the higher the proportion required for housing expense, with the result that in general our lowest income families were paying an excessive share of their small incomes for bad housing.

Next, as to the individual city. Housing represents the largest single use of the developed land area of our cities and provides about 45 per cent of local tax revenues. The welfare and soundness of many of our cities is being threatened by the drift of population to the suburbs because of deteriorating housing conditions in central sections, by the loss of tax revenues resulting from this suburban trend and the spread of slums and blight, and by the excessive costs of municipal services to slums and blighted areas as compared with the tax revenues received from these same areas. And the upshot of those influences is to undermine the competitive position of many cities as places for adequate, satisfying living.

Finally, as to the national economy. About one-third of the total long term private debt is in housing mortgages, which represent a major investment outlet for the funds of savings banks, savings and loan associations, life insurance companies, and the savings departments of commercial banks. In good years, housing construction has contributed about one-fourth of our total annual investment in new capital goods; in depressed years about one-tenth of a much smaller volume of new investment. And there is rather general agreement that a much larger volume of housing construction than in the past, and a more stable trend in that construction, are among the requirements for a postwar economy of approximately full employment.

Now let's consider the condition of the housing supply and the magnitude of the additional need.

In 1940, before wartime curtailments in new construction, almost 40 per cent of our non-farm housing was deficient in various respects, and over 7,000,000 houses were clearly substandard and required replacement. At the same time the population trend in this country points toward a substantial increase in number of families during the next decade.

Twelve Million Homes

Against this background, in the National Housing Agency we have tentatively identified a need for construction of 12,600,000 non-farm houses during the first ten years after the war. More than 6,000,000 of these would be needed for returning servicemen, for the expected increase in families, and for families now sharing quarters with others. The balance would be needed to replace substandard housing, assuming a twenty-year program for complete replacement of presently below-standard units.

This estimate would call for average annual construction of about a million and a quarter new houses a year, one-third greater than the peak production in any year in the past, 80 per cent above the average rate of construction during the twenties and about double the average number built in the three years preceding this war.

We believe this rate of construction would produce about four and a half million jobs, including employment in supplying industries as well as on the building site. With accompanying expenditures for repairs and farm house construction, it would produce an annual investment of about seven billion dollars in goods and services. This corresponds closely with estimates of the contribution needed from housing to support a full employment economy in the postwar period.

These are the broad outlines of the postwar housing challenge as we see it. And the dimensions of that challenge are so much greater than our past accomplishments that they clearly make imperative a unified, coordinated, whole-hearted effort in our communities, in industry, in labor and in the federal government.

Taking Inventory

It has seemed to us in the National Housing Agency that the essential preliminary to planning and action on a full-scale postwar housing effort is to inventory our resources, check on our organization for the production and financing of housing, and appraise our existing legal machinery for the assistance and supervision of housing. And we believe that this inquiry should proceed in accord with three basic premises:

First, the primary responsibility for the planning and programming of housing rests with our communities and our local governments;

Second, within our communities there should be maximum reliance upon private enterprise to meet as much of the housing need as possible;

Third, the role for the federal government in housing is to extend the supplementary assistance needed and desired to help communities and private industry progress toward our eventual goal of a decent home for every family.

It seems clear that the front lines in postwar housing in the United States should and will be in the cities and towns where the houses will be built and lived in. And within that vital community framework, we identify three main focal points of housing activity that constitute the core for cooperative action toward progressive improvement in the community housing supply.

First, there are the home financing institutions, supported by the savings of our citizens and buttressed by the additional sources of financing made available by national financial institutions. Here the need is for strong support of good practice and wise planning, responsive to the mutual interest of home financing institutions and communities in sound and progressive housing development.

Then there are the builders, the architects, the land developers, the building workers, the subcontractors and materials suppliers—the whole complex of local enterprise that actually produces the housing. This area calls for sound construction and good site planning, for a willingness to keep step with evolving technical progress, and for the courage to pioneer new markets.

Finally, there are the vital housing functions centering around our local governments. Here the need is for soundly conceived and well executed city plans aimed at long-range development; for building codes that will assure sound construction without inhibiting technical progress; for subdivision controls and redevelopment plans that will lead to the most productive and well balanced use of city land and aim towards the elimination of slums and blight; and for soundly administered local programs to provide decent housing for families of very low income.

Experience has shown that these three centers of community housing activity have needed supplementary federal aids. During the thirties, the federal government established three successful programs for housing assistance to communities and enterprise. These include the Federal Home Loan Bank System, which group provides secondary credit for home financing institutions, protects investors in those institutions against loss, and fosters good practice in home financing. They include the Federal Housing Administration, which stimulates the flow of private funds into home financing by insuring lending institutions against loss on mortgages provided good standards are met by the housing thus financed. And they include the Federal Public Housing Authority's program of loans and grants to local housing authorities for low-rent public housing.

While these established programs will continue to be our main reliance, the question now is whether additional means of assistance and stimulus may not be desirable, in view of the magnitude of our postwar housing goals. As a rough check, we measured our estimated postwar need for a million and a quarter new houses a year against the probable income distribution among American families, assuming considerably greater total national income than before the war.

Against this rough measuring rod it seems clear that private enterprise, on the basis of present construction techniques and financing methods and utilizing existing means of federal assistance, can readily meet at least the upper half of the total new construction need from the standpoint of sales prices or rents. We also have the machinery established for meeting the needs of families of very low income where public subsidy is essential in order to provide decent housing.

Middle Market Needs

But the big challenge is presented by what might be termed the middle market, consisting typically of factory wage earners or white collar workers. We estimate that the potential demand in this market will call for an average of 400,000 new houses a year at lower sales prices or rentals than have been generally available for standard new housing in the past. And we believe that ways and means must be found to help private enterprise fully develop this market if we are to reach our goal of twelve and a half million new houses in the first decade of peace.

For an effective march toward that goal, we believe there should be greatly expanded research in housing, both economic and technical. We believe cities and industry should develop machinery for mining out the full housing facts—to determine accurately what the community housing needs are and where the markets are and to strive for stability at a high level of production. We believe there should be intensified technical research in housing to bring costs down and open up new markets. And to the extent that federal stimulus and assistance is needed in these

(Continued on Page 385)

Secret Ballot and Soldier Vote

It is nobody's business how a citizen votes; advocate of secrecy protests tendency to set armed forces apart and reveal their preferences on candidates and issues.

By RICHARD C. SPENCER*

ABSENTEE voting in general, and for military personnel in particular, is still in the experimental stage, and some features warrant review on the basis of democratic principles. The general account of soldier voting is being presented to the public from several sources[1] but attention may be called here to the principle of secrecy of the vote in a democratic system, which was highlighted but not entirely satisfied in the voting by members of the military services in the 1944 election.

In the adoption of the secret ballot as a means of preventing intimidation and attendant corruption at the polls, democracy espoused the principle, at least by implication, that an elector's motives and preferences as an individual and at the time of balloting are his own and no one else's affair. The motives might be, as John Stuart Mill insisted when he opposed the secret vote, "from lucre, from malice, from pique, from personal rivalry, even from the interests or prejudices of class or sect." Neither worthy nor sordid motives, however, are intended to be subject to official revelation, except that fraudulent and coercive activities are subject to judicial examination and punishment.

Wartime makes for absenteeism on a larger scale than usual by persons who are involuntarily away from home and who, involuntarily also, are members of an identifiable group. The numbers absent are, of course, fewer from some precincts than from others, a factor of some importance in the matter of secrecy. The problems of secrecy in absentee voting are: first, preservation of the secrecy of the individual absentee's ballot choices from the eyes of inordinately interested election officials and partisan watchers; and, second, preservation of group anonymity for voting members of an important but politically unorganized category of voters.

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The views expressed in this article are those of the author in his private capacity as a student of government and not necessarily as a member of the staff of the Bureau of Census.

[1] The number of Army and Navy votes cast in the several states has been reported upon by the Bureau of the Census; the problems of administration, of transportation of applications and ballots, and of transmission of information, have been reported to Congress by the United States War Ballot Commission; and a general description is being published by the Council of State Governments in the *Book of the States.*

The problem of secrecy for the individual voter's preferences may arise with any absentee voter, soldier or civilian. Even in wartime voting relatively few voters in any one precinct may be away from home and exercise their franchise at any one election, so that any difference, however slight, in the appearance or feel of the ballot is likely to tell precinct workers of one or another party organization how so-and-so voted for president, for governor, senator, mayor or justice of the peace.

Secrecy of Individual Preferences

If the ballot of an absentee can be easily recognized, even though it does not tell exactly how Mr. Jones or Corporal Smith voted, it may often reveal enough that the wife of an uneasy ward leader, in a precinct where the niceties of democratic etiquette are not too clear, may let Jones's wife or Smith's mother know that the warmth of neighborhood political cordiality can be chilled by a wavering party loyalty. If the customary friendliness is hooked up through a cousin's position at the courthouse and a brother's job with a paving contractor, the slightest chill may be serious.

No problem arises if ballots of absentees are indistinguishable in the count from others, and if ordinary precautions are taken in the polling place against sly scanning of a ballot during the process of identification. Thus some states provide that absentee ballots must be received on or before election day and be deposited in the ballot box along with those of attending voters. All ballots are thus counted at the same time with no necessity of a separate count of soldier votes.

The counting must, of course, be done all at once after the polls have closed, as is the usual practice, or there would be no assurance that all votes counted late would be kept secret. The existence of a board of judges and clerks for counting ballots, separate from the board which has been in charge during the day, avoids the possibility of polling officials remembering the ballots of particular voters by the mode of folding or by some slight defacement.

The possibility of revealing an absentee voter's choices does arise, however, if the ballot is at all easily identifiable in the counting. If it is printed on a different grade or color of paper or in different size letters from regular ballots, the voters can be known as a group, if not individually. These differentiations occurred in various states in the 1944 elections. Some absentee ballots were stamped or printed in a way to indicate "absentee voter" or "military ballot." In such cases, in those precincts in which only one absentee voter sent in a ballot, officials counting the ballots and witnesses present are almost certain to remember that voter.

The likelihood of revealing how Private Johnson voted need not in some areas be confined to the precinct. In one county, in fact, where but a single military ballot was cast in the 1944 general election, the publication of the vote tabulation in the county seat newspaper revealed to those who knew from whom the vote was received exactly how that particular absent voter marked his choices, office by office.

Secrecy of Group Preferences

The second problem is one of anonymity of a non-political group versus group identification. During time of war, or when temporary migrations occur, groups of voters of a class may be identified if the counting of absentee ballots is conducted and recorded separately from other ballots.

If these groups of absentee voters were organized as political parties in support of definite candidacies or programs, they would be subject to the reporting of their political strength, primarily through the votes polled by their candidates, for the purpose of organization responsibility to the public as a whole. But absentees are individual voters, politically unorganized, and to identify them as a group is but to focus upon them unwarrantedly the attention of strongly interested and powerfully influential partisans. Even though suspicion of group pressure may be unfounded, the favor-dispensing mindedness of the political public is inclined to attribute pressure tactics to the chief executive as well as to local partisan leaders, and to charge political subservience to those not in position to answer for themselves.

Although no ballots were voted after election day, the fact that in 1944 eight states permitted the receipt and count of military ballots from one day to three weeks after the election emphasized the possibility of delayed election decisions and accordingly, the character of military voting. Four states published separate statewide party counts of absentee ballots, and a number of counties in other states likewise kept a separate tally. In four states—California, Maryland, New York and Pennsylvania—military votes averaged three to two for the Democratic presidential candidate.

As it turned out, the election was not close enough for the military vote to play a decisive role in the election of president, but it was a factor of significance in several areas. "Soldiers' Votes Defeated Dewey in New Jersey," read one metropolitan newspaper headline, "after the civilian balloting had given him a small majority." The published report for that state, does not give the breakdown of figures, but the separateness of the count naturally was treated by the newspapers as legitimate information.

Because of the late and separate count of military ballots in Pennsylvania, the election for members of Congress was inconclusive in two districts until the soldier vote was counted nearly a month later. In Missouri, the civilian vote in the United States senatorial race and in that for representative in four Congressional districts was indecisive, so that the late count of military ballots was needed to complete the election.

Soldier votes were reported unofficially in New Jersey to have been cast in a ratio of four to one in favor of the proposed, but rejected, new constitution; and in Montgomery County, Maryland, in a ratio of three to two against a proposed and rejected county charter. Fortunately, in neither of these cases of high organizational significance was the absentee military vote decisive, but if the results otherwise had been suspected of being close, might not the temptation have been strong on the part of some voting officials to scrutinize overzealously the "validity" of a block of votes strongly suspected of being "wrong"?

It may, incidentally, be of use to the political scientist to know the extent to which the discretion of absent voters, free from the influence of home campaigning, may be exercised differently from that of the folks at home—an item gleanable from the Maryland record of 1944—but the knowledge probably is not worth the price of group identification.

Secrecy Sometimes Difficult

The fact that the soldier vote went in larger measure to candidates of party A rather than of party B, whether at the county, state or national level, probably should not be considered as a soldier vote or even be separately known. Democratic dogma does not demand the separate counting and reporting of votes cast by Baptists, by lawyers, by members of the C. I. O., or even by adherents of the Democratic or Republican parties. A vote is a vote, if honestly cast and counted. The results should be swallowed up in the totals of all votes and, if such is the case, the soldier vote, strictly speaking, could not be claimed to turn an election.

Some exposure of the choices of a voter may be difficult to avoid, especially when the public is anxious to give soldiers every opportunity to exercise their franchise and when the delivery of their votes may be greatly delayed by the exigencies of warfare rather than by the mere dilatoriness of the voter. The use of voting machines may add to the complications in some areas, but the problem of secrecy is not insoluble with them. How the group voted on different offices, however, need not in any case be separately tabulated or published.

The printing of a separate war ballot, either by the state or by the federal government, often in small precincts, makes possible the revelation of individual preferences. The federal war ballot, as a supplement to state ballots, is a great convenience to the soldier voter, especially since it may be delivered to him much more expeditiously than variously printed and timed state ballots, and often in far better condition in view of the potentialities of some humid climates to which ballots are sent and the hazards of wartime delivery otherwise. Central identification and counting of special war ballots, like the federal, could ordinarily thwart curiosity and prevent local precinct knowledge of how Private Johnson voted, but would not prevent a segregation of figures for similar ballots counted centrally, as for instance in a Congressional district or county seat. Nor would a central count avoid separate publication in the newspapers or in published documents of the state, whereby the soldier vote would be known as a group—so many for Candidate A and so many for Candidate B.

Insistence upon secrecy of the ballot does not, of course, imply secrecy of the fact of a soldier's having voted. Identifying and reporting upon the extent of soldier and other absentee voter participation in an election provides the means of determining the effectiveness of this aspect of democracy and may point to remediable defects.

Safeguards to Honest Voting

Identification of the absent voter himself, whether he is in the fighting forces or not, is, of course, fully as important as identifying those who attend the polls in person. Comparison of identification on the ballot envelope with a voter's registration, or, lacking registration, the invitation to neighbors to challenge the validity of the would-be voter's envelope identification, is the only assurance against outrageous ballot-box stuffing.

The identification of the absentee voter, therefore, and probably the type of absentee, is necessary to the preservation of democratic voting, but the disclosure of an absentee's choices or of the choices of classes of absentees would seem to weaken that democratic base.

WANTED: 12 MILLION NEW HOUSES

(Continued from Page 380)

basic functions of housing research, we believe that it should be forthcoming.

We also identify a need for positive aids in the middle housing market. By extension of the mortgage insurance principle, we believe we could minimize marketing risks for builders entering this market and assure continuity of operations over a considerable period, which should be productive of lower costs. And by guaranteeing a minimum return to large institutions investing in rental housing, we might stimulate a volume of housing at lower rentals than have previously been available.

Finally, we believe that communities and the federal government should join forces to remove the scars of slums and blight by acquiring those land areas for redevelopment, operating on the basis of community plans and responsibility with federal assistance to the extent needed to remove the present barrier of high land costs.

I think there is general agreement that potentially we have the resources in terms of materials, manpower and background of technical skill and ingenuity to carry out successfully a full-scale postwar housing program. There remains then the job of effectively mobilizing and applying these resources.

Civic Vigilance

Today vigilance means not only an informed and interested citizen; if it is to matter, there must be some method for coordinating and combining the vigilance of many citizens. If the local government has been handed as a sort of concession to a political ring, which is quite possible, the vigilance of a few individual citizens is of no importance at all. The only vigilance that counts is organized vigilance.—BERRY FLEMING, in "We Want Good Government—Why Don't We Get It?", *Atlanta Journal.*

County Reform Run-Around

Legislators, in obedience to the whip of local boards of supervisors, safeguard their political futures by sidestepping Wisconsin proposals for constitutional amendment.

By EDWARD W. WEIDNER*

BY A vote of 61 to 31 the 1945 assembly of the state of Wisconsin defeated a proposal designed to make possible the adoption of optional forms of county government including the manager plan.

It was not a new proposal. The attempt to reform county government in the state is at least 25 years old and the most recent phase of the struggle has been going on during the last four legislative sessions. An examination and analysis of the latter reveal much of value to those determined to carry on the fight and may contain lessons applicable elsewhere.

The latest attempt to make county government efficient was a result of a state supreme court decision in 1934 which declared unconstitutional a 1921 law providing for the commission form of county government as an option to the supervisor system. Article IV, Section 23, of the state constitution stipulates: "The legislature shall establish but one system of town and county government, which shall be as nearly uniform as practicable." The court found that the commission plan was a new and fundamentally different system, hence the option was violative of the first part of the clause. Furthermore the option made it possible for two counties with substantially similar conditions and needs to have materially and unnecessarily different systems of county government and this made the law conflict with the second part of Section 23.[1]

The result has been that only one system of representation on county boards is in force in all Wisconsin counties except Milwaukee.[2] Each town of a county and each ward of a city elect a representative to the board, giving counties governing bodies of an unusually large size and, worse yet, a rotten borough system of representation. Legally, the legislature has complete freedom in designating the uniform system of county board representation, but politically the present system is the only possible one under existing constitutional provisions.

As the emphasis changed during the 1930's from the county commission to county manager form of government, Wisconsin citizens found that another constitutional passage, Article VI, Section 4, blocked progress. It provides in part: "Sheriffs, coroners, register of deeds, district attorneys, and all other county officers except judicial officers, shall be chosen by the electors of the respective counties once in every two years." Although this clause does not prevent an elected county officer from exercising over-all managerial powers or the county board from appointing a county manager, to the extent that it requires independently elective officers it seriously limits the advantages of the manager plan.

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[1] *Adams, State ex rel.,* v. *Radcliffe,* 216 Wis. 356.

[2] Milwaukee has been exempted from the uniform plan. The court upheld such exemption because it felt that under Article IV, Section 23, somewhat different legislation was justified in a populous county. *State ex rel. Scanlan* v. *Archibold,* 146 Wis. 363; 131 N. W. 895 (1911).

Attempt at Revision

Under the leadership of the late Professor George S. Wehrwein, well known land economist of the University of Wisconsin, and Assemblyman Palmer F. Daugs, and with the support of the Wisconsin League of Women Voters and the City Club of Milwaukee, an attempt was launched shortly after the 1934 court decision to amend the two clauses of the constitution which stood in the way of the optional adoption of the county manager plan. This was no small task, since a proposed constitutional amendment must be passed by two consecutive legislatures and then approved by the voters in a referendum.

The immediate result has been that of defeat. Resolutions providing for such amendments were introduced by Representative Daugs and passed in the legislatures of 1939 and 1943 only to be defeated two years later in each case. This dual legislative record of passage and defeat means that a substantial number of legislators voted for the proposal one session and voted against it the next. Excluding changes in legislative membership, 29 of the 100 members of the assembly switched votes in the 1939 and 1941 sessions while 28 followed the practice in 1943 and 1945. The resolution would have passed both the 1941 and 1945 assemblies if those who had favored it two years previously had not changed their votes.

Explaining vote-switching, some contend that by passing the measure the first time by a fairly comfortable margin the proponents of the measure may be put to sleep, making the task of killing the measure more simple. Whether this idea actually motivated a large number of legislators is difficult to say, but no overconfidence prevailed among reformers.

More basic, perhaps, is the double voting record which vote-switching permits. The legislator can please both sides and at the same time vote the way he really wants to when the chips are down. The ayes which the proposal has received in the first sessions have been in part votes lightly given and easily withdrawn.

An examination of the voting record of Wisconsin legislators reveals that political party seems to have been quite influential in determining votes. In 1943 a small bloc in each house, which on several test votes consistently opposed the measure, was made up of a majority of Republicans. Democrats and Progressives were in the majority in similar favoring groups. In the 1945 assembly Republicans opposed the proposal 58-13 while the Democrats and Progressives supported it 14-3 and 5-1.

Many persons have suggested to

Assemblyman Daugs and the League of Women Voters that since Mr. Daugs is an independent Democrat there ought to be at least one Republican to co-sponsor the measure. Among the reformers there has been a tendency to discount such suggestions. They point to the fact that the assembly speaker and the majority floor leader, both Republicans, voted with them this year, and the Democratic floor leader, from suburban Milwaukee, voted against the proposal. Also it is argued that the proposal is a nonpartisan one.

While these facts may be true, in interviewing some of the legislators the writer was told that the argument was privately used that the proposal had the name of a Democrat attached to it and consequently that party would get credit for it. The Democrats were the only party to have a plank in their 1944 platform favoring the resolution although the Republicans had approved it in 1942. The extent of the partisan split on the proposal cannot be entirely explained by the fact that the present minority members tend to come from urban areas.

The geographical division of votes in the 1943 and 1945 legislatures was marked. Almost to a man the legislators from suburban Milwaukee opposed the plan. Prominent in the 1943 small favoring bloc in each house were those from urban areas—Milwaukee City or Dane County (Madison).

The rural-urban-suburban division over the matter can be exemplified by the division of newspaper opinion. Very few of the 48 dailies in the state opposed the plan; while several took no stand, the writer was able to find only two which were actually in opposition in 1945, the Green Bay and Monroe papers. Important support for the proposal came from the two Milwaukee papers, the two Madison papers, and the dailies of such cities as La Crosse, Antigo, Rhinelander, Janesville, Beloit, Stevens Point and Marinette. The extensive rural weekly press of the state carries little state news as a rule and the Daugs resolution was no exception. There are few editorials on any subject in this press; but excepting those in the Milwaukee suburban area, the majority of the few weeklies that editorialized on the subject supported the proposal.

Opposition from Suburbs

The suburban Milwaukee opposition to the resolution is well exemplified by the weekly *Cudahy Enterprise*. In an editorial entitled "Old Mother Milwaukee," it said:

"The Daugs resolution . . . would virtually put control of the suburbs in the old lady's hands because it would allow her to eventually take over the police, fire, street, legal and other operational departments of the suburbs, leaving the communities self-governing in name only."

Actually, the proposal would have done no such thing. It would have permitted the legislature to establish optional forms of county government, but such an optional form could not have been submitted to the voters of a county without the approval of the existing board of supervisors. Evidently the Milwaukee suburbs were afraid that this would happen in that county and that a new representation plan would lessen their power on the county governing body. Probably more significant was the fact that over a long period of years there has been a bitter emotional struggle between Milwaukee and its suburbs which is encouraged in every possible way by the latter's leaders and lobbyists.

Milwaukee-Suburb Fight

Citizens from Milwaukee County took a disproportionate amount of time at legislative hearings on the Daugs bill. Most state legislators are tired of hearing about the continuing Milwaukee-suburbs fight, and this may have reacted against the proposal. Some legislators came to think of it as a Milwaukee problem. An analysis of those appearing at the 1945 assembly committee hearing reveals that five of the nine appearing against the resolution were from Milwaukee suburbs and two were from associations of county officials. Those appearing for it were Daugs himself, two rural Republican assemblymen, three representatives of women's organizations, two representatives from the Milwaukee City Club, and a member of the Rock County (Janesville, Beloit) Board of Supervisors.

Even the strong support given the measure by the *Milwaukee Journal* and City Club may have been a handicap, some of the proponents felt. Certainly another time they should try to see that the Milwaukee situation does not dominate the issue.

There was little significant geographical division of opinion outside Milwaukee County with the possible exception of Dane County.

The only newspaper in the state that showed an interest in the county manager plan as such was the daily of Janesville, and a legislative supporter of the plan pointed out to the writer that the more one mentioned county managers the less votes the proposal would get. There is still much opposition in Wisconsin to the county manager plan and even the commission plan as dictatorial.

The main argument of most of the daily and weekly press which supported the Daugs resolution is aptly summarized in the title of the weekly of Jefferson County, the *County Union* (incidentally, a Republican newspaper in Daugs' home county), which read "An Assembly Without Faith in the People." The character of the opposition is well revealed by part of it:

> Assemblyman Elmer Genzmer of Mayville, who led the successful fight to defeat the resolution, revealed a strange lack of concern over its merits. Genzmer fought the resolution with a frenzied, impassioned appeal which implied at least that the state constitution is a divinely inspired instrument, and even the suggestion of alteration is sacrilege.
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> The constitution is "the only safeguard this state and the United States ever had," he shouted. "The greatest tyrants in history yelled 'let the people decide!' We don't want this sniping at our constitution." He assailed newspapers for their support of the resolution and declared that Italy and Germany had "the kind of efficiency this bill proposes."
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> No less ridiculous was Genzmer's choice piece of logic: "Nobody appeared in favor of it except a guy from Milwaukee . . . and a couple of babes from out there on the lake." The "babes" he referred to were representatives from the Wisconsin League of Women Voters.

In general the newspapers favorable to the reform proposal cited the diversity of conditions in counties in Wisconsin and the desirability of letting the people have a choice in choosing their form of county government and of passing on the constitutional amendment. Significantly, perhaps, the opponents of the measure never said much about the value of the uniformity clause as such.

Despite support from many of the state's dailies, the basic characteristics of the rest of the state, urban and rural, and of Dane and Milwaukee Counties as well, were the misunderstanding, lack of information and inertia of the people. Most persons did not know the resolution was before the legislature and of those who did many had weird ideas of what it contained. Many believed that the proposal would automatically eliminate the supervisor system and much of suburban Milwaukee thinks that it means city-suburban consolidation.

Women Lead Campaign

Up to now the Wisconsin League of Women Voters has been the principal statewide source of propaganda for the county reform measure besides the newspapers which have given it their support. The League has had radio programs and issued fliers, and the many local leagues have interviewed their county supervisors and state legislators, held meetings, campaigned at county fairs, and distributed literature. Members of the league have attempted, without much success, to interview members of the opposition such as those from the Wisconsin County Boards Association and Milwaukee suburbs. Most of those appearing at legislative hearings on the proposal have done so largely at league instigation. There have been some disappointments on this score; for instance, the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance has refused to support actively the Daugs resolution before the legislature.

Although the League of Women Voters has done much to promote the modernization of county government in Wisconsin, some advocates feel that they have been too prominently associated with it for the good of the proposal. Legislators, particularly those from rural areas, resent groups such as the league and consider them theorists who do not understand the "practical aspects" of politics.

While perhaps the point is overmade, there is a danger to any reform proposal in having it associated too strongly with one group. Yet of the 32 legislators who were favorable to the proposal in 1945 (31 votes and one pair), 26 were from counties in which there were local leagues.

The prestige of the existing system of Wisconsin county government among the people is one reason change comes so slowly, but more important is the influence which the existing system exerts on the state legislature. The point is not so much that many members have been or are county or town officeholders. It is the balance of political power in the vast rural part of the state which is much affected by the present system of county government. County board members, elected by towns and wards, have political control in their districts or they wouldn't hold their positions. Legislative districts are made up of a series of these town districts; consequently, many legislators feel it would be political suicide for them to "threaten" the position of the county board by voting favorably on the Daugs resolution.

As has been pointed out, the threat was small inasmuch as the county board concerned would have to approve of any change made. But the boards heartily disapproved of the measure nevertheless as is evidenced by the poll of the 71 county boards taken by their association. Of 44 which replied, 40 opposed and four favored the reform. It is well to remember that a legislator cannot be a statesman if he is not in office.

Supervisors Opposed

Although over a period of years the County Boards Association has been fair in presenting both sides of the issue in its publication, *Wisconsin Counties,* before the legislature it has used every means at its disposal to attack the Daugs resolution and defend the desirability of the *status quo,* that is, strict constitutional uniformity. Thus we have an organization of public officials, supported by public money, largely responsible for the defeat of a proposal to give the people a chance to vote on an amendment which in turn would give county voters a chance to choose an alternative form of government if they first secured the approval of the county board.

The writer was told that privately the County Boards Association was afraid that different types of county boards would form their own association, so that the present association would lose power and influence. In any event, it would seem that a poll of county boards no matter on what subject has great influence on the state legislature. In the words of the *Milwaukee Journal,* "To safeguard their own political futures," legislators "act as the county boards instruct." In the future advocates of county improvement must concentrate more on their respective counties.

There is disagreement among its supporters as to whether the proposed resolution should repeal both the uniformity clause (affecting the composition of the county boards, largely) and the clause requiring certain elective county officers. Assembly supporters of the resolution have favored the inclusion of both clauses, Senate supporters just the clause referring to the uniformity feature, and opponents in each house have taken the opposite stand! The same division of opinion on strategy is found outside the legislature.

Some feel that no proposal has a chance to pass if both provisions are included while others hold that in order to do the job right—that is, in order to make possible a county manager system—both provisions are necessary. The difference in strategy among the opponents seems to be that some senators in this group feel that if both clauses are included it will be defeated because elective county officers, in addition to county board members, will object while some assemblymen feel that anything done to emasculate the proposal—eliminating one of the provisions, or weakening it by further restrictions in adoption procedures—is all to the good.

All of which leads to the question as to how much compromise is necessary or desirable. This problem is interrelated with another—how much are inertia, misunderstanding and lack of information being mitigated. If everyone is quite completely informed and yet no majority for the reform proposal is possible, compromise would be desirable. But if an education program could get a majority to back the present proposal, that would be the obvious choice. It appears to the writer that the Wisconsin situation is largely the latter. Some compromises have already been made. The county board must first approve the local change; district attorneys have been exempt from the list of officers which could be made appointive.

The two principal opponents of the plan, the County Boards Association and suburban Milwaukee, would not be satisfied with any plan which would make possible changed representation on a county board. They are both staunch defenders of the rotten borough system.

A careful analysis of *Wisconsin Counties* reveals that the only reform proposal which has had any appeal to the editors of the County Boards Association magazine is one made by Charles D. Rosa. His views have been printed three or four times in substantially the same form and he has talked more than once before the organization's annual meetings. It is well to note, therefore, that, substantially, the Rosa proposal is to superimpose a county manager on the existing county government framework. All county employees except constitutional county officers and their employees would be under his direct control.

County boards already have power to appoint county auditors with wide powers which might be strengthened to make them managers. Yet in practice in many counties such an officer has not fitted into the picture well—he has tended to come into conflict with the county clerk who also has important financial powers and who is auditor if none is appointed by the board. It might well be asked whether a county manager might not also come into conflict with the clerk, especially in view of the facts revealed by L. H. Adolfson in his study of the county clerk.[3]

Joint Committee Provided

With the thought in mind of keeping the issue before the people and of trying to work out something which would be agreeable to all concerned after the defeat of the amendment this spring, Assemblyman Daugs invited representatives of the League of Women Voters, the Milwaukee City Club and the Wisconsin County Boards Association to a meeting at which all agreed that the establishment of a joint interim committee to study county government in Wisconsin was desirable. Such a resolution was, accordingly, introduced and passed. It provides for a committee of thirteen—three senators, five assemblymen and five citizens, the latter appointed by the governor. The committee may investigate and study "any matter or question relating to county government that it deems advisable." The

(Continued on Page 400)

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[3] See the REVIEW, March 1945, p. 125.

'Non-Profit Inc.' in Public Power

Expert, discussing purchase of properties ordered sold by SEC pending later acquisition by cities, points out dangers, suggests program to protect public interest.

By JOHN BAUER*

AN ASSOCIATED Press story on July 6, 1945, furnished the occasion for a country-wide publicity flare-up regarding a recent utility development which was characterized by Congressman Lyle H. Boren of Oklahoma as "Swindle, Inc.," but which I shall present as "Non-Profit, Inc.," without any moral implications.

Non-Profit, Inc., has been devised as an intermediate step in the purchase of a utility by a city or other suitably organized public body. It consists of a group of local business and professional men, incorporated for the purpose of negotiating for the purchase of the common stock of the operating company and, upon acquisition, controlling the company. It serves as an intermediary until legal ownership of the stock or the physical properties of the utility can be transferred to the proper public authority. There is no profit to the special group in connection with any part of the transaction.

Congressman Boren was particularly concerned with a federal tax problem. He pointed out that in 1944 the electric utilities paid $468,000,000 to the government, that these non-profit corporations would not be subject to such tax, and that this saving would support nearly $16,000,000,000 of 3 per cent bonds or $23,000,000,000 of 2 per cent bonds issued to acquire control of the properties. The consumers would pay interest on the bonds instead of taxes to the government.[1]

The purpose of this article, however, is not to give currency to Congressman Boren's charges but to present and discuss Non-Profit, Inc., in relation to a reasonable municipal policy for the acquisition of electric utilities.

General Background

Under the Federal Holding Company Act of 1935, administered by the Securities and Exchange Commission, every holding company system is required to dispose of its control over all subsidiary companies whose properties together do not constitute an integrated service territory. In a few cases sale has been made to cities or other public bodies. While there has been extensive consideration of municipal acquisition, actual purchase has encountered almost insuperable obstacles.

The ordinary city is frequently

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[1] If there is a hole in the federal laws which permits legal tax evasion through Non-Profit, Inc., it can be easily closed. All that is needed, it seems to me, is to limit tax exemption to actual public ownership and operation.

confronted with a lack of adequate legal powers to take over the properties at reasonable prices. If it does have the right to purchase, it is usually subject to negotiation as to price, and naturally the private owners will hold out for an amount predicated mainly on the company's earning power at existing rates as well as on savings that would be realized through municipalization. Divestment may be effected in a variety of ways, and sale to the city follows only if that proves to be most advantageous for the holding company group.

Under these circumstances the attainable price is usually much higher than the city would be warranted in paying. Unless it has power to take over the properties through condemnation proceedings or has available special means to support its bargaining power—such as rate reductions or special franchise restrictions—it is likely to be balked in its efforts to acquire the properties or the stock at a reasonable price.

But even where a satisfactory purchase can be reached by agreement or condemnation, a city may be stymied by restrictions on financing. In the face of a constitutional debt limit it would usually be prevented from issuing general credit bonds even if immediately upon acquisition it would make the properties self-sustaining. In such a situation it should be able to issue revenue bonds as an appropriate means of financing, but it cannot do so unless it has been authorized by legislative action, and generally it has no such authority.

The "non-profit" corporation has been developed, therefore, to meet the complications that hamper direct and immediate municipal acquisition of utility properties at their reasonable service value.

Omaha Set-up

This type of interim organization apparently had its origin in Omaha, Nebraska, where for several years efforts had been made for the city or a special public body to take over the properties of the Nebraska Power Company, whose stock was owned by the American Power and Light Company, which in turn was controlled by Electric Bond and Share.

A variety of complications, cross-purposes, litigation and legislation ensued which will be passed in this account. While an attack was pending on the constitutionality of a statute creating a local public body to acquire the Nebraska Power properties, the Omaha Electric Committee, Inc., a non-profit corporation, was organized. It acquired the common stock of the operating company for about $14,200,000. This amount, with the bonds, preferred stock and net liabilities, was equivalent to a total of $44,000,000 for the entire properties.

The committee's financing was an involved affair, in that it had no funds and was not in position to issue its own securities to pay for the stock. An ingenious arrangement was worked out with the Consumers Public Power District of Nebraska, under which the company would lease its power plant facilities to the district, which would then furnish power to the company under a specified wholesale rate. The district, on the issuance of its own securities, provided over $15,000,000 in the form of a guarantee fund, out of which the purchase price was paid. The wholesale power rates were calculated to provide for the amortization of the fund over a period of about twelve years, leaving also a substantial operating profit for the district.

In this transaction, according to Congressman Boren, a certain financial expert obtained a fee upward of $500,000, and the whole setup was regarded as tainted. While, of course, such an arrangement offers possibilities for manipulation, I doubt whether there was any crookedness on the part of the committee or others involved. I call in question, however, the reasonableness of the purchase price that would have to be supported by the community if the committee's plan is carried through. And, in general, I challenge Non-Profit, Inc., as a justified intermediary to public power or to public ownership of any utility.

Fair Purchase Price

The question is whether the purchase price paid by the Omaha Committee can be reasonably made good by the city or other public authority in following the intermediary to full public ownership and operation of the properties.

Naturally, a fair price should be paid for the properties upon public acquisition, and reasonable consideration should be given to all factors that enter into a fair determination. In general, this would consist of the "fair value" of the properties on which the company had been legally entitled to receive a return through the rates paid by consumers. The community should not be required to support a higher investment figure upon public acquisition than under private ownership. While the make-up of such an amount may be subject to dispute, the basis approved by recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court, and applied generally by the Federal Power Commission, consists of the original cost of the properties used in service, less their depreciation for physical and functional causes, plus working capital. This equals the net unimpaired actual investment in the physical properties and other assets. It eliminates all plant write-ups and other past inflationary charges to the property accounts, and precludes the capitalization of excess earnings obtained under existing rates or savings that public ownership is expected to realize through financing, operation or avoidance of taxes.

What was the fair value of the Nebraska Power properties when control was obtained by the committee? According to the Federal Power Commission's annual publication of electric utility statistics, the company's reported total electric plant account, as of December 31, 1943, was $40,681,000 and the stated depreciation reserve was $5,339,000. The net plant investment as reported was thus $35,342,000, compared with $44,000,000 under the committee acquisition. By itself, this comparison leaves no very serious complaint against the purchase price.

But, according to the Federal Power Commission, the reported total plant cost of $40,681,000 includes $8,862,000 of write-ups and other charges in excess of the original cost of the properties which is thus reduced to $31,819,000. Furthermore, the depreciation reserve of $5,339,000 comes to only 17 per cent of the original cost, and is palpably inadequate. This inadequacy follows a too low annual depreciation charge made to operating expenses during past years, thus showing correspondingly greater net earnings than were actually realized and thus supporting the inordinate dividends paid by the company.

The actual depreciation of the properties could not possibly be less than 30 per cent of the original cost. An important item that must have had an original cost of at least $10,000,000, and which is almost totally depreciated, is the company's capacity. While this plant may have been in good physical condition for war-time operation, it is old and obsolete, and will be unfit for regular future electric generation. A new steam plant of like or greater capacity will be necessary unless this can be avoided through the contemplated Missouri Valley hydro development.

At 30 per cent total plant depreciation, the $31,819,000 of original cost becomes $22,273,000 of net plant investment. If to this amount is added a reasonable sum for working capital, and an adjustment to cover all other factors and uncertainties, I cannot see how the fair value for rate-making or public purchase could possibly exceed $25,000,000, $19,000,000 less than the committee's purchase price. That price certainly constitutes an overpayment that requires vigorous scrutiny by public authorities before they accept and freeze it into actual public acquisition of the properties.

In the light of these facts how could the committee agree to $44,000,000? The answer is, earning power *at existing rates,* plus savings available through refinancing and otherwise.

For the year 1943 the operating revenues of the company amounted to $10,420,000. Against this gross figure stood operating expenses of $5,038,000, an allowance for depreciation of $730,000, an amortization accrual of $10,000, and taxes of $1,937,000, or total revenue deductions of $7,715,000. This leaves $2,705,000 as reported operating income on the properties at prevailing rates. This figure probably furnished the controlling basis of the committee's calculation.

Capitalization of Existing Rates

On the basis of the reported operating figures, the company's return in 1943 was excessive by $1,330,000, and a corresponding rate reduction was in order. If such a reduction had been made, the return at 5½ per cent on $25,000,000 would have been $1,375,000. On a fair return basis, the committee's purchase price would have been utterly inconceivable. However, at the actual return as reported under the excessive rates, the price could be rationalized at the penalty of freezing in those rates. Against the return of $2,705,000, as reported, there would be deducted just the $1,080,000 for interest and the like, leaving $1,625,000 for total dividends. From this total would be deducted $499,000 for the dividends on $7,500,000 preferred stock, leaving $1,126,000 for common stock dividends and surplus. This would come to about 8 per cent on the $14,200,000 paid for the stock. Even if the reported net is reduced by an additional depreciation allowance of $255,000, figuring 3 per cent on the original plant cost instead of slightly over 2.2 per cent provided by the company, there would still be available $871,000 for the common stock. This would come to slightly over 6 per cent on the price paid for the stock, and would look like a warranted business deal—*if the excessive rates were regarded as reasonable and if the level of 1943 war earnings were taken to be permanent.*

The fact seems clear that the committee's purchase price was more or less directly predicated on the company's 1943 earnings, realized at prevailing excessive rates and under wartime business conditions. All this was capitalized directly into the purchase price. If the setup materializes in public ownership as planned, it has left only savings from recapitalization, operating overhead and taxes through which rates can be reduced or other public advantages attained.

Non Profit Inc. Elsewhere

The Omaha situation is more or less duplicated in every locality where company or property divestments are required under the Federal Holding Company Act. Naturally, each controlling company group seeks the most advantageous disposition. The new device, Non-Profit, Inc., offers itself as a practical intermediary to those who feel that public ownership is the answer to the utility problem. It appeals to business men and others who feel a responsibility for the community's welfare but ordinarily do not understand what is involved in utility valuation from the public viewpoint. They are likely to approve any purchase price that is not obviously and flagrantly wrong.

According to Congressman Boren, Non-Profit, Inc., has been worked on extensively in other localities. He mentioned particularly Portland, Oregon, Seattle and Spokane, Washington, Louisville, Kentucky, and Cincinnati, Ohio. While I know none of the facts in these cities, in no instance can Non-Profit, Inc., acquire local properties unless it bids high enough and offers the most advantageous way of divestment for the holding company. It must inevitably freeze in the existing rates and capitalize more or less the prospective advantages of public ownership.

Washington Public Utility District

I have had considerable professional contact with Public Utility Districts (PUD's) in the state of Washington, where Non-Profit, Inc., is said to be at work. Regardless of possible dubious involvements, it has been subject to the inescapable conditions of purchasing on the basis of existing earning power and imposing excessive prices upon the PUD's or other public bodies if it should succeed in its plan.

Apparently, however, it is not succeeding because of the price obstacle. According to well informed opinion forwarded to me, it has caused a division in the PUD ranks, in both the legislative and practical efforts to establish direct public ownership, and it will probably not succeed in acquiring private properties even on an earnings-capitalization basis.

The fact seems to be that the companies do not want to sell, and they have been warding off the day of forced negotiated sale or condemnation by dealing with Non-Profit, Inc., and letting it give hope of favorable acquisition by the PUD's. By keeping it and the districts interested in the possibility of a favorable over-all purchase of the properties, they appear to have gained at least the following advantages:

1. Avoided a difficult legislative battle in the last session of the legislature against a proposed corrupt practices act aimed at such utility expenditures as were directed against the famous Initiative 25.
2. Held up rate regulation under conditions which were generally favorable, especially under the new available transformation and modernization of rate-making standards and procedures; when proper reductions should have been made for the purpose of facilitating sale at a reasonable price to the PUD's, they were headed off under the caution not to disturb the negotiations between Non-Profit, Inc., and the companies.
3. Obtained postponement of PUD condemnation actions.
4. Headed off a contemplated public power initiative.
5. Above all, gained time in holding back federal legislation to establish a Columbia Valley Authority, hoping after the war to become Bonneville's largest customers and so to neutralize its zeal in behalf of public power.

In the light of the foregoing account, it would appear that Non-Profit, Inc., cannot be utilized as a justified intermediary to outright public power organization. In my judgment, it should not be given recognition as a means for securing public ownership of power. As a self-constituted private group it arrogates to itself the public function of doing indirectly what a municipality or other public body cannot do directly, i.e., the purchase of privately owned properties at a price predicated upon earning power based on excessive rates. If this cannot be justified directly by public officials, it should not be perpetrated indirectly, even though honestly and sincerely conceived and carried through.

A Municipal Program

But, if Non-Profit, Inc., is to be ruled out—and usually it rules itself out by the results—the question arises as to what municipalities or other public bodies should do to bring about reasonable utility conditions, especially to secure the lowest rates possible under proper organization and efficient management:

1. They should have a comprehensive survey made of the entire utility situation with which they are concerned for the purpose of establishing and carrying through the most advantageous program for the community, with full fairness toward all private interests affected. Such a survey should include not only electric power but all utilities serving the territory.

2. They should engage competent, public-minded and reliable experts, preferably from the outside, to make the survey, report and recommendations, and to assist throughout where experience and technical understanding are important for proper formulation and implementation of the program. They should pay sensible professional fees for such work without contingent arrangements which depend on outcome and which tend to divert attention from the public objective to ways of securing private

gains. In no part of the program should there be contingent compensation or other arrangements which bring self-interest in conflict with the public welfare. This applies to financing and legal fees as well as fees for the utility experts.

3. Where rates and earnings have been excessive, public authorities should proceed promptly to get proper reductions. Furthermore, they can now get transformation in the state regulatory standards and procedure, so that rates can be systematically controlled to bring a fair return and no more, with equal protection of public and private rights. Reasonable rates will eliminate the possibility of capitalizing against the public existing earning power resulting from excessive rates. Proper rate control under private ownership has greater public advantage than public ownership based on a purchase price which freezes existing high rates.

4. For acquisition of privately owned properties, authorities should deal directly with the company concerned, without Non-Profit, Inc., as an intermediary, but with the assistance of experts, as already outlined. They should be free to negotiate for the purchase or to take the properties through condemnation. They should be unhampered in their dealings and procedure, but they should not force the price below the fair service value of the properties, even in the face of provocation and though there have been past excessive earnings.

5. If Non-Profit, Inc., has already intervened, public authorities should by-pass its arrangements if not justified from the public viewpoint. They are not bound by its price agreement or contracts involved in its organization and financing unless prior fixed commitments have been made.

6. If they have not adequate legal powers to acquire, organize and finance utility properties on a basis which warrants public ownership, authorities should demand appropriate legislation or even constitutional amendment. First, they should be able to condemn the properties under standards and procedures which will duly protect private rights but which will preclude unnecessary delays and provide a competent agency to fix valuation. Second, they should be empowered to issue either revenue or general credit bonds to finance acquisition, also subsequent extension and enlargement of the plant, subject to financially self-sustaining operation, with adequate safeguards for interest payments and amortization. Such legislation can be obtained if public authorities insist and use available and justified pressure. They should strive for concerted effort among the municipalities, especially joint action through the state municipal league. They should get the support of all public-minded groups and individuals, with their compounded impact upon the legislature. A sound policy and program, vigorously and intelligently pursued, can be attained. If rates have been properly reduced, public ownership can afford to wait until it can be sensibly established with actual advantage to the public.

7. Besides acquisition of the private properties, public authorities should provide for proper organization and management to assure efficiency and economy. Important

matters are form of organization, selection of managerial officials, adoption of personnel standards, financial and operating policies, accounts and records, fixing of rates, territory covered, etc.

I submit, that if public authorities observe the foregoing seven points they can get decent utility conditions for their localities. They will not need Non-Profit, Inc., in developing and carrying through their program of action. If they do deal with Non-Profit, Inc., they will do so mainly because of inadequate comprehension of what is involved. Honest and public-minded people can be emotionally entrapped by the idea of public ownership without critical scrutiny of a particular situation. Competent survey of conditions, needs and relative advantages and alternatives, is the prerequisite of reasonable public policy and action.

COUNTY REFORM RUN-AROUND

(Continued from Page 392)

committee may not be able to compromise divergent viewpoints, but it will at least focus publicity on county government needs.

Neither the League of Women Voters nor State Representative Daugs has become discouraged about the temporary failure of county reform in Wisconsin. The campaign will continue until successful. It will take at least five more years, however, before any constitutional change can be made, since both the 1947 and 1949 legislatures must approve an amending resolution, and then it must be submitted to popular referendum. The trend of votes in the legislature the last four sessions, while not too conclusive, does indicate some support has been gained for the proposal since it was first introduced in 1939. At least the minority which is not afraid to support the measure when its votes count the most is growing.

Encouraging are the letters which Representative Daugs received this year after the defeat of the proposal. Belated action by certain CIO and Chamber of Commerce groups, revealed in the letters, indicates that widespread support may be forthcoming for the next attempt. The awakening of the citizens is a difficult, but not an impossible, task.

Defining 'Politician'

The trouble with some of us is that perhaps we have used too harsh terms in describing this professional politician. Perhaps some one should coin a new word to describe the politician who is able, competent, honest and qualified. That would be much easier than to try to reform some of the people now known as politicians in our country. Something should be done to identify and classify the two kinds of politicians and to get a new name for either one or the other.
—F. H. LaGUARDIA, Mayor of New York City.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

War's End Spurs Reconversion Efforts

Federal, State, Local Governments Put to Test

THE END of organized hostilities, which came with Congress in adjournment without having adopted comprehensive and coordinated plans to meet unemployment and the reconversion lag, has brought about some rapid efforts of national and state administrations to overcome these problems and to encourage prosperity in peace as well as in war. Activities of certain Congressional committees have been renewed pending the reconvening of the entire body earlier than planned.

The Senate Banking and Currency Committee began hearings August 21 on the so-called full employment bill, containing a proposal for a national budget to correlate federal capital expenditures with the private employment situation. The Senate Finance Committee undertook to hold hearings beginning August 29 on President Truman's request for immediate extension of federal unemployment insurance to a limit of 26 weeks at $25 a week.

One of the first impulses of people and government was to do away with war-created controls, some of which were hastily removed without apparent proof that the need for them had immediately vanished.

The public works program for utilizing discharged war workers, service men and others to create public assets awaited Congressional action to declare at an end the war emergency restricting such expenditures, and to determine policy as to grants. The national highway plans, involving federal expenditures authorized in the amount of $1,000,000,000 annually, to be matched by the states, needed the word from Congress to proceed.

In the municipal field the leading example was New York City, with its program for a possible expenditure of $1,250,000,000, of which 28 per cent was fully planned and 50 per cent partially planned, but which was largely predicated on federal grants not yet authorized. Mayor LaGuardia, on August 19, declared that although a public works program is not a complete formula for prevention of widespread idleness among former war workers and service men, it is the only stopgap against unemployment on a disastrous scale.

On August 18 the Federal Works Agency directed the suspension of all projects financed entirely by federal money and not yet actually under construction, and the rescinding of allotments for other projects, partly financed by federal funds, where contracts have not yet been approved. This curtailment was because of lack of authorization for reconversion measures as against activities to meet war needs. Work under way may go forward if the need for the facility concerned can be shown still to exist, and allotments will be made until October 31 on already approved projects for general hospitals, recreation for service men, schools and miscellaneous municipal service projects. The FWA's Bureau of Community Facilities is enlarging its planning program to help state and local governments to draft programs for needed public works.

Relaxation of controls of the War Production Board over steel, copper and aluminum freed huge quantities of those materials for civilian uses. Federal Construction Coordinator Hugh Potter predicted that despite shortages of lumber and other building materials, 500,000 dwelling units would be built in 1946 and a million a year thereafter for a decade.

New York Plans

Governor Dewey of New York announced on August 19 the creation of the Governor's Reconversion Service Agency, consisting of the heads of the state departments of commerce, public works and labor, to aid business in reconversion and expansion. Its functions include liaison between federal agencies and manufacturers in connection with release of materials and information on price control and other policies; the providing of information on equipment and materials, skilled manpower, industrial space and markets, in the various parts of the state, and also on new processes and products and on opportunities to establish small businesses. It is to make the services of the state government directly available to the business community for rapid reconversion.

This action followed by a day the release of a report of M. P. Catherwood, New York Commissioner of Commerce, outlining his department's efforts in aid of business, analyzing the employment situation in the state, predicting bright economic prospects and asserting the absence of a definite reconversion policy in the federal government.

On the same day, August 18, President Truman issued his executive order on reconversion, to mobilize federal resources so as to promote a swift and orderly transition to a peacetime economy and to assure general stability of prices and costs and the maintenance of purchasing power. The declared policy is to assist in conversion of plants and facilities, public and private; to make materials and supplies available for peacetime production; to provide job placement assistance to war workers and veterans; to prevent either inflation or deflation; and to remove price, wage, production and other controls where the stability of the economy is not endangered.

Georgia Voters Adopt New Constitution

At a popular referendum on August 7 Georgia voters approved the new constitution[1] that had been drafted by a commission of 23 members last year and accepted by the 1945 legislature. It carried by approximately two to one in a comparatively light vote. The commission, provided by the 1943 legislature, included members of that body, high court judges, state officials and representative citizens. Its work supersedes the 1877 constitution and its amendments, many of which were completely obsolete.

Governor Ellis Arnall made a vigorous statewide campaign for the document. One of the leading opponents was former Governor Gene Talmadge. Some fifty changes were pointed out by Governor Arnall, who classified them in four categories:

1. *Correction of abuses in the political system of the state.* Among these are the constitutional elimination of the poll tax (abolished by statute earlier in the year), establishment of a uniform literacy test for voters, and termination of tax exemption to favored corporations.

2. *Promotion of efficiency in state government:* including a supreme court of seven members instead of six (avoiding tie votes), a state budget system, abolition of the system of allocated state revenue, creation of a constitutional board of corrections, and authorization of merit and retirement systems for state employees, etc.

3. *Municipal and county provisions:*

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1945, p. 80, and May 1945, p. 238; See also pp. 374 and 420, this issue.

among them a mandate to the legislature to provide optional forms of home rule for adoption or rejection by cities and counties, authorization for local zoning ordinances, and permission to political subdivisions to contract for exchange of services.

4. *Safeguards for the constitution:* prohibition against veto of amendments by the governor, and the requirement that any future constitution must be submitted to popular vote.

Certain criticisms have come from enlightened and friendly sources such as the League of Women Voters, including lack of redistricting for the legislature or of reduction in the number of counties, a longer instead of a short ballot (two more elected administrators are included), and omission of regulations for primary elections.

All States Now Have Veterans' Affairs Offices

New state veterans' agencies were created, or existing bureaus reorganized into state veterans offices, by legislatures of fifteen states this year, according to the Council of State Governments. This action, with that of other states in 1944 and 1943, now enables all 48 states to give active assistance in the handling of veterans' affairs.

Many municipalities have installed offices or bureaus for information or assistance to veterans, notable examples being Detroit, Colorado Springs and Yonkers.

Women Jurors Permitted in 30 States

Legislation permitting women to serve on juries in Arizona and Colorado, enacted this year, increases to 30 the number of states granting women the right to such service, the Council of State Governments reports.

In sixteen of the 30 states, jury service is compulsory for women as well as men: California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Vermont.

In the other fourteen states women are permitted to serve on juries, but may decline under certain exemptions: Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Kansas, Louisiana, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, Rhode Island, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin. Alaska and the District of Columbia also are in this category.

Interim Committee Studies Wisconsin Pension Plans

Various bills affecting public pension and retirement systems in Wisconsin have been under consideration by an interim committee created by the legislature prior to its adjournment in June, according to Frederick N. MacMillin, executive secretary of the League of Wisconsin Municipalities. The committee was charged with the task of investigating the various pension and retirement plans of the state—thirteen or more in number—and the advisability of their prospective consolidation. It consists of two senators, three assemblymen, an insurance actuary appointed by the insurance commissioner, and an attorney designated by the attorney-general from his department.

The legislature enacted a law (Chapter 156, Laws of 1945) permitting counties, school districts, sewerage districts and townships of over 10,000 population to come under the Wisconsin municipal retirement fund.

Early in the year the commissioner of insurance made a report to the assembly, pursuant to resolution, on certain fire and police pension systems of various cities and villages made mandatory by the legislature in past years and now claimed to be reaching the point where tremendous deficits have accumulated. This indicated that to make the funds ultimately solvent the total contributions made by municipalities must be much larger, if benefits and employees' contributions (3½ per cent of salary) are to remain as presently provided by law.

Indiana Considers Voting at Eighteen

A resolution seeking to amend the Indiana constitution to lower the voting age to eighteen years at primary and general elections has been signed by the governor, according to the Council of State Governments. The resolution must be adopted by the next legislature and then be submitted to the voters.

Cooperative Inspection of Surplus War Property

The National Institute of Governmental Purchasing, Washington, D. C., has developed a cooperative inspection service. A member purchasing agency interested in purchasing surplus war materials at a distant point may arrange for an inspection and report by another member agency near the location of the material through Institute headquarters.

Legislative Research Bureau Created in Indiana

The 1945 Indiana legislature enacted a law establishing a bureau to conduct research into improved methods of legislation, to review proposed laws, to prepare bills, and to take other steps to streamline the legislative process, the Council of State Governments reports. A joint Legislative Advisory Commission, consisting of the lieutenant-governor, three senators, the speaker of the house and three members thereof, was also set up to act in an advisory capacity to the bureau.

Intergovernmental Relations Facilitated on Pacific Coast

Representatives of the states of California, Oregon and Washington met with representatives of the federal government and of cities and counties in the three states on June 21 and formed an informal Pacific Coast Board of Intergovernmental Cooperation, to facilitate conferences and discussions of intergovernmental problems. Another meeting is scheduled for September 21.

Eight States Add Laws for Intergovernmental Cooperation

Recent legislative sessions in eight states have produced new laws furthering intergovernmental cooperation in the performance of governmental services, according to the American Municipal Association.

The eight states with new intergovernmental laws are Michigan, Nebraska, New Jersey, Oregon, Pennsylvania South Dakota, Tennessee and Washington.

New Jersey now not only permits municipalities to establish veterans' service bureaus but allows two or more municipalities, by contract, to form a joint veterans' service bureau and to finance it cooperatively. A new Tennessee law has the same provision.

Pennsylvania amended its legislation allowing municipalities to cooperate with each other through joint agreements by expanding the area of cooperation to include all municipal functions. Pennsylvania took another step toward increased intergovernmental cooperation by recognizing the municipal authority as a device for joint municipal action for the development of sewage treatment projects. Similarly, Michigan authorized municipalities to cooperate in financing sewage disposal projects. Nebraska legislation provides for joint municipal action in establishing and operating air facilities.

Other forms of intergovernmental cooperation appearing in the 1945 legislation include city, county and health district cooperation in administering health activities in Washington, city-county cooperation in the eradication of mosquitoes in Oregon, and a South Dakota statute permitting municipalities to contract with counties for the maintenance of municipal streets and alleys.

Utah Institute on Law Enforcement

A five-day institute on law enforcement was held at the University of Utah in July under the sponsorship of the Utah Municipal League and several other organizations. According to the American Municipal Association, outstanding speakers included Hugh H. Clegg, assistant director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and James V. Bennett, director of the Bureau of Prisons of the U. S. Department of Justice. Sessions were well attended.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The newly incorporated municipality of **Gatlinburg, Tennessee,** is under a city manager appointed by the governing body consisting of the mayor and two commissioners. Incorporation as authorized by the last legislature was approved by popular vote in the community on March 31, and the mayor and his two associates on the commission were elected on June 13; they will serve for three-year overlapping terms. The commission has appointed a civil engineer as manager.

A home rule charter, including the manager plan, was adopted by popular vote in **Lamesa, Texas,** on May 1. According to *Texas Municipalities,* a council of five is now functioning, its first and chief concern being the appointment of the manager.

Raymondville and **Burnet, Texas,** have recently adopted ordinances providing for the manager plan.

An ordinance establishing a city manager for **Chula Vista, California,** was adopted by the city council by a vote of three to two on June 19.

A group of citizens in **Provo, Utah,** is studying the manager plan.

The Municipal League of **Seattle, Washington,** has headed a movement for the council-manager plan in connection with the charter revision now under way by the Freeholders Charter Commission. The latter body, however, has refused to present the manager plan, either as the basis of its charter revision or as a separate proposition to be voted on by the people. The latter plan was urged by the league in case of negative action by the commission, which has voted to retain the present mayor-council plan.

Interest in the manager plan has been shown in **Greeley, Colorado,** it being pointed out that under recent legislation only 15 per cent of the vote for mayor at the last previous election is necessary for a petition.

The council of **Brookfield, Illinois,** has provided by ordinance for a city manager.

At a primary election on July 31 **Carey, Ohio,** adopted the manager plan by a vote of 216 to 186. About one-third of the eligible voters participated. A council is to be elected in November and the new plan will become effective January 1, 1946.

An election on the question of adopting the council-manager plan in **Dothan, Alabama,** will be held on September 17.

Madison, Florida, a town of nearly 4,000 population, adopted the manager plan in August.

An ordinance adopted on July 3 by **Chester, South Carolina,** creates the position of clerk-treasurer-manager.

The **Spartanburg, South Carolina,** *Herald* is urging action to cause the City Council to authorize the manager plan by ordinance, without waiting for the meeting of the legislature next January when legislation may be adopted in line with an advisory referendum held last May which strongly favored the manager plan.

The validity of petitions in **Schenectady, New York,** for the repeal of the manager plan and return to the mayor-alderman system has been challenged in a taxpayer's suit brought by K. Pascoe Grenfell on July 25; both the form and the sufficiency of the petition were called in question.

The Quebec legislature has amended the charter of **Drummondville** to provide for the manager plan.

Dyer Creek, Maine, and **Vassar, Michigan,** have been added to its official list of manager cities by the International City Managers' Association.

Among other municipalities where interest in the manager plan is shown are **Beacon** and **Utica, New York; Brookfield** and **Nevada, Missouri; Hastings, Nebraska,** and **Redding, California.**

At their annual meeting in Camden, Maine, in June, as reported by the International City Managers' Association, **Maine** managers, recognizing the rapid growth of the manager plan in that state and the large number of managers, appointed a training committee and made tentative plans for conducting a one-week institute in the early autumn to improve the competence of present managers and make for better preparation of those just entering the manager field.

Baltimore Charter Body Submits Tentative Draft

The Charter Revision Commission which has been at work drafting a new charter for the city of Baltimore, Maryland, has submitted to the Mayor and the City Council a preliminary draft, with a request for suggestions. A final draft is to be issued in September. As ultimately approved the document will go to the people in November 1946.

The present proposals include an arrangement whereby the existing council districts will be retained, but the disproportion between councilmen and population will be reduced by providing adjustments in the number of councilmen, now three per district, in accordance with voting registration.

Department heads are given more power in appointment of their immediate subordinates—now chosen by the mayor—in the new provisions.

Extra-Municipal Activities in Minnesota

The Minneapolis-St. Paul Metropolitan Airports Commission took over the complete operation of Holman airport in St. Paul on July 1. Formerly the commission operated the field under a contract with the city, which supplied the staff, materials and supplies on a reimbursement basis, according to the American Municipal Association.

The legal department of Minneapolis has been investigating the possibility of creating a port authority with power to regulate land use along the proposed upper Mississippi River harbor. The city has acquired strips of land along the river, under a law requiring the state to turn over tax-delinquent property to a municipality that requests it.

State Laws to Help Cities Buy War Surpluses

Motivated by the fact that first preference after the federal government in purchase of surplus war property was given to state and local governments by the Surplus Property Act of 1944, 29 states this year have enacted legislation enabling local governments to buy surpluses without following usual municipal buying procedures involving advertising and competitive bidding. Four others acted similarly last year. Most of the 1945 legislation designates a state purchasing agency to act as coordinator and distributor for municipalities in surplus buying, according to a survey of state legislation by the American Municipal Association.

In Indiana the state director of procurement and supply must make available information concerning surplus property to municipalities on request. Municipalities may requisition surplus property through the Procurement and Supply Division if it can be obtained at lower prices than by the usual local purchasing methods. A state revolving fund was established for the purchase of surpluses.

In Maryland the State Council of Defense set up a War Surplus Property Division to help municipalities buy war surpluses; the agency will coordinate activities of federal disposal agencies and municipalities, but will not make actual purchases or handle the property.

Washington created a $5,000,000 revolving fund to buy surpluses for the state and local governments. The fund is administered by the state director of finance, who is permitted to buy on requisition for the state and local governments—and without requisition if he deems it advisable. Though the state may not profit on transactions with municipalities, administrative costs may be added to the purchase price.

Iowa also created a War Surplus Commodity Board with an appropriation of $500,000 for a revolving fund to purchase for municipalities. The state also will warehouse and distribute surpluses donated to municipalities.

Nine Statewide Retirement Systems Adopted in 1945

Legislation establishing statewide retirement systems for municipal employees was adopted in nine states this year, and two other states amended previously enacted statutes to make them more workable and acceptable to localities.

Besides Indiana, Oregon and Montana, as reported in this department in June (p. 294), Connecticut, Iowa, Maryland, Michigan, Nebraska and South Carolina set up statewide retirement systems for municipal employees in 1945 thus far, bringing to 22 the number of states with such systems, according to the American Municipal Association. Excepting that of Iowa, the new systems are optional in that municipalities may join if they wish, and are also "contributory," being financed by employer and employee contributions.

In Michigan the new law provides two retirement plans, allowing localities to select the one best suited to their needs and ability to finance.

The amended state employee's retirement law in Maryland allows municipalities to enroll their employees in the state system; if 60 per cent of the members of any local system elect to join the state system, the local system then can be merged into it. Cost of administering the state system is to be prorated among participating localities. The law becomes effective January 1, 1947.

Pennsylvania and North Carolina were the two states revising their statutes to encourage action by municipalities. Because of the high cost, Pennsylvania communities were unwilling to participate in a statewide municipal retirement system set up in 1943; the statute was amended to reduce the cost to communities by about 17 per cent. North Carolina now allows a municipality to enroll its employees in the statewide system by application, removing the provision requiring a referendum.

A number of other states amended

their municipal employee retirement systems this year to increase coverage and benefits.

Toledo Mayor Appoints Labor-Management Committee

An eighteen-man committee consisting of six representatives of management, six of labor and six of the public has been appointed by Mayor Lloyd E. Roulet of Toledo, Ohio, as authorized by the City Council. The committee is to study community labor-management problems and make suggestions to the city council on how the city may best assist in bringing about a better understanding and solution to the problems affecting labor and management in the community. In deciding to establish the committee the council emphasized that "full employment is the most important postwar problem facing Toledo."

The city will place at the disposal of the committee whatever facilities may be needed in the way of stenographic services, legal research or other assistance, and the City Council appropriated $1,000 to cover incidental expenses.

Municipal Reports to Be Exhibited

The exhibition of town and city reports,[1] sponsored by the American Institute of Graphic Arts as part of the movement for better prepared and more attractive municipal reports, will be opened in the New York Public Library in September, and will also be shown in the Boston Public Library in October. After these showings the exhibit will be available to towns and cities, public libraries, municipal associations and civic groups throughout the nation, and may also go on tour.

Researcher's Digest

Metropolitan Area Problems Probed

Pittsburgh, Dayton Groups Discuss Possible Solutions

THE **Pennsylvania Economy League,** Western Division, is making an over-all study of the "functional, administrative and fiscal operations of all political units in Allegheny County."

"Recognizing the fact that the present political subdivisions and administrative units are in existence because of arbitrary political boundaries which were established many years ago," says its May *Newsletter*, "the entire study is being made for the purpose of creating a new master plan that would provide for consolidation, merger or federation of various units in order to establish more practical and economical operations."

The first of the publications on the subject is *Allegheny County's 118 School Districts — Their Financial Operations During 1944,* a brief introductory study on the "educational, administrative, and fiscal operations of each of the several districts."

The league's June *Newsletter* sets forth some of the interesting highlights and observations of its survey of Pittsburgh finances for the past 25 years. There is also a comprehensive presentation of the survey, for those who want to delve into the problem further, *A 25-Year Fiscal Review of the City of Pittsburgh, 1920 Through 1944.* (50 pp.)

"Properly stimulated citizen interest can rescue the modern city from its financial doldrums," sums up the league in *Pittsburgh's Financial Problem Compared with Other Metropolitan Areas*

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[1] See the REVIEW, January 1945, p. 35; March 1945, p. 135.

(9 pp.), after pointing out that many cities, including Boston, Detroit, Buffalo, Cincinnati and Dayton have made studies of their metropolitan problems.

Dayton's Problem

"Artificial boundary lines between city and county, village and county, city and rural school districts are costing citizens of Dayton and Montgomery County unnecessary expense for duplicating or overlapping services," says the **Governmental Research Department of the Dayton Chamber of Commerce,** in its *Dayton Government Digest.* The department recommends a re-examination of the entire school structure of the county to determine "the possibility of creating school districts of a size compatible with efficient administration. . . . Unless educators and citizens are willing to sacrifice geographic loyalties and political position, Dayton and Montgomery County must forego the opportunity of creating a real community of educated individuals."

Educating the Citizen on Governmental Procedure

Two pamphlets of the **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas** have been published with an eye to educating the layman on two important phases of government.

The first, *An Introduction to Municipal Incorporation and Organization in Texas* (34 pp.), has been prepared by Wilfred D. Webb, research assistant in the bureau. It "seeks to acquaint the citizen, in a rather introductory manner, with various aspects of municipal organization in Texas," says Stuart A. MacCorkle, director of the bureau, in the introduction. "In particular, brief consideration is given to the major features of the available forms of government, the procedure for incorporating cities, towns and villages, the methods for changing from one form of government to another, and the methods of obtaining home rule charters." It should be a valuable aid to the citizen who would like to see his form of government made more efficient but who perhaps may not be acquainted with procedures.

The second pamphlet describes *How Bills Become Law in Texas* (37 pp.). It was written by Dr. Dick Smith of the Department of Government of the University of Texas and is "an attempt to show in simple terms the formal progress of a bill through the legislature."

Connecticut Council Reports to Its Members

The first three years of the life of the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council** are described in the organization's *1945 Report to Members and Friends,* an attractive, well illustrated pamphlet of 27 pages. According to Charles L. Campbell, retiring chairman of the Board of Trustees: "The first year was pretty largely spent in getting organized: in assembling a competent staff in the face of wartime difficulties; in making fruitful contacts with public officials, civic organizations and individual taxpayers; and in thinking out and setting forth a worthwhile program. The second year saw the organization getting its teeth into the job, with constructive, money-saving work on federal subsidies; the establishment of an appreciated municipal consulting service; undertaking initial studies on pensions and legislation; forging a bond of confidence with state and local officials throughout the state; and winning the respect of the public and the press as an independent, nonpartisan citizen agency. The last working year found the council in real stride, and the worth of its activities in behalf of Connecticut taxpayers will be clear to anyone who reads the . . . report of

Carter W. Atkins, the council's capable executive director."

Another, and briefer, publication of the council, *Looking Ahead with the Taxpayer*, presents "The Council's 1945-46 Program."

Democracy and Local Government

The **Citizen's Research Institute of Canada** has devoted one of its bulletins to the presentation of three articles under the title "The Importance of Local Government in a Democracy." The first two, "Democracy and the Free City" by Professor Harold A. Innis, and "The Place of Municipal Institutions in a Democracy," by Professor J. A. Corry, were addresses delivered at the combined annual meeting of the institute and the **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research**. The third, "Local Government the Training Ground of Democracy," is taken from the institute's 1945 Year Book.

The Toronto bureau has recently issued its 31st annual report for the year ending February 28, 1945.

Jail Investigations in Rhode Island and Seattle

Jails are on the list of problems which research groups have recently undertaken to survey. The Baltimore jail has undergone the scrutiny of the **Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc.**[1] Now the **Municipal League of Seattle for Governmental Research** has published its findings on an investigation of the King County jail and the **Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council** has issued a twelve-page pamphlet on *The Jails of Rhode Island*.

The Seattle league has conducted a thorough investigation of the jail to check on the accuracy of a report issued by Roy Casey, inspector for the U. S. Bureau of Prisons. The league's Law Enforcement Committee found that while there was basis in fact for many of the criticisms made, it felt the report "was so worded in several places as to give the ordinary citizen a distorted picture of jail conditions." The report compares the King County jail with five of the best-run county jails in the country: San Francisco, Alemeda, Oakland, Los Angeles in California; Berks in Pennsylvania and Hampden in Massachusetts. It concludes that while the King County institution is in some ways inferior to these "best-run" institutions, it is in many ways equal to them. It lists a number of constructive suggestions for improvement of jail conditions.

The Rhode Island report is one of a series on state and local problems of inter-governmental relations made for the council by the Institute of Public Administration. Its author is Bruce Smith of that organization. Mr. Smith points out that in ratings announced by the U. S. Bureau of Prisons the county jail at Providence "is graded in the top 1 per cent among more than three thousand jails inspected, while the jails maintained in Kent, Bristol, Washington and Newport Counties are of such a low order that they cannot qualify for the detention of federal prisoners."

"That Rhode Island should not rate higher," continues the study, "is the more surprising because its five jails, alone among some thousands of such institutions in this country, are completely and exclusively under the jurisdiction and control of the state government." Alternative suggestions are made as to possible methods for improving present conditions.

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[1] See "What Type City Jail for Baltimore?," the Review, July 1945, p. 345.

GRA Asks Cooperation

G. Gordon Tegnell, newly appointed secretary of the **Governmental Research Association**[1] has asked member organizations to cooperate by (1) placing the national office on mailing lists for all publications and research reports; (2) notifying the secretariat of any changes in personnel; and (3) compiling and forwarding as soon as possible as complete a file as available of research studies.

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Rhode Island Surveys

The **Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council** has available two additional reports in its series bearing on important state and local governmental problems.[2] *Judicial Administration in Rhode Island* (23 pp.), by Bruce Smith, and *Politico-Economic Prospects of Rhode Island* (19 pp.), by A. E. Buck. Both authors are on the staff of the Institute of Public Administration of New York City which has made an over-all survey of Rhode Island governmental affairs for the expenditure council.

A council bulletin presents a "Comparative Analysis of Local Government Finances—Statements of Revenues, Expenditures, Indebtedness, Assessed Valuations, Tax Levies and Tax Collections of the 39 Cities and Towns in Rhode Island." (8 pp.).

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Police

Police Precincts—How many precincts are necessary for efficient and economical operation of the Police Department? (17 pp., 35 cents), published by the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** was prepared by J. M. Leonard of the bureau's staff. The report recommends "that the precinct layout be extensively overhauled and that the number of precincts can be reduced to effect substantial savings with an equalization of work among the precincts." Annual savings of $375,000 would be the result of one of two alternative plans suggested. Maps show present and proposed police precincts, crime distribution, etc.

The **Municipal League of Seattle for Governmental Research,** after making a survey of practices in large cities, has issued *"How Shall Police Chief Be Appointed?"* (4 pp.).

"Should Milwaukee's fire and police disciplinary procedure be radically changed?," asks the **Citizens Bureau of Milwaukee** in a two-page discussion of the problem. The bureau's study of personnel administration in the two departments finds no evidence of abuses of power on the part of the chiefs which would warrant radical change.

The bulletin of the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** comments on the reorganization of the Police Department by the Providence Bureau of Police and Fire. It points out the more important defects of the existing structure and concludes that the reorganization meets most of the requirements of efficient police administration.

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Duluth Report

The **Governmental Research Bureau of Duluth, Minnesota,** has issued its 24th annual report to members. It discusses the bureau's work with officials and the 1945 legislature, as well as its efforts to keep a "weather eye" on the financial affairs of the city.

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Salaries

City and county salary increases and adjustments are the theme of three bulletins issued by the **Schenectady Bu-**

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[1] See the REVIEW for July 1945, p. 343.

[2] See "Jail Investigations in Rhode Island and Seattle," p. 410, this issue; and "R. I. Expenditure Council Studies Local Finance," March 1945 REVIEW, p. 136.

reau of Municipal Research. The first presents a summary of increases given to full-time salaried employees of the city, except teachers, since 1940; the second compares city salary adjustments with those received by the employees of twelve other New York cities and five Massachusetts cities; the third shows salary increases in Schenectady County since 1941 and compares them with increases in eight other New York Counties.

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Per Capita Costs

The **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** has published per capita expenditures of the city for general operations and capital outlay from 1935 to 1944, plus 1945 available appropriations. Figures are broken down not only by years but by departments. Schools showed the greatest per capita operating expenditure, ranging from $16.17 in 1935 to $20.23 in 1944. Public welfare costs rose from $11.96 in 1935 to $16.43 in 1938, descended to $2.88 in 1944. Total operating expenditures increased then decreased, going from $66.45 in 1935 to $78.44 in 1938 and down to $63.68 in 1944.

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Postwar Plans

The **Minneapolis Research Bureau** has issued a timely study, *A Summary of Postwar Planning in 25 Cities.* Information secured from each city includes name of the organization under whose auspices postwar plans are taking shape, amounts which have been allocated or asked for postwar planning, plans under way or contemplated. The cities represent a cross-section of the larger cities of the country.

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Legislative Council Publications

Latest reports of the **Illinois Legislative Council** include *Adoption Laws* (22 pp.) and *The Taxation of Hospitals* (22 pp.).

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Civic Organizations Gird for Fall Election

New and Revived Groups Lay Plans for Campaigns

NOW that the nation's preoccupation with wartime activities is over, local groups are redoubling their efforts in the civic field.

The Yonkers City Manager League is making preparations for a vigorous campaign to elect its candidates to the Yonkers Council under P.R. this fall. A Women's Auxiliary has been formed with 50 women enrolled as charter members. Miss Bertha Smith, first vice-president of the City Manager League and retired assistant superintendent of schools, presided at its organization meeting. She asserted that the auxiliary was "an open door for democratic-minded women of all creeds, races, national backgrounds, cultural interests, occupations and professions, from any political party—in short, for all women interested in good city government along council-manager lines."

In her remarks as principal speaker, Councilwoman Edith P. Welty, one of the originators of the manager movement in her city, indicated that the prospects for good government in Yonkers are good. "With $14,000,000 debt paid off in the last five years and the $4,500,000 deficit of 1939 and prior years reduced to $454,000, the prospect of reaping certain benefits is good. The benefits and service which our citizens want they can obtain, at a cost they will be glad to pay, through efficient, businesslike, honest administration."

"It is my belief," said Mrs. Welty, "that people never resent their taxes when they know their money is spent wisely and honestly to render maximum service at minimum cost."

In the same city, three outstanding members of the community, all elected during past years as the "Outstanding Man of the Year," have appealed for an unselfish attitude on the part of political groups in the coming election. "We issue this appeal," the three announced, "to all political groups to subordinate selfish partisan interests and to nominate for members of the Common Council citizens of the highest integrity who will put city-wide interests first and personal prestige second."

Oxie Reichler, editor of the *Yonkers Herald-Statesman,* in an address before the Yonkers Junior Hostess Association of the U.S.O., appealed to his hearers to augment their social and recreational programs after the war by "making good government your hobby." He pointed out that there is no young people's group in the city aggressively devoted to this purpose and asserted that the application of youthful enthusiasm and imagination to civic matters would be "refreshing" and of "incalculable benefit to the community."

Montgomery County

The **Montgomery County (Maryland) Charter Committee,** which conducted a vigorous though unsuccessful campaign for a county manager charter in 1944,[1] is already at work on its drive to elect a new charter board in 1946. At a meeting to make preparations it approved a budget of $11,500.

The committee is planning to employ a full-time research man. His duties will include a study of all county activities and financial transactions. He will observe the workings of the new laws enacted earlier this year by the state legislature, one of which provides a "supervisor" for the county who has duties somewhat similar to those of a manager.[2]

John F. Willmott, chairman of the group's research committee, stated in an address before the committee that the organization will lay emphasis on the 6,000 voters who participated in the 1944 election but failed to vote on the charter question. "We needed only 1,700 of those votes to put the charter over the goal line for a touchdown," he commented.

The committee has issued a leaflet which warns: "Charter citizens say don't be fooled by bugus reforms of the Montgomery County political machine." It calls the new law providing for a county supervisor "half-baked." "The charter had proposed a real manager," it says, "but the new law merely sets up a 'county supervisor.' He is a boss of many functions and yet he is actually subordinate to many of his subordinates. He will get $10,000 a year to control 'routine administrative functioning.' His appointive powers are made meaningless by the exclusion of twelve classes of jobholders. He 'directs' a county purchasing agent but this purchasing agent is responsible to the county commissioners. His powers are all tangled up. He is no county manager, merely an excuse for one." Other laws passed by the legislature, characterized as a "sop" to the cry for reform, are criticized in the pamphlet.

Schenectady

A proposal to return to the mayor-alderman plan of government in Schenectady, New York, has brought about a revival of that city's **Charter League** which was responsible for adoption of the city's present manager government in 1934. The league has appointed a steering committee to prepare a statement of principles for the organization's adoption. It will continue its strong support of manager government but may suggest changes to make the charter more up-to-date and efficient. Philip L. Alger has been made chairman of the steering committee.

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[1] See "Machine Beats County Charter," by John F. Willmott, the REVIEW, December 1944, p. 583; also p. 420, this issue.

[2] See April REVIEW, p. 199.

Revere

The **Plan E Committee of Revere, Massachusetts,** formed a year ago to secure Plan E (city manager with proportional representation) for the city, is working to place the question on the ballot this fall. A full-page advertisement published by the committee urges citizens to volunteer their aid in the circulating of petitions. Sixteen hundred names are needed to have the question placed on the ballot.

New Groups

A **Citizens Protective Committee** has been formed in Nashville, Tennessee. Its purpose will be the creation of a committee of one thousand to study the defects of the city's government and suggest improvements, and to organize citizens along the lines of the plan which has played so successful a part in Cincinnati's good government. Walter Stokes, Jr., business man and civic leader, has been elected chairman, Thurman Sensing is secretary. As soon as the committee has reached an adequate size and plans for its financing are made, it is expected that an experienced executive secretary will be appointed to devote his full time to the task.

A **Citizens Charter Association** has been organized in Houston, Texas, to prepare for the municipal election to be held in the fall of 1946. Arthur C. Burnett has been elected chairman of the group.

Two Virginia communities have efforts under way for the formation of local civic organizations — Richmond and Leesbury.

Can New York City Regain that "Home Town" Sense?

"Will it be possible in New York to get back the sense of 'home town' that New Yorkers used to have, or must they either renounce it forever or move to smaller communities? We propose to go all-out for the first alternative," announces the **Citizens Union of New York.**

"The effects of 'homelessness' in the big city are too apparent to need description. Yet there is good reason to believe that 'home town' can be regained, right where we are—at no additional cost and entirely through the use of existing civic facilities. Buried in New York are districts that not long ago were living as towns and active individual communities. Their reality is attested by the fact that names such as Chelsea or Morningside, Bay Ridge or Canarsie, instantly evoke vivid images, however lost these places may be in the amorphous and endless city. Building from these centers and numerous others, New York can become a great cluster of home towns and still retain the best aspects of its character as the metropolis of the western world."

The union's proposal is that any planning which involves "essentially local action be undertaken on the basis of nuclear districts, most of them already in existence and easily identifiable. Conveniently located in each would be developed eventually a genuine civic center, toward which a substantial start could be made by a better planned arrangement of the new construction already scheduled for the period soon after the war."

In a letter to civic and welfare groups the union has asked for reactions to its idea. Maps of Manhattan and Brooklyn, showing some of their "component communities which might form the nuclei for proposed districts" were enclosed.

Maine Pupils Hold Town Meeting

A new approach to the study of history has been made by eighth graders in a grammar school at Dexter, Maine. A class of 61 pupils, under the direction of their teacher, conducted a town meeting.

Since there were no selectmen, a committee was appointed, says the *New England Townsman,* to draw up and post a warrant. Pupils were nominated as candidates for town officers and much electioneering was heard. At the meeting, after the reading of the warrant, the moderator was elected and sworn and took charge of the business of the day. Election results were reported and the various articles for action were introduced by the moderator who encouraged discussion and put each to a vote.

"The meeting was democratic and typical of all town meetings," reports the *Townsman.* "Most of the discussions were carried on by a few, but everyone was interested and ready to vote independently on all articles."

The class continues its conduct of town affairs. Three duly qualified assessors are assessing the taxes and will shortly make their report to the tax collector.

An interesting sidelight is the fact that the gavel used at the meeting was lent by the unsuccessful candidate for moderator. It had belonged to his great uncle, the late James Blaine Morrison, president of the Maine State Senate in 1929.

A Selectman's Advice Brings Results

Asking one's selectman—or alderman or councilman, as the case may be—how best to serve the community is one way of seeking a constructive task. *Hamden Town Government—A Study by the Hamden League of Women Voters* is the result in one Connecticut town, where First Selectman F. Raymond Rochford pointed out the need for a study of Hamden's present government. The report, covering 31 mimeographed pages, was prepared by a committee of eight members of the local **League of Women Voters** who had indicated a special interest in government. It includes a discussion of the various forms of municipal government, a description of Hamden's governmental setup, and recommends that the "selectmen appoint a committee to consider changes in Hamden town government and that the committee be authorized to obtain professional assistance." Such a committee, the league suggests, should consider the following points listed in the study:

1. That the present system of conducting the business of the town by town meeting be discontinued;
2. That a council-manager form of government be established;
3. That recognition be given to the principle of the short ballot, whereby the number of elective offices be reduced to a minimum;
4. That recognition be given to the principle of centralized responsibility, whereby the number of independent boards of lay citizens be reduced, at least to those which either determine policy to some extent or act as boards of appeal;
5. That a completely new charter be drawn up and submitted to the electorate of Hamden;
6. That the new charter include a provision for the calling, when circumstances require, either by vote of the council or by petition of a designated number of townsmen, of a special town meeting to consider any specified subject, said town meeting to have power to determine the policy or course of action of the town on the matter under consideration.

Wilton Schools Studied by League of Women Voters

Another Connecticut group, the **Wilton League of Women Voters,** has made a study of the Wilton public school system which will be printed and distributed to all parents and taxpayers in the community this fall.

According to Miss Emily A. Farr, chairman of the Education Committee of the Wilton League, as reported in the *Connecticut Voter*, the study "contains a history of the schools from 1925-45; describes the state and local administration of the public school and methods of election, explains the schools' supervision, methods of financing, budgeting; lists percentage cost of each item, gross and net expenses, cost per child of each item and of the whole; gives details of enrollment by grades; describes the duties and qualifications of principals, classroom teachers, special teachers (art, music, etc.), health personnel, school staff and transportation personnel. . . .

"The history and organization of the groups which are related to the school program such as the School Planning Committee, the Parent-Teachers Association, and the school hot lunch program are also dealt with at some length. Brief outlines of each of four or five full length surveys and a dozen or so reports which have been made in the past on the Wilton school system are included with notations as to where each one is available. There is a short section on high schools and trade schools. . . .

"In order that possible personnel changes shall not make the report out of date during the next two or three years, names of all personnel have been omitted from the main body of the report and have been listed on a loose sheet which will be inserted in the finished report."

Strictly Personal

Norman N. Gill, in charge of the Milwaukee Municipal Reference Library since 1940, has resigned to become executive director of the Milwaukee Citizens' Bureau. He will succeed John C. Davis, who has retired. Mr. Gill will conclude his library work with the preparation of Milwaukee's 1944-45 report, a task he performs annually for the city. During his tenure he has served as secretary of various official committees as well as civic groups. Mr. Gill is an instructor at the University of Wisconsin's Extension Center in Milwaukee. He is author of numerous articles and studies on civic affairs. One of his most recent studies is *Municipal Research Bureaus*, made under the auspices of the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council and published by the American Council on Public Affairs.

Too Many Voters Pass the Buck

We may as well be frank and honest with ourselves and admit that the average citizen, for a dozen reasons, seldom fails to evade and avoid his own responsibility. He is "so busy" he has no time for public business, issues or problems. He is guilty of just plain "buck-passing," a thing he always condemns as the primary sin of the man in public office whom he calls a politician.

If enough voters go to the polls and vote . . . the chances are that most of the votes will be cast with a good measure of intelligence and understanding. The city again will be kept in safe hands. But if a majority ignore and neglect the ballot job, then they, and the rest of us why try to do our duty, will have to suffer whatever bad results may follow. . . .

No people's government is worth having which does not bring to the top the men of ability, character and experience, and hold them responsible.

From *Detroit Civic Searchlight*

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

British Elections Give Distorted Results

Majority in Parliament Based on Minority Vote

The following analysis of the recent British parliamentary elections has just been received from John H. Humphreys, secretary of the British Proportional Representation Society, who prepared it for the *Westminster Provincial Press.* EDITOR.

TO WHAT extent in respect of both party representation and of personnel does the new House of Commons reflect the wishes of those who went to the polls? What difference would it have made if a method of voting had been used which, like proportional representation, would have assured a fair result?

The total number of votes counted on July 26 was 24,981,951, the number of members returned (contested elections) was 624; accordingly each of the new members represents, on an average, 40,035 votes. For the three main parties the results were:

GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND

Party	*Votes*	*Seats obtained*	*Average votes per seat*	*Seats in proportion to votes*
Labor	11,962,678	388	30,826	299
Conservative-National	9,934,573	209	47,534	248
Liberal	2,280,135	11	207,285	57

The average number of votes per seat for each party differs greatly. A Labor member represents 30,826 voters, a Liberal represents 207,285 or nearly seven times as many. If the three parties had been represented in proportion to voting strength (one member for every 40,035 votes) Labor would have obtained 299, the Conservative-Nationals 248, and the Liberals 57 seats.

But proportional representation would have made a further difference. The Liberals had only 307 candidates. If, like Labor and the Conservative-Nationals, the Liberals had had 600 candidates, their poll would have been much higher. Moreover, in many constituencies, the full Liberal vote was not polled. Several electors have told me that they would have liked to vote Liberal but they were going to vote Conservative in order to support Mr. Churchill. Under a proportional system, the full Liberal poll would probably have been in the neighborhood of 4,000,000 votes, which would have given nearly 100 members of Parliament.

Wiltshire

So far, the country as a whole. Some local results, however, throw much light on the vagaries of our system. Here are a few. Wiltshire, one of the several counties which are misrepresented, gave the following result:

Party	*Votes*	*Seats*
Conservative	76,396	4
Labor	71,272	1
Liberal and Progressive	33,775	0

The Conservatives with 76,396 votes out of a total of 181,443 obtained four seats out of five.

Birmingham

The figures for Birmingham were:

Party	*Votes*	*Seats*
Labor	244,457	10
Conservative	180,269	3
Liberal	27,195	0
Others	8,355	0

Labor with 244,457 votes out of a

total of 460,276 obtained 10 seats out of 13. A small additional change in votes would have given Labor all 13 seats.

Yorkshire

Yorkshire, one of the important counties from all points of view, deserves special study. The results (excluding Hull, Central) were:

Party	*Votes*	*Seats*
Labor	1,239,767	43
Conservative-National	792,732	12
Liberal	225,447	1
Others	31,625	0

The 225,447 Liberals of Yorkshire have one representative; they might easily have had none. These citizens have won the right to put a mark on a ballot paper once every five years, a mark without value; they have not won the right to be represented in Parliament.

The Gamble

The general election gave, as in 1935, a one-sided result. A new general election held tomorrow might easily give a very different result, either more one-sided or more balanced. The Conservatives won some 60 seats on a minority vote; Labor won some 40 seats on a minority vote. How easily in all these constituencies representation might shift from one party to another. A British general election is a gamble, the fairness or unfairness of which depends on a system of voting the results of which the electors cannot control.

Personnel

Proportional representation would have made a great difference in personnel. Every party would have returned its best. Mr. Richard Law would probably have been elected as one of the members for Hull; Sir William Beveridge would have been one of the members for Northumberland; Lady Bonham Carter one of the members for Somerset. But, in addition, live young candidates like Miss Honor Balfour and many of those provided by the fighting forces would have found a place among the Liberal members of Parliament. Labor has doubtless provided many excellent new members, but the House would have been the richer had it contained the best of all parties; we should have had a balanced House both in respect of party representation and of personnel.

Stalemate?

But it will be said that we should have been confronted with a stalemate. Political writers are very fond of this word; it prevents readers from thinking. What would have happened if we had had a balanced House? In all probability we should have formed a new national government, a government truly national and not one-sided. Such a government would have gone forward with the full authority of the whole nation for, in respect of the many difficult international and national questions that confront us, the programs of the parties had much in common.

Sweden has used proportional representation for some 35 years. It is a most progressive country, with stable government. An election result is fair. Rarely does one party have a majority in its own right. But there is no stalemate. Parties cooperate to give effect to the wishes of the electors as expressed at the polls. This is common sense. A fair election result, a balanced parliament, a truly national government would have given guidance to India and to each of the liberated countries of Europe. Mr. Winston Churchill has, in speech, in writing, in broadcast, advocated the reform of our electoral system. It is one of life's little ironies that the Conservative party headquarters, by opposing electoral reform, have helped to inflict upon Mr. Churchill so humiliating a defeat.

Ten acts of the British Parliament have, for various purposes, prescribed the use of proportional representation; there will be further acts of Parliament prescribing its use.

John H. Humphreys

London

New York Council Term Extended

A new charter amendment, passed under the sponsorship of Council President Newbold Morris, extends the term of the New York City Council from two years to four. Although the charter requires a referendum on any change in the "composition of the council," the Council, Board of Estimate and Mayor, who successively approved the amendment, acted on the theory that this restriction did not apply to a change in term. Unless challenged in the courts, therefore, the fifth P. R. Council, elected at the time of the mayoralty election this November, will serve until after the following mayoralty election in 1949.

The change was opposed by the Citizens Union, the Liberal party and others as depriving voters of an opportunity to keep close control of city policies by changing or re-endorsing their representatives at frequent intervals, as subordinating the Council election every time to the more spectacular contest for the mayoralty, and as giving a longer term to a body elected while many of the city's young people are absent in the armed forces. Even some who favored the change felt it should have gone to referendum.

It was defended as making Council service more attractive to persons of good calibre, as avoiding the unfortunate effects of a light vote in off-years, and as keeping the size of the Council relatively stable under New York's plan of making the number elected depend on the number of votes cast.

John R. Commons —P. R. Pioneer

John R. Commons, professor emeritus of economics at the University of Wisconsin and one of the most distinguished and revered of American proportionalists, died on May 11 at the age of 82.

Though chiefly known for his work in the field of labor and economics—he was at various times a member of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission, the Wisconsin Minimum Wage Board and the Federal Industrial Relations Commission, president of the National Consumers' League, the American Economics Association and the National Monetary Association, chairman of the unemployment insurance board of the Chicago clothing trades, and author of a number of books in the field—he also played an important role in the early development of proportional representation sentiment in the United States.

He was one of the founders of the American P. R. League at an internation congress on proportional representation held in connection with the World's Fair in Chicago on August 11 and 12, 1893. The address he made there was printed the following month in the first issue of the *Proportional Representation Review*. He was a member of the league's original committee.

In 1907 the Macmillan Company published his book entitled *Proportional Representation*. This was the standard American work on the subject until the progress of adoptions in American cities, beginning with Ashtabula in 1915, put it out of date.

Professor Commons was vice-president of the American Proportional Representation League and its successor, the Proportional Representation League, Inc., now consolidated in its operations with the National Municipal League, from October 1913 until the time of his death.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Home Rule for Georgia Counties

Optional Forms Permitted by New State Constitution

UNDER the new constitution adopted by the voters of Georgia on August 7,[1] the legislature of the state is required to provide optional systems of county government so that counties may select the type they desire.

Under the new document permission for counties to consolidate is continued. The general assembly may authorize consolidation but it is provided that two-thirds of those voting in all counties affected must favor it. Formerly the constitution required a two-thirds vote only of the county that desired to merge with a contiguous county.

City and county consolidation is continued but no limitation is contained in the new constitution as to which cities and counties may or may not unite. Formerly, for instance, Atlanta, lying within two counties, was unable to merge with either. The general assembly has power to provide details for such mergers and also may adopt optional systems of government to become effective when approved by a majority of the voters.

Three Counties Selected for Experimental Program

Colquitt County, Georgia, Blue Earth County, Minnesota, and Henry County, Indiana, have been selected by the Council on Intergovernmental Relations for an experimental program to improve relations between federal, state and local governments. The purpose of the council's program, according to *Southern City*, "is to devise administrative procedures and mechanisms for blending more harmoniously the powers and interests of the federal, state and local governments in the execution of their common objectives."

Members of the council include Harold D. Smith, director of the Bureau of the Budget, chairman; Paul V. McNutt, administrator of the Federal Security Agency; Philip B. Fleming, administrator of the Federal Works Agency; M. L. Wilson, director of extension for the Secretary of Agriculture; William Anderson, University of Minnesota; Earl D. Mallory, executive director of the American Municipal Association; Luther H. Gulick, director of the Institute of Public Administration; and Frank Bane, executive director, Council of State Governments.

Supervisor Appointed for Montgomery County, Maryland

Several laws passed by the last session of the Maryland legislature providing for the reorganization of the government of Montgomery County, suburban to Washington, D. C., became operative recently with the appointment of Willard F. Day, former manager of Henrico County, as administrative officer with the title of supervisor. Mr. Day, a former president of the International City Managers' Association, has been with the federal government for the last several years.

The laws, sponsored by the county administration which successfully opposed the 1944 campaign of the Montgomery County Charter Committee for a county manager charter, also provide for a purchasing officer, a civil service commissioner and for general powers for the Board of Commissioners to enact ordinances not in conflict with state laws.

In a pamphlet issued before the appointment of Mr. Day, the Charter

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[1] See also pp. 374 and 402 of this issue.

Committee served notice that it would conduct another campaign in 1946 for a full-fledged home rule manager plan charter.[2]

Centralized Purchasing Saves King County Money

Legislation providing centralized purchasing for King County, Washington,[3] is already bearing fruit. The county's newly appointed purchasing agent, Ray N. Shannon, anticipates a savings of over $12,000 from a recently awarded gasoline contract after receipt of competitive bids. The new purchasing agent reports that the transition from departmental to central purchasing is being effected with excellent cooperation from department heads.

Trend in Kansas to County Road Systems

The trend in Kansas is toward the county unit road system under which the counties build and maintain all rural roads, according to a recent survey by the League of Kansas Municipalities. Twenty-nine counties now operate under the county unit system, three counties recently passed resolutions favoring adoption of the plan, and petitions in favor are now being circulated in nine counties. In nineteen counties opinion is reported favorable and action on the county unit plan may be taken soon. One county recently defeated the proposition, 278 to 191, at a special election.

County and township officials are giving the county unit system greater consideration because of federal funds which will be available, because of the demand for better highways which will require machinery too expensive for many townships to purchase, and because of the new school legislation in the state which will result in consolidations and thus require increased transportation for rural pupils. Some county commissioners believe that the adoption of the county unit system will be necessary in order to receive maximum benefits of state and federal road funds which will be available now that the war is over.

JOHN G. STUTZ, *Executive Director*
League of Kansas Municipalities

Virginia Conducts County Planning Institutes

The Virginia State Planning Board sponsored a series of meetings throughout the state on county planning and zoning problems. The meetings were attended by county officials responsible for the solution of such problems. A similar series of meetings was conducted previously by the board for municipal planning officials.

Jefferson County-Birmingham Consolidation Studied

A resolution pending before the Jefferson County, Alabama, legislative delegation would establish a sixteen-member citizens' committee to investigate the feasibility of consolidating the governments of Birmingham and Jefferson County. The resolution provides for a full-time executive secretary and an appropriation of $12,500. The committee would submit its findings to the legislative delegation in 1947.

County Poor Farms Continue to Close

Recent reports indicate additional county poor farms are being closed as more advanced methods of treatment supplant these institutions for the aged indigent. Otter Tail County, Minnesota, and Geary and Finney Counties, Kansas, have sold their farms. Wabaunsee County, Kansas, is considering similar action. Three other Kansas counties, Marshall, Lyon and Harper, are leasing their farms to private operators.

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[2] See also p. 413, this issue.

[3] See the REVIEW for June 1945, p. 315.

County Personnel Officers Organize

There has been organized recently the New York State Association of Civil Service Officers, affiliated with the County Officers Association of the state. Its aims will be "to promote improvement of the service of the personnel agencies in their administration of the civil service law and to advise and recommend legislation affecting its administration."

Digest of New York State Local Laws Issued

For the guidance and instruction of its members, the New York State Association of Towns has issued a 64-page *Digest of 1945 Laws Affecting Towns and Counties.* It carries an article on "March Toward Home Rule" by New York's attorney general, but most of the booklet is devoted to digests of the legislation affecting town and county government passed by the 1945 session of the New York legislature. For convenience of reference the digests are grouped under 28 subject headings.

Cooperative Planning in Napa County, California

Since 1943 Napa County, California, and its three incorporated cities — Napa, Calistoga and St. Helena — have been cooperating in a solution for postwar problems through the Napa Planning Council. The County Planning Commission, County Board of Supervisors and the Redwood Empire Association have also been represented on the council.

In **Fulton County, Georgia,** which includes Atlanta, adoption of the county manager plan has been recommended by a grand jury.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

"Little Legislature" Plays Role in Louisiana Finance

Research Bureau Investigates State Board of Liquidation

STUDENTS of the practical aspects of state budget-balancing—as opposed to the theoretical—will find extremely interesting a short monograph[1] recently published by the New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research chronicling the history of the so-called "little legislature" of Louisiana, the Board of Liquidation of the State Debt.

The Board of Liquidation, created following the Civil War to handle problems of the reconstruction period, was by the 1880's raising loans to meet temporary requirements for cash for operating purposes and following 1908 began borrowing money to augment the amounts made available for expenditure by the legislature. From 1908 through 1944 the Board authorized loans or transferred appropriations amounting to more than $75,000,000 despite a constitutional stricture that the legislature might not borrow money except for emergencies or to repel invasion.

From 1907 to 1944 (in addition to the office of "executive counsel to the governor" created in 1936 but dropped in 1942) the board consisted of the governor, lieutenant-governor, attorney-general, secretary of state, state auditor, state treasurer, and speaker of the House of Representatives.

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[1] *Louisiana's "Little Legislature"—A Study of the Board of Liquidation of the State Debt, 1870-1945.* Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., New Orleans, 49 pp. $1.00.

Late in 1944, following a series of test cases brought by the New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research, the board's activities were considerably restricted by amendments to the law, although its title appears to be a misnomer still.

Under these amendments the attorney-general and secretary of state were dropped from its membership and the chairmen of the House Appropriations Committee and the Senate Finance Committee added.

Although the board functioned in a zone of legal twilight, to say the least, in so far as some of its activities were concerned, the history of its operations indicates that under the system of budgeting practices in Louisiana it frequently performed a useful service, many of its appropriation transfers or borrowings being made to rectify omissions of the legislature. In later years, its actions have required the approval of the legislators, who when not in session were polled by postcard or telegraph. What is obviously needed, however, is a comphehensive overhauling of the state's system of fiscal controls.

Connecticut Municipal Fiscal Officers Go to School

The calm that characterizes most college campuses following commencement week was shattered this summer at Storrs, seat of the University of Connecticut, where three separate short courses were held to instruct municipal finance officers, assessing officials, and tax collectors in up-to-date techniques in their respective fields.

Sponsored jointly by the University through its Institute of Public Service and School of Business Administration, the State Tax Department, the state and national associations of the public officials concerned, and with the active assistance of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, the short courses provided local officials with practical help and familiarized them with the latest and best procedures.

The first school of the summer was held June 11-15 for municipal finance officers. Sessions were opened by Joseph M. Loughlin, director of the Institute of Public Service established by the University "for the purpose of serving public officials throughout Connecticut" by conducting courses and conferences, acting as a clearing house of information on various phases of government, and assisting officials, upon request, in the solution of their problems.

The lead-off lecture, declared by several finance officers in attendance to have been the high point of the week, was a bird's-eye view of the financial setup of Connecticut municipalities given by Roger S. Baldwin, member of the Board of Estimate and Taxation of Greenwich, Connecticut. Other members of the instructional staff included Walter W. Walsh, state tax commissioner; Aldro Jenks, Otto P. Steege, Harold T. Murray, and James J. Regan, all of the State Tax Department; Director of the Budget Robert H. Weir, State Department of Finance and Control; C. L. Magnuson, State Purchasing Department; Carter W. Atkins and Dr. Thomas H. Reed, respectively executive director and municipal government counselor of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council; Robert E. Pickup, executive director, Providence Governmental Research Bureau; Edward J. Glick, city auditor, New Rochelle, New York; M. O. Lilly, city auditor, Hartford, Connecticut; William H. Sherman, Public Administration Service, Chicago; Josiah Benton, First National Bank, Boston; Raymond A. Ross, School of Business Administration, University of Connecticut; Charles F. Coates, certified public accountant; and Edward B. Wilber, U. S. Bureau of the Budget.

Two short courses for assessing officials, a direct outgrowth of a highly successful school for assessors held in the summer of 1944, were held during August with the University's School of Business Administration as the host. The first, a basic course, provided instruction in scientific assessing procedures, including the legal problems of assessing, various methods of appraising real property, merchants' and manufacturers' stocks and other tangible personal property, and the use of tax maps, land value maps and record systems. The advanced course included lectures on such special topics as the technique of assessing residences, mercantile buildings and personal property.

The 1945 picture was rounded out with a school for tax collectors, held September 4-8 under the joint auspices of the University's Institute of Public Service, the State Tax Department, and the Connecticut Tax Collectors Association.

CARTER W. ATKINS,
Executive Director

Connecticut Public Expenditure Council

Municipal Postwar Reserves Authorized in 26 States

Legislatures of five states—Montana, South Dakota, Utah, Idaho and Nevada—have recently authorized municipalities to set aside funds for postwar construction and repair of public works; and the state of Washington now permits reserve funds. This brings to 26 the number of states where local governments may establish such funds, according to the Municipal Finance Officers Association.

Nevada authorizes creation of postwar funds by counties, cities, towns and school districts; Idaho allows cities to levy up to twenty mills between 1945 and 1950 for postwar improvements; Utah has authorized local taxing bodies to levy up to one mill for postwar funds; Montana and South Dakota also permit cities to set up postwar improvement reserves.

The 21 states which previously gave municipalities authority to establish postwar reserves include Arizona, California, Connecticut, Florida, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington, and West Virginia.

Most of the statutes specify the maximum amount of any special annual levy. Nebraska and North Dakota set time limits of ten years and two years respectively.

H.M.O.

Public Works Plans Exceed Eight Billions

Through July 1, 1945, postwar engineering construction plans by public agencies in the United States totaled $8,148,000,000, according to the most recent announcement of the Committee on Postwar Construction of the American Society of Civil Engineers. To the same date plans for private construction were $1,124,000,000, making a total of public and private works plans under way of $9,272,000,000.

The more than nine billions of dollars of postwar construction plans under way represented less than half the proposed postwar projects, which exceeded twenty-one billions of dollars to the mid-year. Plans ready for bids totaled $805,000,000 in the public works category and $404,000,000 in the private projects group. Thus, according to the committee's figures, after men and materials are available, construction could start as soon as bids could be let on approximately $1,200,000,000 of public and private construction projects.

New York's Revised Local Finance Code Takes Effect

On September 1, 1945, New York State's new Local Finance Law became effective. While there is little in it not already on the statute books, the new law (Chapter 33-a of the Consolidated Laws) represents several years intensive work recodifying the entire local finance law of the state pursuant to provisions of the constitutional amendments adopted in 1938.

The new statute is in three parts, the Local Finance Law itself, adopted first in 1942 and amended at the 1943, 1944 and 1945 sessions of the legislature; a so-called omnibus bill, amending the general and local laws, enacted in 1943 and amended in 1945; and a schedule of repeals, enacted in 1943 and amended in 1945, removing obsolete and inconsistent provisions. The finance law itself takes effect September 1, the omnibus act and repealer on September 2.

Kansas Makes Statewide Hospital Survey

The first statewide survey of hospital costs in Kansas, covering 113 public and private hospitals, has been completed by Dr. F. C. Beelman, secretary of the Kansas State Board of Health, and Victor P. Steinmeyer, accountant for the board. The survey was made because of the wide variation in per diem ward costs in hospitals participating in the Emergency Maternity and Infant Care Program. These hospitals have cared for 18,000 cases, and received reimbursement of $487,809, since the program for wives and year-old children of servicemen in the four lower classes was inaugurated in Kansas in June 1943.

The survey has aroused widespread interest among all hospitals and in cities and counties which are preparing to construct new hospitals. Eleven new county and city hospitals have been authorized recently by special elections. Five cities have authorized bond issues totaling $760,000, and municipal construction in three cities which will amount to $775,000 is under consideration.

The wide variation in costs was due chiefly to a lack of uniformity in management and accounting procedures, according to Dr. Beelman and Mr. Steinmeyer, who recommended standardized methods of administration and declared the study should be regarded as a guide for a more detailed analysis of hospital operating costs. The average daily rate for all hospitals is $5.01. The lowest average daily rate reported was $4.90 for the fourteen hospitals with more than 100 beds.

An annual per diem cost statement is required for all hospitals participating in the Emergency Maternity and Infant Care Program for which the Board of Health is the state administrative agency, with funds granted by the U. S. Children's Bureau. Such a statement will also be required for hospitals participating in the proposed vocational rehabilitation program. It has been estimated that there are approximately 53,000 physically disabled civilians in Kansas, who will benefit from this new hospital service.

JOHN G. STUTZ, *Executive Director*
League of Kansas Municipalities

Nebraska Legislature Repeals Budget Law

After persistent criticism of many of its features as unworkable Nebraska's uniform local budget law for second class cities and towns, enacted in 1943, was repealed by the 1945 legislature. The opposition was spearheaded by the League of Nebraska Municipalities, which has appointed a committee headed by Clarence H. Hoper, city manager of Alliance, to prepare a draft for a more workable law to be submitted to the 1947 legislature. The Nebraska league's committee will work in conjunction with the State Legislative Council, which was charged by the legislature with the task of making a thorough study of the situation and reporting to the next legislative session.

New York Cities Consider Pay-as-you-go

Proposals for the financing of capital improvements on a pay-as-you-go basis by utilizing the difference between a fixed tax levy and the annual requirement for declining debt service are under consideration by Buffalo and Syracuse, New York.

In Buffalo, where the scheduled reduction in debt charges because of retirement has for some years been offset by refunding of maturing bonds and issuance of bonds for emergency public works, little is expected to be available for improvements under the scheme until 1951, when debt charges begin to decline sharply. Until 1951 an annual levy of about $1,500,000 is proposed, with about $4,000,000 provided thereafter, under a plan formulated by Budget Director Edward A. Neider and summarized in a recent issue of *Taxes for Democracy*, published by the Tax Institute.

Under the proposal the total rate for city purposes in 1946-47 would be $32.92 per $1,000 of assessed valuation, divided $20.25 for operations, $11 for debt service, and $1.67 for pay-as-you-go. By 1950-51 the rate for debt would be down to $6.41, pay-as-you-go up to $4.44, and with the operating requirement unchanged the total city rate would be $31.10. Thereafter the pay-as-you-go rate would be unchanged, while the debt rate would continue to decline, so that barring increases in the levy for operating purposes, the $4,000,000 annual pay-as-you-go levy could be made with the total rate declining slightly.

In Syracuse the Civic Committee estimates that if the 1945 tax rate is maintained unchanged, by 1947 a pay-as-you-go levy accounting for the difference between debt charges in 1945 and debt charges in 1947 would produce about $1,350,000, and by 1960 about $3,700,000 annually would be available for improvements.

Oregon Tax Survey Ordered

The Oregon legislature by joint resolution has established a Tax Study Commission to study virtually the whole range of state and local finance and report its recommendations and proposed bills to the next legislature.

The legislature charged the commission with no less than eighteen specific tasks, ranging from an overall "analysis of the entire tax structure of the state . . . as related to present and future needs and demands of the state, county and municipal governments" to study of individual taxes and expenditure needs. Property taxes, the income tax, excise taxes, liquor taxes, among the revenues, and education, vocational training, welfare and fiscal aid to the political subdivisions, among the expenditures, are all set for scrutiny.

Cigarette Taxes Saved for States

Sale of tax-free cigarettes to civilians on Army and Navy property, an amenity alleged to have cost the states imposing cigarette taxes several millions of dollars annually, has now been stopped by both services.

The Army discontinued sales under a War Department directive issued more than a year ago. On June 11, 1945, the Navy took the same action. The Army directive suggested that posts use vending machines to distribute cigarettes to those not entitled to the tax-free supply. The Navy, however, chose to stock both stamp-taxed and tax-free supplies.

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

British Labor Victory and Local Government

Many Changes Expected in Administration of Utilities, Planning, Housing, Health

THE overwhelming victory of the Labor party in the recent British elections may have a profound influence on many aspects of English local government. The new government's policies concerning municipally-owned utilities, local government reform, housing, planning, fire services and health may differ greatly from those of its predecessor.

Complete nationalization of gas and electric utility systems has been announced as one of the most urgent of the Labor party's reforms. This would mean abolition of municipally-owned utilities. "The only question," commented Herbert Morrison, now Britain's Lord President of the Council, a few months ago, "is whether this common public service is to be handed over to public ownership and management or whether the country is to tie itself in knots in order to keep private ownership—or municipal ownership for that matter—in the picture." The King's speech August 15 was less drastic, merely referring to "coordination of the fuel and power industries."

Less sweeping changes may be expected in the readjustment of local government boundaries and functions. The Local Government Boundary Commission bill, which was passed in the closing days of the old Parliament, provides for a central commission with jurisdiction over boundary alterations.[1] The Labor government can directly influence the commission's work, since the Minister of Health is free to appoint members of the commission. With the approval of Parliament he is to draw up general directions for its guidance which may well determine the scope of its activities.

Only four months ago the Minister of Health appointed a committee to study and make recommendations regarding the number, size, boundaries and distribution of functions of local units in the London County area; action on this matter is another problem confronting Prime Minister Attlee's cabinet.

The attitude of the new government toward local government reform remains to be seen. Two years ago the Labor party called for a two-tier structure with the major or regional authorities (about 40 in number) controlling and administering the majority of local services, and the minor or area authorities (about 150 in number with an average population of 250,000 to 300,000) performing purely local services or those delegated to them by the region. Whether this radical goal will now be accepted as the government's is somewhat doubtful; the debate on the boundary commission bill "showed the tenderness which all parties, left as well as right, display towards the susceptibilities of existing authorities."[2]

As with local government reform, so too with housing and planning. Although the new government's policies are yet to be clearly defined, the net result will probably be a somewhat more thoroughgoing program. Last year's *White Paper* on control of land use was virtually ignored by the Churchill government; Labor may be expected to stress land use control as a partial solution to the complex housing and planning problems.[3] Greater emphasis on a long term housing program and more attention to local planning seem likely. The King's address promised not only a reorganization of the housing industry but also attention to problems of compensation and betterment and public land acquisition.

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[1] See the REVIEW, May 1945, p. 263; July 1945, p. 332.

[2] *Economist,* June 9, 1945, p. 766.

Another *White Paper,* that on health, may be "saved" by the change in parties. As originally set forth this plan for comprehensive medical and health services provided that the medical profession perform an advisory function on both central and local levels. Local administration was to be centered in joint authorities of two or more counties or county boroughs. The power of the British Medical Association was very effective in forcing the outgoing government to yield on several points, with the result that private medicine was to control regional and area hospital councils, leaving local government quite impotent. The Labor party having accused the government of selling out to the British Medical Association, some backtracking may be expected.

When Herbert Morrison was home secretary, he showed no inclination to return the war-nationalized fire forces to the localities whence they came. The decision on this problem may be an important one inasmuch as it will reflect Labor's attitude toward local government in the postwar era.

British Outgoing Government Passes Local Legislation

Local government reconversion in England is well under way with the Education, Town and County Planning, Representation of the People, Local Authorities Loans, and Wages Councils Acts passed by the last Parliament.[1] Implementation of the Local Authorities Loans Act, by which localities will borrow money through the central government only, was set by the outgoing Minister of Health for August 1.

In the field of housing — Britain's number one domestic problem — the Churchill government recently gave local authorities power to license housing work by private owners and tenants and to requisition empty houses for immediate use without reference to any central department. It was announced that by July 119,000 temporary local housing sites had been approved and 300,000 permanent sites acquired by local governments. Temporary houses from the United States helped ease the shortage, but the government found it necessary to abandon for a time some parks and garden city plans because all space was needed badly for emergency housing.

War-made Problems

Demobilization of civilian defense organizations and war damage repairs has begun. Some problems which have arisen are the question of central government financial assistance, the collection and disposition of surplus war materials, and the possibility of local government retaining some of the functions acquired during the war. Salvaging activities and British restaurants are examples of the latter.

Population movements during the war and the current return of evacuees to metropolitan areas have made it imperative that many ward boundaries be redrawn.

The future of the wartime-regionalized dock and harbor authorities is being discussed; some regional framework may be made permanent.

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[3] See the REVIEW, November 1944, p. 567.

[1] See the REVIEW, March 1945, p. 151, and *American Political Science Review,* April 1945, p. 337.

Big Three Recognize Value of Local Government

The value of local self-government as a training ground for democracy was recognized by the "Big Three" at the Potsdam Conference on Germany. The text of the communique on the matter was as follows:

"The administration of affairs in Germany should be directed towards the decentralization of the political structure and the development of local responsibility. To this end:

"Local self-government shall be restored throughout Germany on democratic principles and in particular through elective councils as rapidly as is consistent with military security and the purposes of military occupation. . .

"Representative and elective principles shall be introduced into regional, provincial and state (land) administration as rapidly as may be justified by the successful application of these principles in local self-government."

Boundary Changes in Two Canadian Provinces

Reorganization of rural municipal boundaries in Saskatchewan has been delayed further as the result of a protest by the March convention of the provincial Association of Rural Municipalities.[1] Contending that studies of the problem up to now have ignored factors other than economy and efficiency of administration the convention called upon the government to delay action until a thorough investigation of all factors—including local community of interest, the close contact between officials and citizens afforded by the existing system, and the advantages of decentralization—could be made.

Both the convention and the provincial legislature have urged the government to provide for a local referendum on any boundary changes; the Minister of Municipal Affairs, in reply, has indicated agreement. Legislation is being prepared which will give the minister power "to endorse a map of boundaries." The boundaries, which would be drawn only after consultation with local officials and citizens, would not be effective unless 100 electors in the newly designated area petitioned the minister to make it a municipality. After publicizing the proposal, opportunity for a referendum would be given the voters if 100 electors so petitioned.

A new investigating committee has been appointed and already has held several meetings.

The urgency of larger units is well illustrated by the plans of the new provincial government for increased public health services on the local level. For financial and administrative reasons, it would be desirable to have larger units if more extensive functions are to accrue to localities.

Officials in a second Canadian province, Alberta, have announced that no further enlargement of local government boundaries is contemplated, unless at the request of localities. Proponents of larger units in Saskatchewan have been citing the recent boundary reorganization in Alberta as an example of what might be desirable in their province.

Election Law Changes

Both provinces have recently altered their election laws. Saskatchewan has enfranchised tenants of farm land of 80 acres or more while Alberta has provided for the listing of non-property owners who have had the vote on electoral rolls. Previously non-owners of property in Alberta have had to prove their right to vote at each local election.

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[1] See the Review, April 1945, p. 203.

Books in Review

A Million Homes a Year. Modern Housing for Every Income—the Problem and the Possibilities. By Dorothy Rosenman. New York 17, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945. x, 333 pp. $3.50.

Out of her ample experience the author, chairman of the National Committee on Housing, presents a graphic picture of the need for "a million homes a year." She examines the problem from all angles—methods to reduce costs in borrowing money, in buying and improving land, in construction, in real estates taxes; the relationship of home to neighborhood, the neighborhood to the greater community and the greater community to the world about. Three problems are given special treatment: development of slum areas, government assistance for low income families, and the expediency of home ownership.

City Development—Studies in Disintegration and Renewal. By Lewis Mumford. New York 17, Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1945. 248 pp. $2.

For this volume the author has collected six of his essays on city planning, dating from 1922 to 1945. In the introduction he comments that those he has chosen to group together "are the most representative selections of my work in the field of urbanism during the last quarter century." The articles include The City, The Metropolitan Milieu, Mass-Production and Housing, Report on Honolulu, The Social Foundations of Postwar Building, and The Plan of London. The last two are now printed for the first time in the United States.

Cost Measurement in Urban Redevelopment. By Miles L. Colean and Arthur P. Davis. New York 18, National Committee on Housing, Inc., 1945. 43 pp. charts. $15.

One reason that urban redevelopment has proved so baffling is the fact that so little exact knowledge, so few facts and figures have been available to measure the different cost factors, to determine their relationship and, most important of all, to tell quickly and accurately their effects on rents and investment return under a given rebuilding program.

The report by Mr. Colean and Mr. Davis is designed to remedy this situation. Its objective is to provide facts in place of guesses, and facts that are applicable to the many varying conditions to be found. Its primary usefulness is that it provides a means of measuring, in respect to certain specific types and quality of dwelling structure, the effect of variation in land cost, financial rate, and taxes.

The need for such a study has long been evident. Modern transportation facilities have made available to urban families cheap land in suburban areas where, with the additional benefits of lower taxes, they can obtain the double boon of lower shelter costs and less crowded living conditions. The older sections of cities, otherwise ripe for rebuilding, are thus placed at a competitive disadvantage.

If our cities are to be rebuilt these disadvantages must be overcome and a new balance in the final shelter costs achieved between inlying and outlying areas.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Assessment

How Cities Assess the Cost of Local Government. Albany, New York State Bureau of Municipal Information, 1945. 13 pp.

Bibliography

Publications for the Small Municipality. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1945. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Child Welfare

Building the Future for Children and Youth. Next Steps Proposed by the National Commission on Children in Wartime. (Summary of Recommendations). Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, 1945. 11 pp.

Civil Service

The Civil Service in Transition. Annual Report for 1944. New York City 18, National Civil Service League, 1945. 15 pp.

Position Classification as an Aid to Supervision. Washington, D. C., United States Civil Service Commission, Personnel Classification Division, 1945. 14 pp.

Whither the Merit System. Practices—Prospects—Possibilities. By Herbert Emmerich, H. Eliot Kaplan, Floyd W. Reeves and Leonard D. White. New York 18, National Civil Service League, 1945. 24 pp. 25 cents.

Congress

Congressional Handbook. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Department of Governmental Affairs, 1945. 108 pp. 50 cents.

Education

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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Contents for October 1945

The League's Business 434

Editorial Comment .... *Alfred Willoughby* 435

Veterans Preferred, Unlimited
Ruth G. Weintraub and Rosalind Tough 437

Ohio's 'Fun' in the Voting Booth .... *Mona Fletcher* 440

Jap Influence Fades Quickly *Lieutenant Samuel J. Eldersveld* 445

'Plan E' Succeeds in Cambridge .... *Bertram B. Johansson* 450

News in Review

City, State and Nation .... *H. M. Olmsted* 453

Researcher's Digest 457

Citizen Action .... *Elsie S. Parker* 460

Proportional Representation .... *George H. Hallett, Jr.* 465

County and Township .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 468

Taxation and Finance .... *Wade S. Smith* 470

Local Affairs Abroad .... *Edward W. Weidner* 474

Books in Review 477

The contents of the National Municipal Review are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

— Buy United States Victory Bonds and Stamps —

The League's Business

Cleveland Area Survey Begun

The Consultant Service of the League has undertaken a survey of the Cleveland area to determine the ability of the city and other units of government in the area to finance postwar public works programs. Dr. Thomas H. Reed has been chosen to make the study. He will be assisted by Mrs. Reed.

The survey is under the auspices of the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research, at the request of the Metropolitan Cleveland Development Council.

* * *

Taft Returns to Cincinnati

Charles P. Taft, an honorary vice president of the League, has resigned from the United States Department of State to return to his home in Cincinnati to become a candidate for the City Council. Mr. Taft, one of the leaders of the Cincinnati charter movement of 1924, was a member of the City Council from 1938 until he withdrew to go to Washington where he has served as assistant director of the Office of Defense, Health, Welfare and Recreation and more recently in the Secretary of State's Office.

* * *

Luther Gulick to Moscow

Dr. Luther Halsey Gulick, director of the Institute of Public Administration and long associated with the leadership of the League, is one of the twenty experts for the United States with the Reparations Commission which went to Moscow in June. Dr. Gulick is a former member of the League's Council.

* * *

Hearne Bags Japs, Wins Award

Colonel Julian G. Hearne, Jr., former civic leader of Wheeling, West Virginia, and for some years prominently identified with the National Municipal League, was awarded the Legion of Merit at Saipan in June, according to a recent announcement. On August 22 Colonel Hearne received the unconditional surrender of Major Yoshihiko Noda and the entire Japanese garrison on Aka Shima.

* * *

Upson Named Dean at Wayne

Dr. Lent D. Upson, honorary vice president of the League and long a leader in local governmental research circles, has been appointed dean of the School of Public Affairs and Social Work at Wayne University. He has directed the school since 1935 and for the past year has also been director of the National Training School for Public Service.

* * *

League's Secretary in Berlin

Lt. Col. Howard P. Jones, League secretary who is on military leave, has been transferred from Frankfurt to Berlin, Germany, where he is at the headquarters of the United States Control Commission.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

The Postwar Problems Are Here

SO THIS is the "postwar period" about which everyone has worried and thought and for which we have tried to plan with a determination to "win the peace" and to demonstrate the workability and superiority of our way of life.

The planning will not have been in vain, even if some of it is revamped or abandoned as it collides with reality, and most of our fears will, as usual, prove groundless.

But actually winning the peace and making democracy work in accordance with our idealistic standards will be difficult tasks worthy of our best thought and effort. The degree to which we meet our responsibilities at home will determine, in a very real sense, whether we gain from our victory the utmost in human progress.

The real proving ground will be in our communities, large and small. They are the roots. If they are strong and healthy our system will flourish. If they are weak, diseased and undermined the great trunk will be in danger of crashing.

With what success will we cope with the problems which peace is bringing more clearly into focus? Will we find the solution which will stop the decay and blight of our larger cities? Will we solve the housing problem without making it a political football? Will we work out taxation and fiscal systems which will revitalize our cities? Will we find a method of forcing state legislatures to reapportion in a manner which will, at long last, be fair to those who live in cities? Will the states be less smug about what great "shape" they're in to face the future—as if they are something quite apart from their cities—and recognize that it is in large measure their fault that the cities are not as well off?

These are only a few of the basic tests which lie ahead. Some will be side-stepped, as in the past, cynically and for selfish advantage. In the aggregate, the many, many problems look for all the world like a log jam in which, perhaps, there might be hope of finding a key log to remove.

An ancient wise man once counselled, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you."

Today's wise man might well admonish his fellow men first to become interested, participating, informed citizens; for who can deny that the greatest weakness is the apathy and general indifference toward local civic affairs? Our system works very well when, now and then, this apathy is overcome.

Local civic organizations face a great responsibility. The vast majority of citizens are well intentioned. They want leadership and organization. They have, for the most part, lost confidence in "politicians" but they don't know what to do. People of good will are needed everywhere to find the facts and provide the leadership which will give the average citizen renewed confidence that his vote really can count and that public affairs need not be the inefficient, wasteful mess they too frequently are.

Changing the Rules

IN RECENT months two City Councils have amended the charters of their cities.

The City Council of Yonkers, New York, amended that city's charter to give an acting city manager the full powers and duties of a city manager and to permit a substantial salary increase for the acting manager.

The City Council of New York amended the charter of the nation's greatest metropolis to increase the terms of city councilmen from two to four years.

Both actions seem remarkable and open to serious question as to their propriety.

A charter is a city's basic law. In it the people lay down the specific framework of the government and prescribe the rules and limits within which the Council and other officials may operate. If that framework is to be substantially altered, it would seem that only the people who originally adopted it would have the right to make the changes.

In the case of Yonkers, it might fairly be assumed that the charter's failure to give an acting city manager broad powers was deliberately designed to force the City Council to appoint a full-fledged manager promptly. But with councilmen coming up for re-election in November the Council majority didn't choose to make an appointment which might put it on the spot. So it changed the rules.

In the New York case, if it is right in principle for the Council to amend the charter to increase the terms of its future members from two to four years, what is there to prevent ten-year, 25-year or life terms? In adopting the charter the people of New York said plainly that they wanted the councilmen to submit their records for approval or disapproval every two years. Councilmen don't like the expense and uncertainty of having to run so often, of course. So it seems the people of New York just can't have what they want.

Although both Councils excused their actions by minimizing the importance and significance of what they did, the right to make such basic changes clearly belongs only to the people who adopted the original charters. A City Council has no more right to change the rules under which it may operate than, say, a state board has to change the law by which a state legislature has created it and prescribed its powers and duties.

Actions such as these should be challenged promptly before an indifferent public loses more of the controls it has sought to place on its representatives.

Veterans Preferred, Unlimited

Proposals to be voted on in New York State outdo most of nation in providing a place for veterans in the public service; but should the door be closed to all others?

By **RUTH G. WEINTRAUB** and **ROSALIND TOUGH***

NEW YORK State will vote this fall on an amendment to its constitution which, if adopted, will have the effect of limiting the public service to veterans for years to come. Twenty-four states, from Alabama to Wisconsin, revised their laws during 1943-1944 to give the veteran of World War II preferred status when competing for government employment. The Congressional mill ground also during this period; the outcome is the Veterans Preference Act of 1944.

Why all this legislative ferment? Civilians suffering from guilt complexes because of their meager contributions to the war effort when assessed against the soldiers' sacrifices indiscriminately embrace veteran legislation. Lobbyists for veterans' organizations are having a field day. A conglomeration of legislation, some good, some bad, all veteran - oriented, gets legislative priority.

From the Congressional hopper in Washington has come the G.I. Bill of Rights (Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944), which offers the ex-soldier hospitalization, education, a guaranteed loan for a farm or a home, the services of an employment exchange and unemployment insurance, all at government expense. From the same source has originated special educational benefits to the soldier with service-connected disabilities and preferential treatment for the veteran who desires a career in the public service. The majority of states have or are contemplating comparable over-all plans for the veteran. New York's Governor Dewey, in his special message of January 29, 1945, had a twelve-point program ranging from rest camps to a psychiatric consulting service for ex-soldiers.

A favorite approach to jobs for the veteran, one not new in American history, looks upon our public service as an outdoor relief department for those who have made the contribution of military service. The basic equalitarian philosophy that no special talent is needed for government work gives the justification for exceptional treatment for all veterans. It should be emphasized, however, that from among the veterans of previous wars have come thousands of persons well qualified for public service.

Since there is no disagreement about the ex-soldier's right to a job in the postwar world, the question is solely how can that job best be pro-

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*Drs. Weintraub and Tough are, respectively, assistant professors of political science and sociology at Hunter College, New York City. They have collaborated on numerous articles concerning veterans' legislation, housing, criminology, etc. Dr. Weintraub is author of *Government Corporations and State Laws* and is a member of the New York Bar. Dr. Tough has prepared bulletins on standards of living and is a contributor to *Planned Society,* a book on social planning.

vided? Does a partial solution lie along the path charted by the Downey-Sherman resolution? In accordance with New York State constitutional procedure, the 1944 and 1945 sessions of the state legislature passed this resolution, sponsored originally by Hampton and Devany. It will appear on the ballot in November and, unless citizens' groups are vigilant, no one need doubt its outcome at the polls. "These boys were ready to give their lives for us, the least we can do is give them government jobs." That argument is difficult to beat at a referendum election.

Effect of Amendment

What will this amendment accomplish? If passed it will have the effect of closing the New York State and municipal public services for a period of years to all but veterans. Among the unsuccessful competitors, both for initial appointments or promotions in this state, will be veterans' widows, wives of disabled ex-soldiers, civilian war workers, the "4F's" and the oncoming generations of graduates from our schools. The proposed language of the amendment provides that if veterans compete for any position or promotion their names must appear at the head of the list, regardless of their standing. Disabled veterans are placed ahead of the non-disabled and enjoy job preference for an unlimited period of time. In contrast, the non-disabled ex-soldier is to retain his right to a preferred position only for five years after discharge from the armed forces. Thus, in the case of an examination for a junior accountant in the New York State Department of Labor, a civilian with a grade of 97.7 will be sidetracked for either a disabled or non-disabled veteran with a minimum passing grade. Once the ex-soldier is on the job, this same preference is exercised in his behalf in any competition for promotion.

From Alabama to Wisconsin is the existing veterans' preference legislation as sweeping as that proposed for New York State? An analysis of the 1943-44 legislation for the 24 states which have acted to enhance the status of the veteran of World War II in public service indicates certain well defined trends. The ex-service man is placed at the top of the list of candidates for any governmental position, the disabled veteran having a preferred status to that of the non-disabled, in Massachusetts. This proviso recommended also for New York State is generally conceded to overlook the maintenance of entrance standards for the public service. A less drastic approach provides for the addition of a number of points to the veteran's grade in a competitive examination, with the result that his place on the list of candidates is improved. In Colorado the disabled ex-soldier gets a ten-point preference, the non-disabled and widows of honorably discharged men who died in service each five points. Here again the veteran benefits from preferential treatment, but under a point bonus the possibility exists that a civilian much better qualified than he may get the job, or that a veteran, physically and mentally fit, may outrank a disabled ex-soldier.

In the same pattern as the most recent federal innovation, legislation exists which either limits or excludes positions in certain categories from veterans' preference. These laws recognize that specific supervisory positions and those in the professional categories are at the heart of an efficient public service and should be preserved for the candidates who have the best qualifications, unrelated to any extrinsic factors. Thus the South Dakota veterans' preference law of 1943 excludes the positions of department head, all policy-forming positions and those which are confidential in character.

If New York State adopts the Downey-Sherman resolution, it will be in the vanguard of those who look to public employment as a reward for military service. More generous than the federal Veterans' Preference Act of 1944, it will outdo the latter in three important ways: the New York amendment would apply both to appointments and promotions and the federal only to appointments; the New York provision would put non-disabled veterans at the head of all lists for a period of five years after discharge from the armed services while the federal law merely gives him a five-point bonus; finally, in the state amendment, the absolute preference for disabled veterans would apply to all positions while, under the federal law, disabled veterans who compete for positions in the scientific and professional services in which the salary is $3,000 or more receive only a ten-point bonus. This gives recognition to the principle that, if the public service is to be saved, certain positions at least must be recruited on a competitive basis.

Community's Responsibility

Since the debt owed the veteran is a community debt, it should be met by the community. If considered in that light, the responsibility to the ex-soldier becomes joint, to be shared by industry as well as by government. The re-employment provisions of the Selective Service Act of 1940, attempting imperfectly to guarantee the job rights of persons who left industry to enter the armed forces, recognizes this obligation to a small degree. Great Britain gives it cognizance to a much greater extent in the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act of 1944, which requires every employer who hires twenty or more persons to employ at least one disabled individual and which assigns to more substantial employers a larger quota. Since opinion in this country would be inhospitable to such a suggestion and, since it would raise complex constitutional problems, it is not suggested seriously here as a solution for the problem of veterans' employment in the United States.

If the most obvious solution, "jobs for all," can be effected, then the invidious notion of pitting non-veterans against veterans will not arise. Preparation must be made for the eventuality of less than the 60,000,000 quota of jobs set for full employment, and recognition must be given both to the long tradition of veterans' preference in the American public service and to the immediate strength of the various veter-

(Continued on page 444)

Ohio's 'Fun' in the Voting Booth

Party in power outsmarts itself again and again, linking state and national tickets on the ballot, then separating them, only to be sadly fooled by the unpredictable voter.

By **MONA FLETCHER***

THE question of ballot form and reform is of recurring interest as state legislators consider various means of increasing popular participation in government, or attempt to strengthen the control of the majority and decrease the possibility of minority party gains. Ohio lawmakers have frequently turned their attention to such problems.

The members of both houses of the Ohio legislature are elected biennially, as is the governor. Presidential election years, therefore, see the voter faced with the problem of expressing his choice for local, state and national candidates. With a single, party column ballot lesser contestants have been carried into office as a result of "landslide" votes for a popular presidential hero. Such a possibility has been the cause of considerable experimentation with ballot form by Ohio legislators in an endeavor to save the state when the rival party seemed destined to win a presidential majority, or, on the other hand, to "ride in on the coat tails" of a successful presidential aspirant.

As long ago as 1915 the consolidated ballot, which contained the names of presidential, state and local candidates, was made legal through legislative action. A Republican representative from Hamilton County sponsored the bill, which Republican Governor Willis signed. This law replaced a measure of 1913 which had separated the presidential from the state ballot but had never been put into use.

This change in ballot form, however, did not benefit its Republican authors. In 1916, with war threatening the country, Wilson's candidacy was vigorously pushed. As a result the Democrats carried Ohio for Wilson and for Cox as governor. More than a million people voted, yet Wilson had a plurality of only ninety thousand. Cox, running on the same ballot, in the same party column, won the governorship by a mere 6,600 plurality. Did Wilson pull Cox in?

Whatever the effect of the united ballot in Democratic success it did not stay long on the statute books. In 1917 Governor Cox approved a bill which provided a separate ballot for the choice of presidential electors, removing it from the state and local ballot. Perhaps he anticipated a Republican landslide in 1920 and hoped that his party could carry the state ticket, if not the national election.

When the new plan went into

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*Miss Fletcher is associate professor of political science at Kent State University, where she has been teaching since 1924. More recently she has taught history to two sections of Army Air Corps students at the university. Miss Fletcher, who has done graduate work at the University of Chicago as well as at Ohio State University, is secretary-treasurer of the Social Science Section of the Ohio College Association. She has published various articles on voting and its results in Ohio.

effect in 1920 Cox, himself, was running for the presidency. Probably he could not have won with any form of ballot, but the divergence in votes is of interest. The enfranchisement of women in August of that year increased the total votes to more than two million. Warren G. Harding received over a million, one hundred thousand votes. Cox trailed him by nearly half a million. Democratic Vic Donahey had entered the race for governor and, although he lost, his rival, Republican Harry Davis, took the office with a plurality of only 120,000. In other words, Donahey ran way ahead of the Democratic vote cast for the presidency. Many analysts concluded that this resulted from the change in ballot form which offered the voter the opportunity to separate his choices and give attention to each candidacy.

Four years later came the most outstanding example of independent voting that Ohio has even seen. The total presidential vote was slightly less than in 1920, with the LaFollette ticket taking 12 per cent of the ballots cast. Coolidge easily secured the Ohio electors, running almost seven hundred thousand votes ahead of the Democratic candidate, John W. Davis. Donahey was already in the governor's chair, eager for re-election, running against his opponent of four years ago, Republican candidate Harry Davis. The voters liked Donahey, if action may be taken for approval, for they put him back into office by a plurality of 176,842 votes. Could he have offset Coolidge's popularity with the consolidated ballot?

In 1928 came the Hoover landslide. More than two and a half million voters went to the polls. According to their verdict Al Smith trailed Hoover by more than three-quarters of a million votes. The Republican governor, Myers Y. Cooper, was running to succeed himself against Martin L. Davey, the Democratic nominee. Although Cooper won, his plurality was only 248,787. He ran a half million votes behind Hoover, while Davey ran almost a quarter of a million votes ahead of Smith. Here was another example of independent voting.

Back to Consolidated Ballot

In the light of these results it was natural for the Republicans to reinstate the consolidated ballot for use in presidential election years. Such a law was signed by Governor Cooper in April 1929. National crisis had engulfed the country, however, before the first application of this act. A great shift in votes seemed inevitable. The presidential vote increased slightly over the two and a half millions of 1928, and Roosevelt won by a plurality of less than a hundred thousand. Democratic Governor White, however, seeking re-election, was the winner by more than two hundred thousand votes over David Ingalls, the Republican aspirant. One may well ask whether White pulled Roosevelt in, for it was possible that with a separate presidential ballot Hoover might have carried Ohio.

Crisis conditions were still prevalent in 1936 and the voters seemed to wish no change in leadership. More than three million voted for president. The third party movement, with Lemke as leader, took only 4 per cent of the total votes. Landon was not without friends, for over a million people voted for him, but Roosevelt won with a plurality of about six hundred thousand. Davey, Democrat, who had been elected governor in 1934, was running for a second term against John W. Bricker. The Democratic candidate won by a plurality of 126,000 votes. It seemed that on a single ballot the President's popularity had saved the office for Davey.

The Pendulum Swings Again

Although the Republicans had been responsible for uniting the ballots in 1929, they suffered defeat in both elections held under the consolidated form. It was not surprising, therefore, to find Governor Bricker, who won in 1938, issuing a call for a special session of the Ohio legislature to enact ballot reforms. Even though a separation of the state and presidential ballots was a tacit admission of weakness in Ohio, it was done, and in June 1940 Bricker signed the bill which was intended to save the state for his party in the November election.

As had been anticipated, in November 1940 Roosevelt and Wallace received Ohio's 26 electoral votes. The Republicans, however, re-elected their candidate for governor, John W. Bricker, who ran against Martin L. Davey. Harold Burton, Republican aspirant for the United States Senate, defeated John McSweeney, Democrat. In the selection of two congressmen-at-large, each party won a single seat. George H. Bender, Cleveland Republican, and Stephen M. Young, Democrat, defeated Francis Durbin and L. L. Marshall. The 22 district representatives to the United States Congress were also evenly divided—eleven Republicans, eleven Democrats. Obviously a number of Republicans did not "ride in on Bricker's coat tails." In the election three and a third million votes were cast, Bricker's plurality was over a third of a million, Roosevelt received a plurality of 146,366. The Roosevelt-Wallace ticket carried in eight urban counties which were listed in the Bricker column. In these areas which included over a million and a third of the voters (1,390,363) the president's plurality was 220,000 while Bricker, in the same counties, won by 124,000. The use of separate ballots was undoubtedly an important factor in obtaining these results.

The three remaining urban counties show marked contrasts, although both presidential and gubernatorial choices were made within the same party. Hamilton County's three hundred thousand voters, largely from the Republican stronghold of Cincinnati, gave Bricker a plurality of 68,727; Willkie, on the other hand, won by only 5,826 votes. Mahoning County and the steel center of Youngstown, with ballots which totaled 154,353, gave Davey 8,945 more votes than were cast for Bricker, yet piled up a plurality of 38,945 for Roosevelt. In neighboring Trumbull County, also a steel center, (total votes, 59,641) Roosevelt had a plurality of four votes to one for Davey—4,329 to 1,372.

It should be added, however, that in 69 of the 88 Ohio counties the choices for president and governor were found in the same party column, even though the voter was encouraged by separate ballots to make an independent choice. The city dweller evidently decided the 1940 outcome.

Some Independent Voting

The election of 1944, held during war with many Ohioans away from home, saw 3,153,056 civilian ballots cast. The same pattern of independence was followed as that of 1940, although the results were reversed. Last November the Ohio electorate gave its majority to the Dewey-Bricker ticket, while selecting Frank J. Lausche, Democratic mayor of Cleveland, as governor. Robert A. Taft was re-elected to the United States Senate, defeating Democratic William G. Pickrel. Congressman-at-large George H. Bender easily defeated William Glass, Democratic aspirant. (In the 1940 reapportionment Ohio lost one representative.) Only six Democrats were included among the 22 district representatives who were elected to the national Congress. Lausche's popularity did not carry all of his fellow Democrats into office with him.

The pluralities of 1944 were smaller than those of 1940. Even though Ohio's John W. Bricker was vice-presidential candidate, the Dewey ticket won by only 11,430 votes. Bender's plurality was 179,579 over his opponent in the race for congressman-at-large. Lausche, on the opposition side, came out with 112,359 more votes than were cast for his opponent, Cincinnati's Republican Mayor James Garfield Stewart. With a united ballot the Republicans might well have overcome Lausche's lead, though there is a temptation to wonder if the consolidated form of ballot might have saved the state for the Roosevelt-Truman ticket.

Further analysis shows that in 82 counties the voters supported candidates of the same party for president and governor. Roosevelt and Lausche carried thirteen of them. (Lausche also won in five more counties which were in the Dewey column.) The urban centers were loyal to Cleveland's Democratic mayor. Nine of them, containing 43 per cent of the voters, were listed in the Democratic column. Stewart carried only two urban counties, Hamilton, his home locality, and Franklin, where the capital city, Columbus, is situated. Only one urban county split its vote between president and governor, Lucas (Toledo). With a total of 155,731 ballots recorded, Dewey won by 1,138, while Lausche piled up a plurality of 11,407.

It is interesting to note that in Cleveland and Cuyahoga County where more than half a million voters participated (548,493), the mayor secured a plurality of 182,156 while the Roosevelt-Truman lead was only 112,835 over Dewey and Bricker. In Hamilton County, which had supported Bricker so enthusiastically in 1940, the voters gave Cincinnati's mayor a four-to-one preference over the Republican presidential and vice-presidential candidates (46,331 for Stewart to 10,490 plurality for Dewey-Bricker).

Political leaders will seek to secure stronger discipline and more certain success, while political reformers will endeavor to increase the possibilities of free choice by the voters. Regardless of the ballot form, however, Ohio's performance for 30 years points to considerable party loyalty, yet the split tickets cast in urban areas make the outcome highly unpredictable.

VETERANS PREFERRED, UNLIMITED

(Continued from page 439)

ans' organizations. Taking all this into account, what sort of legislative compromise should receive support; what in the long run would be fair to the veteran, to the public service and to the coming generation?

Alternative Plans

Several compromises suggest themselves: limiting the preference to veterans who have been disabled; giving the ex-soldier a substantial advantage upon entering the service on the assumption that he makes good on his own when it comes to competition for promotion; and, finally, recognizing that certain supervisory and professional positions must be filled on a strictly competitive basis. Giving preference only to the disabled veterans would restrict the number of ex-soldiers receiving special treatment in both state and federal public services to a manageable number. Assuming that as much as a ten-point bonus were given it would still be possible for the exceptional person without a military record to find a way into government employment. If supervisory and professional positions were filled exclusively on a merit basis, open both to veteran and non-veteran, we could be assured that qualified persons were in control at the nerve centers of administration.

Attitudes toward the veteran have been confused. To some extent they have been engendered by the wish to compensate him for military service; from another aspect, they have represented the emotional reaction of war hysteria. Citizens will have to clarify their thinking on this question immediately, to participate in group action which will result in the defeat of legislation overthrowing all standards of recruitment, and to sponsor bills which, though recognizing our debt to the veterans of World War II, give some attention to the needs of the government service in postwar America.

Jap Influence Fades Quickly

After three years of Nipponese rule Filipinos take up reins where they left off in 1941; democratic processes restored to municipalities; new elections planned for near future.

By **LIEUTENANT SAMUEL J. ELDERSVELD***

A PERIPATETIC political science student exploring the Philippine Archipelago is naturally curious about the forms and functions of the government with which he comes into contact. Since it has been possible to spend some time in the provinces of the Philippines, particularly in the municipality of Tolosa in the province of Leyte, some investigation could be made.

To secure entrée to such an investigation is not difficult. Although an abundance of ignorance prevails among our military personnel, excepting the Philippine Civil Affairs Units, Filipino officials and a gratifying percentage of the citizenry are abreast of the facts. They are more than willing to explain their system of government and do so proudly.[1]

Some time has been spent in each of five large provinces: Samar, Leyte, Panay, Palawan and Mindanao. By far the best opportunity for observation was in Leyte, where the impact of Jap military rule has for the most part disappeared. Municipal government has been rejuvenated there to a much greater extent than anywhere else in the Philippines.

The commonwealth of the Philippines has a political architecture, from Manila down to the meanest *barrio* and *sitio,* which is clearly defined, imbued with democratic ideology, and apparently capable of working smoothly. Furthermore, the symbols, the grand idea, of the democracy which has been asked for are deeply imbedded in the national consciousness. When travelling USO shows appear and make a point of playing the Philippine national anthem the Filipino stands proudly. "Freedom," "independence" and "right"—these concepts have been engraved in large letters upon their minds. Though for many it is scarcely decipherable, the responsibilities of democracy are rapidly being realized in these municipalities.

Three fundamental questions arise about the prospects and operation of government in the Philippines: the nature and status of local government, the extent to which it was in abeyance under Japanese domination, and the relationship of local officials and American military personnel since the day of liberation.

To describe the framework of local government is relatively simple. Each province elects a provincial governor and provincial board every three years. As will be seen these provincial organs exercise a direct influence on the municipalities. Each province is divided into municipalities, classified according to their incomes or revenues. These in turn are subdivided into *barrios* and *sitios,* somewhat similar to our boroughs. In the municipality proper the mayor, vice-mayor and a council of six are elected every three years. Thus, the processes of local government in the Philippines fit into the usual categories of thought with which students of the subject are familiar.

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*Lieutenant Eldersveld is in the Philippine Islands as a Navy communications officer. He received his master's degree at the University of Michigan and was on the verge of completing his doctorate in political science when commissioned. The opinions expressed by Lieutenant Eldersveld are his own and in no way reflect those of the Navy.

[1] Due appreciation must be expressed here to Mr. Francisco Colasito, law graduate of the University of the Philippines and brother of the mayor of Tolosa, for his help in securing the information on which the greater part of this study is based.

Tolosa, in the province of Leyte, is a municipality embracing approximately 35 square miles and 6,666 inhabitants, according to the 1939 census. Its population has swollen to almost twice that number since late 1944 because of the influx of natives from the hills and farm country. It is a fourth-class city, being financially less well off than many adjacent municipalities, especially those in other provinces. Its 35 square miles are divided into fourteen subdivisions, all under the direct administrative set-up in Tolosa proper.[2] The residential area is only ten square blocks of elementary roads and bamboo homes, with an imposing two-story municipal building on the periphery.

The last municipal election was held in Tolosa in the spring of 1940. A mayor, vice-mayor and six-member council were elected at that time. They returned in their official capacities in late 1944 by proclamations of General MacArthur and President Osmena, until new elections can be arranged.[3] The mayor, Caesario Colasito, has resided in Tolosa all his life and is well liked. He is permitted three terms of office of three years each.[4] This restriction of tenure is almost a fetish to Filipinos. Firmly rooted is the idea that no man should hold office in an executive capacity for too long a period—reaction to four hundred years of domination by Spanish dynasties.

Duties of Mayor

The mayor is the ruling figure in the community and a political boss in the real sense of the word. His salary is variable, both within his own municipality and as among the different municipalities, depending on the revenues in the municipal coffers. Similarly with the vice-mayor and the councillors, the latter receiving in Tolosa one peso (50 cents) per session. Since the council meets every two weeks in regular session this amounts to 26 pesos ($13) a year.[5] The vice-mayor's duties are practically negligible, merely taking over the mayor's office in his absence.

The mayor appoints a municipal

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[2] Outside of Tolosa there are the *barrios* of San Roque, Telegrafo, Tanghas, San Vicente, Canmugsay, Capangihan, Malbog, Burac, Cantariuri, and Unilao. The three *sitios,* smaller in size, are Cansamke, Olot, and Opong.

[3] President Osmena is expected in the very near future to order a date for new elections. Until then officials in office prior to the Japanese occupation will continue their interrupted tenure.

[4] "After three terms, nine years, that is the end!" my informant Mr. Francisco Colasito assures me.

[5] Other municipalities in Leyte are wealthier and provide higher salaries for their mayor and councillors.

secretary, a chief of police and ten *barrio* lieutenants who represent him in each of these constituencies. They serve without pay. There is a qualification in the appointment of these lieutenants. They are usually residents of the *barrio* and are, by usage, appointed with the advice and consent of the *barrio* people. Therefore, they are not exactly synonymous with our ward bosses.

The mayor deliberates with the council every two weeks and may call a special session any time. A plethora of feast days are celebrated continuously in these localities, ranging from George Washington's birthday to a local funeral. At these well attended festivities the mayor avails himself of his opportunity to make political capital in the round of general merriment.[6]

Judicial Set-up

The organization of the judiciary presents a most interesting angle of Philippine local government. The same man is known both as justice of the peace and as circuit judge. He is justice of the peace when he sits in adjudication of petty disputes in the municipality, and circuit judge while making his turn of his circuit in the province. But he is not permitted, it is interesting to note, to sit in judgment over a case in his own municipality.[7] This feature, the Filipino assures us, has been introduced to preserve the independence of mind and neutrality of approach of the judiciary. Furthermore, a judge's tenure of office depends on good behavior until he reaches the retirement age of 70 years. His salary is 900 pesos ($450) a year.

On the other hand, the procedure by which the circuit judge is appointed leans away from independence and from dissociation of the judiciary from the other branches of the government. The circuit judge is appointed by the secretary of justice in Manila with the advice and consent of the representative to the National Assembly from his district. Here then the deliberative and adjudicative relationship violates our doctrine of separation of powers. The circuit judge presides in the municipality in cases involving misdemeanors committed against municipal ordinances and other violations whose maximum penalties are six months imprisonment or 600 pesos.[8]

A similar interesting deviation is the role of the municipal treasurer. Unlike the municipal secretary he is not appointed by the mayor. He is appointed by the provincial treasurer with the consent of the secretary of finance in Manila, to whom the provincial treasurer is directly responsible and from whom he in turn receives his appointment. Furthermore, the municipal treasurer alone appoints the assistants directly under him. This innovation, the separation of finance from executive control, has worked out well in practice—a reminder of colonial experience in America with executive control of finance and a reaction no doubt to Spanish rule. Tolosa's income is not considerable, being raised by licenses, cock-fights, head taxes and a property tax. Yet it is amply provided that its money shall not be the plaything of the chief magistrate.[9]

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[6] The Philippines now have woman suffrage; so, all who are 21 and can read and write may vote. Party distinctions do not enter vitally into municipal elections. There are, however, two strong parties: *Nacionalista,* which is the majority party; Democrat, the minority party.

[7] In 1937 when the judiciary in the province of Leyte was reorganized, Mr. Colasito was disqualified as justice of the peace because of his residence in Tolosa.

[8] The remainder of the Philippine judicial hierarchy conforms to a pattern with which we are familiar: Appellate court in the province, in Manila, and the Supreme Court of eleven members, sitting either *in banc* or in two separate sections.

Under Jap Rule

During the period of Japanese occupation the personnel and functions of local government were sharply curtailed. In most municipalities the mayor was permitted to remain in office, subject of course to a complete dominance by the "protectors." The other organs of government were liquidated; in some instances even mayors were removed and supplanted. This was not, however, the customary practice, especially in areas where there occurred little resistance to the occupation. For over three years the operation of democratic processes was extinguished. That it was not forgotten is evidenced by the immediate response of the Philippine people to the provision for self-government in the late months of 1944. The democratic urge rose again spontaneously, and the people are eagerly retracing their steps.

In sharp contrast to the Japanese policy is the attitude of our military officials. We have been most lenient, restoring local democratic processes to as near normalcy as military expediency would permit, and almost at once. Today in Tolosa no Filipino can be arrested by U. S. military personnel nor arraigned in a military court. Complete autonomy exists in this as in most other aspects of local government, much to the appreciation of the natives.

The U. S. Army has an organ which assists in reorganizing local government. Throughout the Philippines are the Philippine Civil Affairs Units, made up of some ten officers and 40 enlisted men. These units have been trained specially for this duty and came in on D-day or soon thereafter. They made contact with local authorities, set up the government on the pre-Jap basis of 1940, cleaned up the town, repaired destroyed buildings and organized labor battalions. None of this was forced labor. It is paid three and four times as much as the amount the Japs were accustomed to pay their forced Filipino labor.[10] These units have done an admirable job.

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[9] Tolosa's revenue is expended on a meager number of municipal services: police, salaries of officials, expenses of education in the local grammar school and public improvements. Quite impoverished by the Jap interlude, the large body of natives are issued rations by the PCAU unit. Health policies are largely dictated by the military. The people are slowly returning to fishing, their rice fields, and former means of livelihood, not a few being previously well-to-do.

[10] A common Filipino laborer receives today one peso and 75 centavos, a skilled laborer two pesos and 25 centavos. Under the Japs they were fortunate if they received 25 or 30 centavos, or perhaps a bag of rice.

The advanced stage which democratic principles have reached in the local government of the Philippines is startling to one who comes to the subject as a neophyte. It cannot be denied that the Filipinos have done creditably thus far in schooling themselves for self-government. They have a past of tyrannical traditionalisms which still, in the political sphere, rankle in their breasts and which they have taken great measures to overcome. The striking parallels and the significant innovations, local ingenuities in the functioning of their government, are interesting to note. In the realm of things spiritual they adhere to their Spanish past; in things temporal they are certainly rid of that Hispanic influence. When asked what the attitude of his countrymen was on "independence," my friend Mr. Colasito said: "The people want independence this year, just like a bird in a gilded cage. How golden the cage may be, yet it yearns to be free to fly in the air."

Manager System for Counties

A former Maricopa County official, now serving time for malfeasance in office, at his trial pleaded he was wholly unqualified to perform the duties of his office. Under the manager plan this could not have happened because jobs requiring special training are appointive and applicants must have the necessary qualifications to be considered.

The National Municipal League, a non-profit public service organization whose officers, directors and members read like a list of the most important persons in the nation, undertakes to be of aid to communities wishing to improve their manner of operation and is an advocate of the county manager plan.

County government, it is reasonable to believe, could be made more satisfactory if proper authority were vested in a qualified executive, who would then be held responsible for results.

—*Phoenix* (Arizona) *Republic*

'Plan E' Succeeds in Cambridge

Report on the first three years of manager government in Massachusetts city points to lessening of political rule, increased efficiency, as well as tax and debt reduction.

By **BERTRAM B. JOHANSSON***

TWO radically different concepts of municipal government are functioning today on either side of the wind-rippled Charles. Symbolically speaking, far more than a placid, bridged river separates the two political beliefs.

To put it mildly, the departure of Cambridge's city manager system of administration from Boston's too commonly accepted practices of political patronage and departmental waste is revolutionary.

In the three years since John B. Atkinson was selected as city manager by the City Council, Cambridge has accomplished a great deal as a municipality. It has thrown off much of the excessive costs of contractor-hired services, made a spectacular $10.40 reduction in its tax rate to 1945 level of $35.90, reduced its total budget nearly $1,500,000, and virtually eliminated wastage in city buying.

It was partly accomplished by instituting a systematized purchasing department in place of one which lacked any system. Purchasing is a large item in any municipal budget, as it is for the housewife. In Cambridge it takes up about one-third of the average annual $8,500,000 budget.

Take one little item in purchasing, typical and very telling. A certain type of pill which cost the city five cents in 1941 when bought from a Cambridge retailer by the dozen—not even in gross lots—today is bought by the city for 1½ cents apiece. Since the city buys 100,000 of these each year it pays $1,500 today as against a former $5,000. There are hundreds of such instances.

Both cities aim to provide the maximum of city services—police and fire protection, street, hospital, sewer and water services—but the manner of their provision is what makes all the difference. The parting of the ways comes in their respective attitudes toward contractor-hired services. Boston feels it must use contractors. Since the city manager has come to Cambridge, contractor work has been eliminated in the repairing and laying of streets and maintenance of buildings.

Snow Removal Differences

What has it meant to Cambridge to do its own work rather than to contract it out? Snow removal costs since January 1, including the purchase of new equipment, averaged $120 a mile this year as against Boston's $1,045. It must be said of Boston, however, that 96 miles of

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*At the time he wrote this article Mr. Johansson, who is now in the Army, was staff writer for the *Christian Science Monitor*. After serving as an instructor at the University of Iowa, he entered the newspaper field, his experience there including a tour of duty with the Associated Press at Trenton, New Jersey, and the city editorship of the Iowa City *Press-Citizen*.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article above is reprinted from the *Christian Science Monitor* of April 7, 1945, with tax and debt figures brought up to date.

downtown business streets had to have all snow removed from them. But a large proportion of the work was done by contractors, and with a large share of hand labor instead of machines. Boston Public Works Department officials claim, on the other hand, that downtown Boston was freer from snow after a severe blizzard than Central Square in Cambridge.

While Boston's garbage and ash removal costs trebled between 1941 and this year—soaring from $415,248 to a contracted $1,120,000—Cambridge purchased eighteen new collection trucks, decreased expenses $18,000, increased garbage income about $25,000. It may be argued that Boston, because of its size, couldn't or can't collect its own garbage. But New York City's Department of Sanitation collects all garbage and disposes of it, and with a tax rate of $30.34 in 1943.

Cambridge resurfaces its own bituminous concrete streets now with its own spreaders and own crews for 60 cents a square yard, according to City Manager Atkinson. The Boston Public Works Department can hardly believe this. Formerly Cambridge paid contractors $1.25 to $2.50 a square yard.

Assessments Stable

Tax and assessing practices differ. It is frequently pointed out that while Boston's tax rate in the war years, 1941-44, hovering sluggishly between $41 and a questioned $39.90, that of Cambridge was reduced $10.40 [by 1945] under the city manager, along with a parallel 55 per cent retirement of funded debt and no borrowing in the last three and a half years.

While assessments on some of the larger Boston business properties were hiked up in 1944, on the basis of increased business yields, not a single large assessment has been increased in Cambridge, according to the assessor's office.

As a result, Cambridge industry, which boasts the largest soap and candy producing center in the world, has profited. The $8.40 tax reduction in 1944 meant an $81,480 saving for the Cambridge Gas and Electric Light Company on its $9,700,000 real and personal properties, compared with what it had to pay in 1941. Lever Brothers saved approximately $27,000; Simplex Wire and Cable Company, $12,000. So on down the line, proportionately, to the home owner who last year saved from $30 up to several hundred dollars, compared with his 1941 real estate tax. In Boston, to take one instance, the assessment on the North Station property was jumped $1,000,000. The official reason: compensation for a lowered assessment during the depression.

Personal Property Tax

Then there was the matter of the personal property tax. Many persons, "particularly those with political connections," as the city manager put it, rarely had to pay it. Looking into the subject, Cambridge increased assessable personal property $3,448,000 and brought in an increased revenue of $125,770. It meant at least a $1 reduction in the tax rate.

For years, says Manager Atkinson, "anybody who knew anyone" did not have to pay taxes. "We have insisted on payment," the manager said, "and while it has been a painful process, most of our old bills are paid up. But we also had to pay out an inherited $200,000 worth of bills and another $50,000 to other cities and towns."

The city manager inherited a tremendous amount of undeclared tax abatements from 1941. Since taxes have been reduced and word has gone out that abatements are not easily come by officials have reduced them to such an extent that $157,000 was saved in 1944—equal to a $2 reduction in the tax rate.

Other towns and cities have had to pay their bills to Cambridge for welfare services rendered—a sum of $65,065 in 1943—another dollar in the tax rate. Income from the hospital has increased from $121,000 to $260,000. By making slight changes in the City Tuberculosis Hospital the city was able to qualify for a state subsidy of $47,000.

Maintenance Triumphs

The city's own maintenance crew, which can be shifted from one department to another and which is now painting the City Hospital, last year painted an office for $58. Three years ago, when done over by a contractor, the same office cost $288, and with an inferior paint.

The politicians continue to grumble about the manager's economies and Plan E in general, but the tax rate continues to decrease. With a competent city manager in the saddle, it looks as if Plan E is in to stay for awhile in Cambridge.

The change in attitude toward the expenditure of municipal finances has come because under Plan E a new alignment or assignment of municipal authority and responsibility is permitted. Both the city manager and mayor are elected by the City Council. The mayor is a member of the Council and School Committee [both bodies elected by the Hare system of proportional representation] and represents the city at various functions, but it is the manager who handles finances. Since the political relationships are changed, sweeping reforms can be made. The manager has complete appointive powers, but the Council can throw him out at will, with good, specified reason, of course.

Although the city manager-council system as it is working in Cambridge keeps the injurious effects of political maneuvering down to a minimum, it has failed to eliminate entirely the "grandstand play" of some of the councilors.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

States and Cities Foster Urban Redevelopment

Large Provision Made for Action by Private Groups

AT LEAST eleven states so far this year have added to their statutes legislation empowering municipalities to condemn land for rehabilitation of blighted areas and to redevelop these by various means. Several large cities have taken specific action under such laws adopted this year or previously.

One of the most recent states to act was California, which has adopted a "community redevelopment act," recommended by the State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission, inasmuch as the problem of blighted areas has become acute with the large increase in urban population. The act gives the legislative body of a community authority to adopt ordinances, by a two-thirds vote, designating one or more "blighted areas" either upon the initiative of the body or through petition by an individual or a group of citizens. Through the city's planning commission a redevelopment plan may then be adopted.

To carry this out there is established a redevelopment agency consisting of five citizens, appointed by the mayor of a city or chairman of a board of county supervisors. The agency is given authority to assemble property within the designated area through purchase, lease, gift or grant, and may acquire all or part of the area by eminent domain. Any plan for lease or sale of the property for development by private enterprise must be presented before any action is started by the city or county.

Cities taking definite steps toward rehabilitating blighted areas include New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Detroit, Minneapolis, Dallas and Memphis, according to the National Association of Housing Officials. Outstanding is the much discussed Stuyvesant Town project in the borough of Manhattan in New York, planned and financed by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company under state legislation. Actual demolition of existing structures at the site has been held up by difficulties in relocating the present residents and businesses. The Metropolitan is also proposing another Manhattan housing project, in the predominantly Negro section of Harlem.

New York savings banks have announced plans to build two postwar redevelopment projects—one in Harlem, under the 1943 state redevelopment companies law, and one in Brooklyn, under the Desmond-Mitchell act passed this spring, which permits cities to condemn land for private redevelopment.

The Harlem development, for 1,500 families, is to be insured by the Federal Housing Agency. Ten-year tax exemption will be granted on the value of the improvements and, under the terms of the law, maximum rentals will average $12.50 a room per month.

The Brooklyn project is part of a plan for rehabilitating the downtown section of that borough.[1] Several savings banks will join to form a housing corporation to construct the 1,000-family project. The city is to assemble the necessary land, clear and replan it, and sell it to the new corporation. No tax-exemption privileges are involved and neither rents nor investment returns will be limited.

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[1] See "Can We Rebuild Our Cities," J. D. McGoldrick, the REVIEW, Jan. 1945.

Members of the Philadelphia City Council and the City Planning Commission have drafted an ordinance to create an urban redevelopment authority under terms of enabling legislation passed recently by the Pennsylvania legislature, which also has adopted a law permitting insurance companies to invest in slum clearance projects.

Detroit is considering proposals for redeveloping blighted areas. In St. Louis a three-member anti-slum commission has begun to work out an over-all program for urban redevelopment and slum clearance, coordinating plans for public and private agencies toward these ends.

The Minneapolis City Planning Commission has been designated as the Urban Redevelopment Commission for the city and, under the terms of the Minnesota neighborhood redevelopment corporation law, it will supervise all redevelopment projects. Representatives of building and contracting firms, savings and loan, insurance and other investment companies were invited to a meeting in September to discuss the "most feasible methods of combining municipal powers of eminent domain with the use of private capital to replace existing slum areas with modern housing developments." The Minnesota law, adopted this year, does not authorize public financial participation in such projects.

The mayor of Dallas announced plans to set up an anti-slum commission for that city. A test case may determine whether the Dallas Housing Authority may sell for private development the property it acquires through condemnation.

The Urban Redevelopment Association of Memphis has met to implement provisions of the Tennessee urban redevelopment law, which authorizes local housing authorities to assemble sites for private redevelopment.

Types of Legislation

The Urban Land Institute has analyzed state urban redevelopment enabling acts, dividing them into three categories: those fostering private redevelopment corporations, those making the public housing authority the redevelopment agency, and those establishing a redevelopment agency as an arm of the local government. The last group has been expanding. Colorado, Indiana and Pennsylvania legislatures having passed such legislation this year, according to the American Society of Planning Officials, in addition to California. The American Municipal Association lists nine states in this category, including Alabama, Connecticut, Illinois, Maryland and Michigan in addition to the four just mentioned.

Ten states have laws encouraging private investment in redevelopment projects and four have made redevelopment agencies of the local housing authorities, according to the AMA. Some of the ten duplicate certain of the nine states in the previous group, as will be seen from the following list of the Urban Land Institute: Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York and Wisconsin. Minnesota adopted its law this year. In this group the power of condemnation is either given to the redevelopment corporation (Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, Indiana) or is exercised by the municipality in behalf of the corporation. Partial tax relief and limitation of dividends are also usual features of this type of legislation.

Arkansas and Tennessee this year adopted statutes making the local housing authority the redevelopment agency.

Stimulation of urban redevelopment has been proposed to Congress in the controversial Wagner-Ellender bill, which would extend federal credit to municipalities in the form of loans, and under certain circumstances make outright grants, for redevelopment of blighted areas, and also largely increase federal aid to municipal housing agencies.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

A petition that had been filed with the city council of **Schenectady, New York,** to abandon the manager plan, was declared insufficient and illegal by Justice Daniel F. Imrie on August 23. The petition was filed by the so-called People's League for Government—American Style; its validity was questioned in a taxpayer's suit.

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association has proposed that **Atlantic City** should have a city manager in the interests of efficient and economical government that would make it unnecessary to impose a sales tax permitted under a state enabling act.

A referendum on September 4 in **Sheffield, Alabama,** (at Muscle Shoals) on the question of abandonment of commission government to make way for the council-manager plan resulted in 460 votes to retain the present commission plan, against 355 votes to abandon it. Neither side had newspaper support.

In a light vote on September 17 **Dothan, Alabama,** rejected a council-manager proposal, 660 to 242.

At the election on November 6 the citizens of **Key West, Florida,** will elect a new commission, or council, of five members under the new council-manager charter. The Charter Committee will present a slate of candidates.

In **Charleston, West Virginia,** the *Daily Mail* is advocating a change to council-manager government under the home rule law.

Osborn, Ohio, will vote November 6 on adoption of the council-manager plan. The *Osborn-Fairfield Herald* is aiding in the campaign by publication of feature articles on the plan.

The Chamber of Commerce and League of Women Voters in **Belleville, Illinois,** are cooperating in investigating the possibility of a change to the manager plan in that city.

Interest in the manager plan is being shown in **Moorhead, Minnesota,** in connection with contemplated charter changes.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Fairbanks, Alaska,** has determined to promote the council-manager plan for that city.

The International City Managers' Association has decided to postpone its annual conference to 1946. In addition to travel and hotel difficulties a poll of the membership indicated that most of the managers could not leave their cities at the present time.

Tampa Changes Set-up for City Council

At an election on July 31 citizens of Tampa, Florida, voted nearly two to one for a charter change approved by the state legislature, abolishing the twelve-member board of aldermen, elected by districts, and authorizing a city council of seven members, each from one of the seven districts but all voted on by the entire city.[1] A proposal for a city manager, previously discussed, has been dropped for the present. Real proportional representation has apparently not been given important consideration. The vote on the charter change was 11,586 to 5,969, exclusive of absentee ballots. The sum of these figures, 17,555, is 75 per cent of the total registration, 23,293, and is said to be the largest vote ever cast in a Tampa charter election. The amendment is characterized as the first major change in the form of government for eighteen years. It was sponsored by the Better Government League, an organization of civic groups.

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[1] See items in this department in April, p. 180, and July, p. 341.

On September 4 the primary election for the new council was held. The vote was light, being less than 12,500. Two candidates who were sponsored by the Better Government League received majorities and were elected. A run-off primary was held on September 18 for the other five vacancies, at which the two top candidates in each district were voted on, city-wide.

California City Serves Meals in Emergency

When the thirteen restaurants of Auburn, California, shut up shop (on August 1) the officials of that municipality of 4,000 met the situation by opening a community kitchen and serving three meals a day. As reported in *Western City* for August, hundreds of packers and pickers for the seasonal fruit industry had arrived in town, and the restaurants claimed they could not operate without a subsidy of ration points, which was refused by the Office of Price Administration. Points were issued to the city by the OPA, estimated for 100,000 meals over a 60-day period. Memorial Hall was utilized and volunteer women workers assisted. Prices were 25 cents for breakfast, 50 cents for lunch and 60 cents for dinner.

Regional Institutes in New York

A series of regional institutes in various parts of New York State will be held in October, November and December by the New York State Conference of Mayors and affiliated or cooperating groups or agencies. As the conference cancelled its 1945 annual meeting and recent events and legislative proposals add to the problems for consideration by municipal officials, the institutes are considered to be of unusual importance and a good attendance is anticipated.

Regional Planning Conference to be Held at M. I. T.

The ninth annual Conference on City and Regional Planning, sponsored by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the American Society of Planning Officials, will be held at the Institute, in Cambridge, from October 22 to November 2. It will be open to men and women who have had practical experience in such planning or related professional fields, including planning technicians, members of state or municipal planning commissions and housing authorities, and staff members of engineering or public works departments.

Federal-State-Local Cooperation for Texas Highways

Completed plans for highway routes through sixteen cities in various parts of Texas have resulted from cooperation between city and county governments, the Urban Planning Division of the Texas Highway Department and the Public Roads Administration; and according to the International City Managers' Association, construction plans are now under way in eight of these cities under the federal-state-local plan as provided in the Federal Highway Act of 1944.

Each city started plans for the highways by analyzing information supplied by municipal officials on retail, wholesale and industrial areas; residential zones by house and lot valuation; apartment districts; and all physical plants such as schools, parks, playgrounds, institutions and churches. Traffic data were also secured.

Preliminary plans for routes were

then prepared and meetings were held with planning boards and with city and county officials. Municipal officials contributed suggestions to a preliminary plan for routes which were reviewed by the director of urban planning of the State Highway Department and then submitted to the state highway engineer.

After the plans were approved the report was printed and copies were sent to city and county officials and to the Federal Roads Administration.

When the final report was approved and published, municipal officials met with the Highway Department to select projects by number and order of importance, to make commitments on funds available by the city and the state, and to make a recommendation to the Highway Commission which in turn makes the final decisions.

Massachusetts Provides for Intergovernmental Action

In addition to the eight states that adopted laws this year fostering intergovernmental cooperation, as noted in the REVIEW in September (p. 404), Massachusetts has enacted a law authorizing cities, towns and certain districts to make agreements as to the performance of various public services. This legislation was based on recommendations of the Massachusetts Civic League. It enables local units of government to contract between themselves for many types of beneficial activities. An editorial of the *Boston Herald* comments: "About a hundred years late, Massachusetts has unfenced her towns. . . . This means that neighboring towns can get together for the common purchase of a powerful snowplow, for the more efficient allocation of snow removal activities, for joint refuse disposal, for mosquito control, for sewage projects, for police radio service, for a consolidated library and so on."

Researcher's Digest

Research Institute Analyzes Hartford Government

Considers City's Set-up Complex and Haphazard

HARTFORD'S governmental structure is like a home to which rooms are added haphazardly as the family increases and "few American cities have such a complex municipal organization," it is asserted by the **Hartford Governmental Research Association** in a report of a detailed study[1] prepared by its director, Leslie M. Gravlin.

"If the mayor of Hartford wanted to call a cabinet meeting he would have to provide seats in his public function room for at least 132 individuals," says Mr. Gravlin, labelling the set-up "Hartford's hydra-headed government." There are boards elected by the people, appointed by the mayor and by the council, self-perpetuating boards and ex-officio boards—over a score of them. Though the country's trend has been toward a short ballot, when Hartford voters go to the polls they are faced with the necessity of choosing 48 local officials.

The report, which classifies Hartford's government as the weak mayor type, describes the various forms now in use in this country: strong mayor, commission and council-manager.

Under the terms of a resolution passed by the Common Council Mayor Mortensen is to appoint a nine-man commission to draft a new charter for submission to the electorate in November 1946 and the state's general assembly in 1947.

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[1] *City Government in Hartford,* 12 pages.

In commenting editorially on the report the *Hartford Courant* had this to say: "No thoughtful person can look at the chart by the Governmental Research Institute without realizing that it is time for a change. This is not a case where pruning, patching or improvising can remedy the situation. It is a matter that calls for comprehensive reorganization after careful study."

Salaries and Tenure of Police Investigated

Two important police problems — salary and tenure — are the subjects of new research studies. The **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy** has issued a thirteen-page mimeographed report on *Police Salaries in Baltimore and Other Large Cities.* The commission has investigated data for sixteen American cities of 450,000 or more population. The average of the five cities in Baltimore's more immediate population group — Cleveland, St. Louis, Boston, Pittsburgh and Washington — is emphasized for comparison of Baltimore with cities more nearly in its own class and condition. Data include representative police department salaries, police department turnover 1944, working conditions — hours on duty, rotation of shifts, vacation, rest days, overtime — sick leave regulations, allowance for uniform and equipment, labor union affiliation, promotion, retirement and pensions. An appendix gives the cost of living index for Baltimore and the other cities studied. The report makes no recommendations.

Tenure of Police Chiefs under Definite and Indefinite Terms (three pages), issued by the **Municipal League of Seattle for Governmental Research,** also looks into what other cities are doing. It reports the results of a questionnaire to twenty municipalities of a size comparable to Seattle and is a companion study to the League's *How Shall Police Chief Be Appointed?* (four pages), issued several weeks earlier. The reports were made for use by the city's Freeholders Charter Commission, now in session, which has adopted a charter amendment providing that the mayor shall appoint a chief of police following a competitive examination under the mayor's supervision; that this appointment shall be ratified by the city council; and that the chief may be removed at any time by the mayor for cause.

Double Filing in Primary Elections

One of the reports prepared at the request of California legislators by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California** at Berkeley deals with *Double Filing in Primary Elections* (16 pages, 50 cents), prepared by Robert W. Binkley, Jr. Double filing, that is, the right to file as a candidate in the primary election of more than one party, is permitted in only four states of the 45 which have direct primary election laws—California, New York, Maine and Vermont.[1] In California, according to the study, the practice is extensive: "The 'double filing' provisions of the California Election Code were used by nine candidates for United States senator in the 1944 primary race, with the run-off general election being between a candidate from each major party. For congressman 55 candidates 'double filed' in all 23 congressional districts, only one candidate standing unopposed. Five nominees won the primaries in both major parties through 'cross filing'."

The author sums up arguments pro and con on the procedure and tabulates the provisions of the various states in an appendix.

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[1] Massachusetts prohibits double filing only for statewide offices, i.e., filled by statewide vote, by requiring a party pledge. Double filing is not prohibited for other state offices.

Ohio Enacts Mental Hygiene Program

The **Ohio Institute** has been actively concerned with the formulation and promotion of a program for mental hygiene, a substantial part of which was approved by the 1945 legislature. The program was based on a report made by the Committee on the Mental Program for Ohio appointed by former Governor Bricker. Its recommendations have been endorsed by Governor Lausche and Welfare Director Reams. Chief among the provisions enacted were appropriation of $15,000,000 for new institutional facilities and $3,360,000 for rehabilitation of existing structures; increased appropriations for current operation; small appropriations for family care of mental patients, for research and for preventive and educational work; psychopathic and mentally deficient offenders are now defined by law and facilities for their care are required; a system of state aid to public schools is established for operation of special classes for slow learning and otherwise handicapped children with an additional appropriation of $249,000 to the Department of Education.

In all, sixteen of the 21 legislative recommendations of the committee were enacted into law.

Postwar Institute

On July 27 and 28 the Western Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League held a staff institute to discuss postwar municipal problems. Meeting together were its own members and leaders in various specialized fields "not to start thinking about postwar municipal problems but to thresh the chaff from the wheat of several years of thinking." Municipal finance, overcentralization, juvenile delinquency, stream pollution, municipal authorities, urban decentralization and highways, were among the subjects considered. Highlights of the conference have been published in *Postwar Municipal Problems, A Report of the League's Staff Institute* (seventeen pages).

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"Bed Sheet" Ballots

Donald S. Hecock and the Volker Fellows of the School of Public Affairs and Social Work at Wayne University, Detroit, in *Election Without Representation* (ten pages) report on the task confronting the Detroit voter in his choice of the city's delegation to the Michigan House of Representatives. Every two years Detroit voters must select 21 legislative candidates from the city at large. The study is an attempt to reveal the extent to which the voter is able—or unable—to express so many choices intelligently. It concludes that "the voter's task is too complicated and exhausting," that "even the slatemakers are not able to find 21 candidates whom they will endorse." The report has been published by the National Training School for Public Service.

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Government Handbooks

Two twelve-page handbooks, one on Hennepin County and the other on Minneapolis, have been prepared by Rudolph Lee and issued by the **Minneapolis Research Bureau**, an affiliate of the Minneapolis Civic Council. In each case names and addresses of local officials, boards and commissions are given, plus a resume of finances.

* * *

Summer Series

Just a Moment, issued by the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** published a summer series of six stories on the government of Buffalo. The articles have attempted to give an over-all picture of the city's affairs rather than to describe individual departments or agencies.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Looking Toward the Peace

Citizen Groups Lay Plans for Community Betterment

MINDFUL that peace brings responsibilities as great as those of war, voters are turning their attention to plans for constructive community development.

On August 10, as millions of Americans waited for news on the Japanese surrender, 75 California civic leaders met at Stanford University for a ten-day "workshop on community leadership." This workshop, a forum for the free exchange of ideas and information supported by a grant from Columbia Foundation, was the first of its kind to be held at a western university. Twenty-eight communities, large and small, were represented. Professors Ernest R. Hilgard and I. James Quillen, of Stanford, directed the studies.

At the morning sessions participants divided into five special groups: community planning for youth welfare; health, education and recreation; overall community planning and housing; interracial and intercultural relations; and reconversion and full employment, with emphasis on returning veterans. Afternoon programs ranged from informal discussions and workshop teas to field trips and moving pictures. Each evening Dr. Louis Wirth, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, spoke.

Each group made specific recommendations which workshop participants have carried back to their own communities to use as a guide in peacetime planning.

San Francisco Citizen Plans

The **Citizens' Postwar Planning Committee of the City and County of San Francisco** has published *The Report of Subcommittee on Revenue and Taxation on Financing San Francisco's Postwar Public Improvement Program.* The subcommittee assembled and studied data from various sections of the country and interviewed local officials as well as representatives of civic and taxpaying groups and labor organizations. Its report makes specific recommendations for financing the various requirements of the city and county postwar program as set forth by the planning committee to Mayor Lapham. Its total cost is estimated at $177,000,000.

Toledo Needs Slum Clearance

Two leaflets issued by the **Toledo Chamber of Commerce** form a study in contrasts. The first, *This Is Toledo,* is a typical "sales" sheet—"to 300,000 people Toledo is a pleasant home and a busy workshop." It features photographs of the university, the museum of art, the zoo, business streets, industry, yachting on the lake. The second, *This Also Is Toledo,* is a realistic picture of the city's slums and a plea for their eradication as a postwar project. "Publicity in reverse," the chamber terms it. "Housing conditions in Toledo's slum or blighted areas may seem to be a sort of civic skeleton on which the closet door ought to be kept closed. . . . We think that the more enlightened view is to throw the strong light of publicity on these conditions . . . for the purpose of bringing about improvement," asserts the chamber.

Indianapolis Uses Radio

The **Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce** and the **Mayor's Postwar Planning Committee** are sponsoring jointly a series of radio broadcasts, "Quiz

Your Mayor," to bring about a better public understanding of plans for the city's postwar development. Mayor Robert H. Tyndall, subcommittee chairmen and members of the mayor's committee answer pertinent questions asked by the radio station's staff and members of the audience or addressed to the mayor or his committee by citizens and taxpayers. Local civic clubs and business organizations form the weekly studio audience.

Suggestion for Los Angeles

Citizen Support for Planning and Development, by Charles W. Eliot, planning expert, is a publication of the **John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation.**[1] Mr. Eliot, who discusses his subject with special reference to Los Angeles, summarizes his findings on citizen organization for planning in various cities in these terms:

"1. That the planning and development of our cities and metropolitan areas reflect in large measure the degree and effectiveness of citizen organization and support of planning activities. The endurance and the increasing number of citizens' organizations for this purpose in all major cities of the country show the value and need for these efforts.

"2. That, however useful a multitude of citizens' agencies may be, there is need for some one group or combination of these separate units into a council, association, conference or committee which puts the idea of 'planning' forward as its principal concern.

"3. That this needed joint effort has been and can be successfully initiated from a variety of sources—official action of public bodies, the drive and public spirit of individuals or groups, the forces of business and enterprise, particularly the public utilities and major industries—a combination of existing citizen organizations, newspapers and institutions or foundations.

"4. That these same forces are naturally the most likely to be willing and able to finance a joint effort to support planning and development. Among the cities which provided information on this score there are records of substantial appropriations of public funds, allocations from the Community Chest, contribution from local branches of the Committee for Economic Development, funds from banks, clearing houses, newspapers, industries, utilities, law firms, department stores, chambers of commerce, universities, foundations and, of course, public-spirited citizens, all both in large sums and as members' dues.

"5. That a full-time staff is needed and that, to get an adequate staff, assurance should be given for the continuation of the project and financial support for at least two years. That means a minimum for a small city of about $10,000 a year plus contributed space and services, up to much larger sums according to the size of the city, the scope of the program, and the number of special projects involved.

"6. That a minimum program involves three types of activity:

> "a. For organization, financing, and operation of the council with constant fostering of participating agencies.
>
> "b. For public relations activities with a news-letter, press contacts, possibly radio programs and operation of a speakers bureau.
>
> "c. For a research staff to develop new materials supplementing the efforts of public planning agencies."

Women Voters

The **National League of Women Voters,** in its publication *Action,* warns that "successful planning cannot be done without citizen interest and support. Citizens should be in on it from the beginning and stay with it every step of the way. Only sustained public opinion will convert plans into brick and mortar, green grass and more satisfying ways of living and growing together. . . . Effective planning methods, financial aids and 'experts' are ready to help do the job. No more constructive local outlet for citizen energy exists today than practical planning for community improvement."

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[1] Los Angeles, California, 12 pp., 10 cents. Reprinted from *Planning and Civic Comment*, June 1945.

Tale of Aladdin Smith and HIS Wonderful Lamp

> The "Arabian Nights" story below is taken from an attractively printed and illustrated leaflet published by the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy.** EDITOR.

This is the Tale of Aladdin Smith and HIS wonderful LAMP.

Aladdin received this LAMP on his twenty-first birthday. It was a GIFT from his kind old UNCLE SAM.

Like a lot of his PALS, Aladdin was SHARP. He knew what the SCORE was. He knew all the ANSWERS.

So—when good old UNCLE SAM passed him the LAMP along with a lot of STUFF about the powerful GENI inside, and how to put this GENI to work, Aladdin just looked WISE and loosened up his sleeve for a good GUFFAW.

"No use hurting the OLD BOY'S feelings," he thought. "He probably still believes in SANTA CLAUS."

Aladdin soon forgot all about his LAMP and the GENI. He had a good JOB. He knew when to say YES and when to say NO. He MOVED in the right CIRCLES.

In other words, Aladdin displayed all the signs of becoming a SUCCESS.

In due time, Aladdin acquired a WIFE. And a HOME. And some LITTLE ONES. He was a SUBSTANTIAL CITIZEN. And a TAXPAYER.

It was soon after this that Aladdin began to WONDER. He WONDERED why TAXES were so HIGH. He WONDERED where all the MONEY went.

So he joined the GRIPERS. They were a group of HEAVY THINKERS. They GRIPED about CONDITIONS.

This was DUCK SOUP for Aladdin. He FITTED IN. He became a FIRST CLASS GRIPER in no time. It was all very INSPIRING.

But one day Aladdin DISCOVERED that the GRIPERS never ACCOMPLISHED anything. TAXES were going HIGHER. CONDITIONS were TERRIBLE.

For the first time in his life Aladdin realized he didn't know the SCORE. He didn't know any ANSWERS.

Then he remembered his LAMP. And the GENI. And all the WONDERFUL things his UNCLE SAM had told him this pair could ACCOMPLISH.

So he HUNTED. And HUNTED. And finally found the LAMP in the attic covered with DUST. And COBWEBS. And then he realized he didn't know how to USE it.

Aladdin wished he had LISTENED when his UNCLE SAM was TALKING.

While he was CARELESSLY rubbing the DUST off the LAMP, there was a PUFF of SMOKE and out popped the GENI. Aladdin's EYES POPPED, too.

There were LOTS of things Aladdin wanted to INSTRUCT the GENI to do. To LOWER the TAX RATE. To FIRE the DRONES. And OTHER THINGS.

But he couldn't speak the right LANGUAGE.

The GENI just LAUGHED. And SNEERED. And DISAPPEARED. Leaving poor Aladdin with his EMPTY LAMP.

And TAXES went HIGHER. And the DRONES went on DRONING. And CONDITIONS were still TERRIBLE.

★

YOU may be a *Smith or a *Brown or a *Jones. But your first name is Aladdin. You have a LAMP with a powerful and often dangerous GENI inside.

This LAMP is your right to VOTE. The DIVISION COMMITTEEMAN is your Political GENI. He has a power that extends through Ward, City, State and National politics until it influences even the election of the President.

Exactly how this power works, step by step, is described in this folder.

Whether the power of the DIVISION COMMITTEEMAN is used for good government or for selfish Party domination, is up to you.

*Mr., Mrs. or Miss.

* * *

YOUR DIVISION COMMITTEEMAN

When you elect your Division Committeeman, you are taking the first, and most important, step toward electing the President of the United States. This man is your first responsibility under the Party System of Government.

His job is to represent you and your neighbors in all party matters. He has to get out the vote for the candidates he supports.

Use the greatest care and consideration in selecting a Division Committeeman for, as your spokesman in the Party, he helps to choose

YOUR WARD LEADER

This man directs the political campaign in your ward and helps select candidates for council, magistrate and other public offices. When his party is in power, he probably has a good job on the public payroll. As a Ward Leader, this man becomes a member of the

CITY COMMITTEE

This powerful group of 52 Ward Leaders controls most appointive jobs on the city and county payrolls. As a member of this group, your Ward Leader helps to determine party policy in the City Council. He has a hand in the selection of candidates for mayor, district attorney, county commissioners, receiver of taxes, sheriff and many state and federal offices. The City Committee names candidates for the

STATE COMMITTEE

This group controls state patronage and determines party policy in state government. It selects candidates to the United States Senate, for Governor, Attorney General, the Judiciary and other state-wide officials and also recommends candidates to the National Convention. This committee elects two members of the

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

This political body approves the party platform. Influences national policy. Suggests presidential appointments to Cabinet posts, Judiciary, Departments, Commissions, etc. It recommends to the National Convention presidential candidates suggested by State and City Committees and presents to the voters candidates to the

NATIONAL CONVENTION

This group adopts your party platform and nominates the party candidate for President. It also recommends candidates to the

ELECTORAL COLLEGE

These candidates are voted upon by the people and in turn elect the President of the United States.

CAN YOU afford to be careless about your VOTE? Can you refuse or neglect to use the wonderful LAMP you receive as a citizen of the United States?

Remember this: no matter what you do—or don't do—about your VOTE, you can't avoid responsibility for the kind of public officials who govern this country. The United States of America is the world's greatest Democracy. It is the best country to live in.

To use the power of your LAMP for good government, you must first learn to control the powerful GENI who is its servant. This GENI is your DIVISION COMMITTEEMAN.

Find out who he is. Where he lives. Get acquainted with him. See what he knows about important issues. Get his opinions on controversial subjects.

Do all these things—and when it is time to VOTE, you will know how to use your wonderful LAMP—how to control its powerful GENI—how to direct his influence for good government in city, state and national elections.

Civic Groups Question Local Candidates

Three New York civic groups are quizzing candidates for office on matters of local government. Members of the **New York City League of Women Voters** are personally interviewing the 96 candidates who have filed petitions for election to the city council. Previous to the interview candidates receive by mail a questionnaire seeking their reaction on the five-cent fare, educational problems, establishment of a city youth commission, housing needs and industrial relations.

The **Citizens Union of New York City** has sent questionnaires on current city issues to all candidates for mayor, comptroller, borough president and council. Replies will be used by the union's Committee on Local Candidates as part of the basis for its ratings of the candidates and nonpartisan recommendations to be made public in October.

In **Long Beach, New York,** where P. R. will be used for the first time in the election of the city's council under its new manager charter, the local **Citizens Union** is asking candidates 24 questions on local governmental affairs. Many of the queries pertain to the installation of the manager plan, selection of a competent manager and sympathy with the plan and with proportional representation. Like the Citizens Union of New York City, the Long Beach group will issue a voters' directory presenting the qualifications of candidates for election to the city's governing body.

Here and There

Citizen Publications

With more than thirty years of practical experience behind him, C. S. Hunsinger, of Flat Rock, Ohio, rural coordinator for the **Rural-Urban Coordinating Council of Bellevue, Ohio, and Surrounding Townships,** has published a new and revised edition of *Rural-Urban Coordination*.[1] As its title implies, the booklet tells of the efforts of the citizens of Bellevue and its rural communities to work together to secure fire protection, library service and other public conveniences. It is divided into four sections: Rural-Urban Coordinating Council, Suburban Coordinating Council, A Public Committee for Unincorporated Villages and Accomplishing Rural Community Work. The price is fifty cents.

The **Boston Women's Municipal League Committees Incorporated** has issued a new edition of its *Boston Citizens' Handbook* (92 pp.), originally published in 1917. Prepared "for the purpose of disseminating civic knowledge" the handbook contains information on the city's flag and seal, the city hall and state house; it outlines the city, county and state governments, and reproduces laws and regulations—federal, state and local—on citizenship, voting, public records, health, relief, building and housing, licenses, traffic, noise and smoke abatement, taxation and other pertinent subjects. Cost of the publication is one dollar.

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[1] See the REVIEW for January 1942.

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Citizenship Contests

A county-wide oratorial contest among high school students, engineered by the **Elizabethton, Tennessee, Civitan Club,** was climaxed with the awarding of five prizes of war bonds and stamps at a dinner served by the Parent-Teacher Association in the city's high school.

In **Springfield, Massachusetts,** the **Civitan Club** sponsored a citizenship essay contest among high school students. First prize, a $25 war bond, went to a student writing on "How Springfield Promotes Good Citizenship." Second and third prizes were $10 and $4 in war stamps.

* * *

Taxes, Finance

The Wisconsin Taxpayer has prepared and published a digest of important changes made in the tax laws of Wisconsin by the 1945 session of the legislature.

The **Civic Federation of Chicago** has published its "Twelfth Annual Study of Debts—Taxes—Assessments."

The **New Jersey Taxpayers Association** has resumed its annual publication of municipal financial statistics, suspended last year because of wartime printing difficulties. The new booklet sets forth tax rates and net valuations taxable for all municipalities in the state. Figures cover 1936, 1943, 1944 and 1945. Its cost is 25 cents.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Nine P. R. Elections and One Referendum

Justice Harold Burton and P. R. The Movement in Australia

NOVEMBER 6 will be an important day in the annals of P. R. in the United States. City council members will be elected by P. R. in New York, Cincinnati, Toledo, Cambridge, Lowell, Yonkers, Hamilton (Ohio), Long Beach (New York) and Boulder (Colorado). In Toledo a proposal to repeal P. R. will be decided by popular vote the same day.

New York City, along with its mayoralty contest, will elect councilmen by P. R. for the fifth time. The members from each of the five boroughs will be elected separately. Unless a recent charter amendment passed without referendum is attacked successfully in the courts, they will serve for four years instead of two as heretofore.

The suburban summer resort city of Long Beach, Long Island, will use P. R. for the first time. There will be seventeen candidates, including nominees of a strong Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee and the Democratic, Republican and American Labor party organizations. The councilmen elected will choose the city's first city manager in January.

Yonkers, another suburb of New York, will hold its fourth biennial P. R. election, with large issues at stake. The nonpartisan City Manager League elected three of the five councilmen at the last election but in a recent realignment lost one of its members to the Democratic minority, which is therefore now in control. The league and the Republican party are presenting a coalition ticket against the Democrats. Pending the outcome of the Council election the city administration is under a temporary acting manager, the last manager having been dismissed, in spite of an enviable record, when the Democratic organization took over.[1]

The election in Cincinnati is being contested again by the Republican organization and the City Charter Committee, supported by independent Republicans and the Democratic organization. The Republicans now have five councilmen, the Charter Committee four.

Toledo, along with its sixth P. R. election of councilmen, will vote on a P. R. repealer for the third time. Previous attacks were repulsed by large majorities in 1935 and 1937. This year's proposal, curiously enough, is being sponsored by the local Political Action Committee and certain C. I. O. unions. National leaders of these organizations, generally favorable to P.R., have apparently had no influence on their local representatives. Local labor, which has fared well under P. R., will not be a unit in opposition and both local newspapers have come out against repeal. The repeal petition referred to in this department in May was withdrawn because of technical errors, but a new one was circulated and filed and has been found sufficient to require submission to the electorate. It proposes plurality election at large.

New Supreme Court Justice and P.R.

Justice Harold H. Burton, former mayor of Cleveland and United States Senator for Ohio, who has been appointed by President Truman to the United States Supreme Court, was the chairman of a charter commission which in 1935 submitted a proposed new charter based on the county manager plan and proportional representation to the voters of Cuyahoga County, Ohio. The charter received a favorable majority of 166,181 to 146,306 in the county and almost the same majority in the city of Cleveland, which had repealed a similar city charter by a close vote in 1931.

The county charter never took effect because of a technical decision by the Ohio Supreme Court that it required a majority vote in each of a majority of the municipalities in the county, but the favorable popular verdict on it remains significant as the latest expression of the voters of Cleveland on the P. R.-manager plan.

Justice Burton first attained prominence in public life as an appointed member of the cabinets of City Managers William R. Hopkins and Daniel E. Morgan and as Mr. Morgan's successor as chief executive for a brief period at the end of the P. R.-manager regime. He was subsequently elected mayor by the voters of the city in 1934.

The P. R. Movement in Australia

> EDITOR'S NOTE. This article has been prepared for the REVIEW by E. J. Craigie, former independent member of the South Australia House of Assembly and one of the principal leaders in the Australian P. R. movement for many years. He is author of a recent little book on *Democratic Government through Proportional Representation*. The places where P. R. (the single transferable vote) is already in effect in Australia are Tasmania, which has elected its provincial legislature by P. R. continuously since 1907; New South Wales, which formerly elected its lower house by P. R. and now uses it for the indirect election of its upper house; and the city of Armidale, New South Wales.

The question of proportional representation is attracting considerable attention in South Australia at the present time.

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[1] See this department for May 1945.

During the 1940 session of the South Australian Parliament I introduced a bill providing for the adoption of P. R. for electing members to both houses of the state parliament. This bill provided for adoption of the six federal districts for House of Assembly elections, each to return six members. This reduced the number of members from 39 to 36. The proposal in regard to the Legislative Council (upper house) was for four districts, three returning five members each, and one returning three, making a total of eighteen members, a reduction of two in the existing number.

The bill passed its second reading by twenty votes to sixteen, and was taken into committee, all Labor members and Independents voting in favor of the proposal. Whilst in committee all clauses of the bill but one, that being the final schedule, were passed. The schedule was not put to the vote, however, because of the absence of one of the supporters through illness. This vote was necessary to secure the constitutional majority required to carry the bill and, therefore, the proposal was allowed to lapse at the end of the session.

Bill Reintroduced

The same bill was introduced by Mr. W. Macgillivray, M.P., Independent member for Chaffey, during the 1943 session, but it did not survive its second reading, the vote being nineteen in favor and fourteen against. Although a majority of five was secured twenty votes were necessary for a constitutional majority. All members of the Labor party and the Independents again cast their votes in favor of the proposal.

Since that time good educational work has been done, and at the 1944 conference of the South Australian branch of the Australian Labor party a motion was carried instructing the Labor leader to bring down a bill for proportional representation as soon as possible. The conference further resolved that a statewide petition be circulated and signatures obtained soliciting the government to adopt proportional representation as the method of electing members to parliament.

Petition Signed

The Proportional Representation Group and the Henry George League have been rendering assistance in collecting signatures, and many thousand electors have attached their names to the petition. It will be presented to the Premier at an early date and if the request of the petitioners is not granted it is expected that the Labor leader will introduce a P. R. bill during the present session of Parliament. There is a definite swing in the electorate in favor of proportional representation.

The P. R. Group continues its educational work under the able presidency of Mrs. Jeanne F. Young, O.B.E., who has for many years rendered magnificent service in the fight for electoral justice. Monthly meetings of the group are held, and by her demonstrations of the anomalies which exist under present voting systems and the justice of P. R. Mrs. Young has enabled a great number of people to obtain a better understanding of the various electoral systems. Many public meetings have been addressed, lantern slides shown, mock elections conducted and press propaganda engaged in, and every opportunity taken for spreading the truth concerning a just system of voting.

In New South Wales the Proportional Representation Society continues its educational work under the leadership of Mr. A. G. Huie, who for many years has been secretary in that state. No opportunity is missed by our co-workers for showing the advantages to be derived from the adoption of

P. R. for federal, state and local government purposes.

Our Victorian co-workers have suffered a great loss through the death of Sir James Barrett, who was Victorian president for many years. The secretary, Mr. Royden E. Powell, and other workers have been keeping the movement well before the public. The Victorian government recently decided on a change of electoral boundaries, and the P. R. group in that state was active in stressing the fact that unless proportional representation was adopted in multiple-member districts, Parliament would not be a true reflection of the will of all sections of political thought. Although several good speeches were made in favor of proportional representation, the government and Parliament decided to continue under the unjust single-member district system.

Co-workers in Western Australia have been doing their part in bringing proportional representation prominently under the notice of the electors by means of meetings and the distribution of literature, and the need for a change in electoral methods is realized by a large section of the community. The educational work in Australia will be continued until electoral justice is secured. E. J. CRAIGIE

Adelaide, South Australia

P. R. in Austria?

A United Press dispatch from London, in reporting the declaration of Austria's independence by Dr. Karl Renner, head of the provisional government, and his declaration that "all Nazi laws are abolished and republican laws restored," made the reasonable deduction that the declaration was "presumably reinstating Austria's constitution of 1920." Under that constitution both houses of Parliament and state and municipal councils were elected by a party list system of P. R.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Wisconsin Counties Get Emergency Postwar Powers

Legislature Authorizes New Duties, Historian

THE 1945 Wisconsin legislature has given counties, for a period of one year from the cessation of hostilities, authority to engage in postwar emergency activities. The appropriations for such activity must not exceed a one-half mill levy, and after five years all unexpended funds revert automatically to the general fund unless the county board acts to extend such period for an additional five years or less.

The law requires that:

1. The county board determine by vote that unemployment exists and may be relieved through the proposed expenditures;
2. Public hearings be held; and that
3. Final approval be given by a two-thirds vote of all board members.

Committee on County Government

The interim committee on county government, appointed by the 1945 Wisconsin legislature and previously reported in this section (July 1945) was created because the legislature believed that "There is a need for a study of the structure of county government in Wisconsin, the relationship between the constitutional provisions and this structure, the experience of other states in the modifications of their constitutions and the organization of their county governments, and of other pertinent information on this subject, together with recommendations thereon for the guidance of the legislature and the information of Wisconsin citizens."

The committee is composed of eight legislators and five citizens appointed by the governor who have been especially active in county government problems. Thus far the committee has had referred to it: (1) the proposed constitutional amendment repealing the county government uniformity clause,[1] (2) a proposed constitutional amendment authorizing county legislation by direct popular referendum, (3) a county government consolidation bill, and (4) a bill which would limit county boards in counties of the 15,000–500,000 population group to 35 members.

Agricultural Aid

The legislature has extended the authority of counties to render services in several phases of land reclamation and agricultural aid. Counties now may secure, by purchase or gift, tractors, bulldozers and other equipment for clearing and draining lands and controlling the growth of weeds. Such equipment may be operated or leased for work on private lands, and fees or rentals may be charged for such services. Furthermore, counties are authorized to acquire lands for the manufacture, sale and distribution of agricultural lime to be sold at cost to farmers. For the first time Wisconsin counties may also set up office and laboratory equipment for testing milk and soil samples. Residents of the county would be provided with records and reports of such tests.

County Historian Authorized

A 1945 law authorizes counties to create the office of county historian "who shall receive such compensation as the board may fix." His duties are "to collect and preserve the records of Indians and early pioneers, the experiences of military men and women and the records of their service, to mark and compile data concerning places of historical interest in the county and to perform such other duties relating to the collection, preservation, compilation and publication of historical data as the board may prescribe."

The Oconto County Board already has made the appointment and appropriated $500 under the provisions of the act.

Fulton County Civic Leaders Work for Manager Plan

Local civic leaders are planning to urge introduction of a bill into the Georgia legislature next January providing the manager plan for Fulton County (Atlanta). The March-April and May-June grand juries this year have both recommended that the manager plan be provided for the county. The July-August jury, in submitting its recommendations, said: "While in fact the entire system of county administration needs overhauling, we are not prepared to say a county manager is the answer. The solution, we believe, needs expert attention by disinterested parties capable and qualified to advise."

Counties Continue Progress in Merit System

Several additional counties recently have reported significant advances in the merit system for their employees. The Civil Service Commission of Wayne County, Michigan, reports that its salary plan, first effective December 1, 1943, has undergone revisions and improvements through 1944 and 1945. Riverside County, California, reports that it has adopted by ordinance a classification and pay plan recommended by the California State Personnel Board. Similarly, the board of Outagamie County, Wisconsin, adopted the recommendations of the

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[1] See "County Reform Run-Around," by Edward W. Weidner, the REVIEW, September 1945, p. 386.

Wisconsin Bureau of Personnel regarding salary schedules and classifications. A merit system ordinance was adopted by the county approximately one year ago, and with the adoption of the pay and classification plan the merit system now becomes effective.

Off-Street Parking Space in Future Construction

Montgomery County, Maryland, and Henrico County, Virginia, have enacted ordinances which will require that adequate off-street parking space must be planned in all future construction before building permits will be issued.

The Henrico County ordinance requires a parking space for each family unit in all types of dwellings. In commercial or manufacturing buildings there must be a parking space for every three persons employed. Any theatre, auditorium, church, stadium or recreation establishment must provide a parking space for each four seats. Hotels must provide a parking space for every three guest rooms.

The Montgomery County ordinance differs primarily in that it makes greater use of square feet of floor space as a standard, but fundamentally the two ordinances are similar.

Texas Counties Centralize Road Administration

Potter, Galveston and Brazos Counties, Texas, have centralized administration of roads on a county-unit basis, abandoning the precinct system, says *Better Roads*. Pooling of machinery and efforts is expected to result in better work at lower cost. Under the centralized plan it will be possible to install up-to-date accounting, budgeting and purchasing practices and to carry out plans for an integrated road system.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Conversion to Peace Begins

Start of Postwar Period Marked by Uncertainties

WITH the capitulation of the Japanese in mid-August the "postwar period," of which so much has been written, became an actuality. As might have been expected, however, plans for the actuality are developing gradually, and with marked uncertainties as to the impact of peace on local government finance. It is not too much to say, perhaps, that the war ended before both federal and local governments were fully prepared for reconversion.

A considerable portion of the responsibility for the uncertainty must rest with the Congress, which had taken its summer recess without definitive action on such locally important matters as unemployment, federal participation in a broad public works program, housing and the postwar tax structure. As this is written, the temper of the national legislature is not yet apparent, but the President's message of September 6 gives the program which the administration at least will seek.

The administration seeks both a broadening of the eligibility rules for unemployment compensation and a liberalization of the benefits, proposing a minimum of $25 weekly for a maximum of 26 weeks. Opposition is strong, however, from the states with relatively low weekly benefits and relatively short periods of payments, even though President Truman proposed that the added expense be the financial responsibility of the federal government.

The uncertainty with respect to unemployment compensation, which is the first line of defense against widespread unemployment distress, makes especially important the President's recommendations as to public works, by which it is expected that useful public jobs can be provided, especially by local government, for a considerable number of unemployed pending their reabsorption by private business. The President's message urges as to public works at the state and local level:

1. Release of one and one-half billion dollars already authorized, at the rate of half a billion dollars per year, for federal-state-local highway improvements.

Airport Program Asked

2. Enactment of a ten-year program to construct three thousand new airports and improve the existing three thousand, the cost to be shared equally "between federal and non-federal governmental agencies."

3. Appropriation of additional sums to supplement the "inadequate" amounts already provided for state and local planning of public works projects, and a speedy consideration of the subject of grants for public works, "under conditions that will insure that each level of government, federal, state and local, shall make its appropriate contribution."

4. Continued federal participation in the construction of hospitals and health centers.

In the field of housing, the President urges both a continuation of federal aid for low-rent projects and the initiation of federal participation in redevelopment projects. In the redevelopment projects, it is apparently contemplated that government funds will be used to acquire the land ("the land cost is generally too high" . . . for private enterprise) while private capital will be expected to do the developing. "Such federal aid should be extended only to those communities which are willing to bear a fair part of the cost of clearing their blighted city areas and preparing them for redevelopment and rebuilding."

A final major phase of federal participation, affecting local government changes in the tax structure, is apparently to be left to the future. In addition to "transitional" changes in the federal tax laws, to effect modest reductions in 1946 taxes, the President urges "that the Congress . . . give careful consideration to the modernization of the federal tax structure." The resolution of existing conflicts, etc., between federal and state and local tax systems is not specifically mentioned as a field for action, but it may be inferred that if the federal tax structure is to be effectively "modernized," federal-state-local relationships cannot escape getting attention.

Cities Plan

In certain fields not directly dependent on the determination of federal policy, certain trends were also beginning to appear. In New York City, Comptroller Joseph McGoldrick urged the immediate beginning of about thirty-three million dollars of that city's public works program, which comprises a "shelf" of projects totaling nearly a billion dollars.

In San Francisco, election was called for the authorization of some twenty millions of airport improvement bonds and in many other cities where financing for postwar public works had not yet been authorized or had been authorized only in part, elections were scheduled or preparations made to call the voters for a decision before the end of the year.

Cities Collect Revenues from Airports

The probability that a considerable number of new airports will be constructed by American cities during the next few years makes especially interesting a limited amount of data recently put out by the International City Managers' Association on rate changes in Philadelphia and in Yakima, Washington. The rates discussed affect commercial airlines, and the fees are based on the number of scheduled trip arrivals per month.

In Philadelphia landing fees are $100 per month for each of the first four scheduled trip arrivals. For each arrival from the fifth to the twelfth the fee is $75 per month; for the thirteenth to sixteenth $50 a month. Thereafter a fee of $25 per month is charged.

A three-year agreement made by Yakima, Washington, with an airline sets up a schedule of landing fees of $45 per month each for the first two monthly scheduled trip arrivals, $25 each for the next two arrivals and $15 for each successive monthly scheduled trip.

Special fees for cargo planes are included in the Philadelphia schedule. Landing fees for cargo planes having an approved maximum landing weight of not in excess of 8,000 pounds are $100 per month for four scheduled trip arrivals as in the original fee schedule. A fee of $25, however, is charged for each additional scheduled trip arrival in lieu of the regular schedule quoted above.

The monthly fee for the scheduled trip arrival in Philadelphia of any type of aircraft having an approved maximum landing weight in excess of 25,000 pounds is the same as the regular table of fees increased by $1 for each 1,000 pounds in excess of 25,000 pounds. Exceptions are passenger transport planes of the type D-C3, having an approved maximum landing weight not in excess of 28,000 pounds, which are not required to pay increased fees.

For rental of airport storage building and administrative building space, Philadelphia charges $1.75 per square foot yearly. Yakima charges a fee for ground space of one-half cent per square foot in its recent agreement.

Landing fees of Philadelphia may be compared with landing fees for nine other cities. The cities and their monthly charges for ten scheduled trips are: Philadelphia, $850; Birmingham, $350; Chicago, $1,075; Detroit, $850; Indianapolis, $650; Los Angeles, $800; Pittsburgh, $1,075; San Diego, $250; San Francisco, $800; St. Louis, $375.

Local Borrowing Costs Rise to January Level

The cost of local borrowing has increased slightly in the few weeks since the war ended, and it is regarded as not unlikely that the peak price levels paid by buyers for municipal securities has been passed. *The Bond Buyer* index of municipal bond yields for twenty representative bonds, which stood at 1.62 per cent at January 1, 1945, and dropped to a low of 1.35 per cent at May 1, 1945, has softened appreciably over the summer and rose from 1.46 per cent at August 1, 1945, to 1.64 per cent at September 1. The index for eleven first grade bonds, which dropped from 1.32 per cent at January 1 to a low of 1.06 per cent at May 1, rose to 1.35 per cent at September 1.

The cost of local borrowing as reflected by the index for September 1 is, of course, much below levels previously prevailing. In fact, there were only three months in 1944 when the twenty-bond index stood below that of September 1, 1945, and only four months when the eleven-bond index was below that of September 1, 1945. During 1943 the twenty-bond index ranged from 1.69 per cent to 2.17 per cent, and in 1942 from 2.13 per cent to 2.56 per cent. The all-time high was in May 1933, when the twenty-bond index stood at 5.69 per cent and the eleven-bond index at 4.9 per cent.

As discussed previously in these columns,[1] chief factors in the recent low interest rates have been the over-all interest structures as affected by government borrowing, the relative scarcity of new issues during the war period, and the increased value of tax exemption to higher-bracket taxpayers under the wartime federal income tax rates. With the end of the war the impact of these factors is being lightened, but there is little prospect that the changes will be so great as to unduly increase local government borrowing costs. Consequently, although increased local borrowing and modest reductions in personal income taxes will serve to help increase local bond interest rates, so that cities, schools, counties and other local units selling their bonds from now on may expect to pay more for their money than a few months ago, there is every prospect that rates will stabilize well below those of the mid-1930's.

MFOA Cautions Members on Special Assessments

The device of financing improvements by special assessments, which caused widespread difficulty during the depression of the 1930's when cities had to take over the obligations of insolvent assessment projects, is the subject of a much needed memorandum recently published by the Municipal Finance Officers' Association of the United States and Canada.

As a matter of sound business practice, the association said, municipal officials should apply one important question in connection with property scheduled for improvement by special assessment: "Can the district in which the improvement is to be made actually pay for the cost of the installations?"

The subject of special assessments is of growing concern to local officials faced with a postwar era of new public improvements, repairs to existing facilities and the platting and developing of new subdivisions. Three factors were cited as of prime importance in connection with ability of a property to repay a municipality through special assessments for funds spent on improvements:

> 1. The "tax picture." A detailed, thorough and complete survey should be made to see if the properties to be asssessed for new improvements have been able to pay the general and special taxes already levied.
>
> 2. The ratio of the proposed assessment as related to the assessed valuation of the property is another matter to be studied carefully. Is the new improvement too costly compared to the value of the property?
>
> 3. Finally, if the tax situation is favorable and the improvement is warranted, an advance deposit should be required sufficient to cover a substantial part of the total cost of improvement. This requirement should be regarded as a necessary safeguard not only to the municipality but to the taxpayer at large.

Warning Issued

The report warned local officials to "avoid the pitfalls and extravagancy" that followed the "boom years" after World War I because of inadequate planning and lack of proper control of the use of special assessments to finance local improvements. As one example of results of this situation, the association said, sewer and water mains were charged against hundreds of thousands of properties on which houses were never built. Such inadequate control and lack of planning led directly to higher tax delinquency necessitating refinancing and refunding of special assessment bonds.

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[1] See the REVIEW for November 1944, p. 564.

Much of the difficulty arising in connection with collection of special assessments during those "boom years" stemmed from the fact that local improvements were made in subdivision developments without proper regard for location and planning, the report said, adding that regulations for subdivision development, including strict zoning legislation, should be enacted to insure protection for suburban areas.

Chicago Transit Authority Gets Lower Court Approval

The Chicago Transit Authority, created by the 1945 Illinois legislature to facilitate unification of the new publicly built subway and the private elevated and bus transit systems, has received the approval of the Circuit Court and it expected shortly to receive State Supreme Court approval as to legality. The case was a friendly test suit, brought by the state's attorney, to insure legality of the authority's authorization before negotiations start for the issuance of about $90,000,000 of revenue bonds.

Although Chicago has long utilized the device of special districts to handle phases of the local government, this is the first agency in authority form in the nation's second largest city. Parks have long been administered by separate districts which were unified as the Chicago Park District in the early 1930's, while the sanitary sewer system of the city and immediate area is under the jurisdiction of the Chicago Sanitary District. There is also a county-wide recreational and conservation agency, the Cook County Forest Preserve District, as well as the separate school district serving the city of Chicago. The Transit Authority will seek to acquire the surface lines and elevated lines of the city, which are now in bankruptcy.

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

NALGO Wins Major Objective

Secures Nation-wide System of Collective Bargaining

THE National Association of Local Government Officers (England)[1] has attained one of the major objectives it set for itself in 1938—a truly national system for settling with local authorities all questions of salary and conditions of service by means of collective bargaining through the machinery of national and provincial Whitley Councils.[2] And it is well on its way to attaining through the use of this system the further objectives of a nationally adopted scale of salaries and a generally observed code of service conditions.

The "charter" for the local government service which the association has submitted to the National Whitley Council is a document as important to every local government officer (employee) as was the superannuation bill of 1937. A "bill of rights" for the local government service, it lays down, for the first time, minimum standards of qualification, recruitment and training for local government officers, prescribes uniform conditions of service, holidays and sick pay, and postulates a national minimum salary and scales, applicable to the great majority of officers.

This charter is now being considered by the employers' side of the National Council. The first three sections—dealing with recruitment and training, service conditions, and the relations between officers and councillors—have all been favorably received. The fourth and most important section, proposing a national minimum salary and scales up to £700 a year, will clearly call for longer and more detailed consideration.

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[1] NALGO, as it is usually called, is an organization of local government administrative, professional, technical and clerical employees.

[2] See the REVIEW for October 1944, p. 495.

Once adopted, the terms and conditions prescribed by the charter will become legally binding upon and enforceable against every local authority in the country. For the first time in the history of local government, uniform minimum standards will prevail. The uniformity will be secured by the Wages Councils Act, which is to continue for five years only. It will be NALGO's aim so to strengthen Whitley machinery that after the period of protection is over, the machinery will be able to operate effectively without additional legal sanction.[3]

NALGO Promotes Good Public Relations

A membership increase of 30,000 since 1939, to 133,000, was announced by the National Association of Local Government Officers at its June convention at Blackpool. In its most important decision the association again postponed action on affiliation with the Trades Union Congress.

The association has been promoting interest in sound public relations for local government. Its exhibit on local government has been shown in 40 cities throughout England with much publicity and good attendance. Its reconstruction committee has issued a report calling for the appointment by every local authority of a public relations committee and officer. To supplement these official agencies, it is suggested that public relations councils made up of representatives of local authority associations, NALGO, and relevant voluntary organizations be created. Local self-government can be made effective only as "a partnership between the citizen, the elected representative, and the local government officer," the committee concluded.

France Holds Local Elections

Proportional representation with list voting for Paris was a feature of the French municipal elections last April 29 and May 13.[1] Under the new system Paris was divided into six districts with many councillors elected from each. Parties put up a slate for an entire district, and electors voted for a slate as a whole. One or more candidates of a list were elected depending upon the proportion of votes the list received.

Elsewhere, communal councils were elected by traditional list voting in main and run-off elections. The run-off elections, in which parties usually combine to present right and left slates according to the strength of individual parties in the first election, were made unnecessary in Paris by its use of proportional representation.

In other French territory, municipal elections have been held in Martinique, Madagascar, and Reunion.

New Zealand Discusses Administration of Utilities

Methods of administration of electric utilities are being discussed in New Zealand[2] as a result of the current investigation into local government. At the present time, the 92 authorities responsible for the distribution of electric power range from two government departments and six private companies to 41 *ad hoc* electric power boards and 43 city, borough, town and county councils. Power boards account for 60 per cent and other local bodies for 30 per cent of retail electric units sold.

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[3] From the President's report to the recent NALGO conference. *Local Government Service,* July-August 1945, p. 363.

[1] See *Free France,* May 15, 1945, pp. 496-499.

[2] See *Board and Council,* June 27, 1945, p. 3.

Questions being examined include the interrelationships of these various electric authorities and their relation to the central government. It is doubtful whether any trend away from *ad hoc* authorities will be forthcoming, since New Zealand seems addicted to numerous independent special boards. A limited trend toward larger areas for electric authorities is a possibility.

Regional Planning Councils for New Zealand

The government of New Zealand has divided the country into 24 regions[1] based upon community of interest, and is encouraging local government and civic groups to establish a regional planning council in each.

Seven such councils have already been established and organizational meetings have been held in the other seventeen regions.

The councils will not be concerned with local government functions but with the development of their area. Representatives of local governments, chambers of commerce, manufacturers' federations, trade unions, farmers' unions and other groups are cooperating. Postwar reconstruction is the main task confronting them.

Interregional coordinations, advice and grants will be the function of the central government.

Victoria, Australia, Passes First Planning Act

The first planning legislation in the history of Victoria is the Town and County Planning Act, 1944, passed in December. The new act sets up a central Town Planning Commission which has power to compel a locality or, jointly, groups of localities to prepare planning schemes for their municipalities if they fail to do so on their own initiative. It is contemplated that the new commission will be a coordinating body mainly, however.

Undertaking to bring the meaning of local planning to the public, the Town and County Planning Association of Victoria has published an attractive booklet, *Let's Plan*, a collection of talks given before association meetings or by association members.

Mexico

Women's suffrage became an election issue in Mexico when Miguel Aleman, candidate for president, announced he would promote adequate constitutional reform looking toward enfranchising women for municipal elections. "Municipal organization has more contact with the interests of the family and owes more attention to the necessities of the home and infancy," the candidate explained.

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Norway

The first local elections after liberation are scheduled for November 19.

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Netherlands

Temporary municipal councils have been elected by centrally-selected groups of electors three times the numbers of council members to be chosen. The first aldermen will be elected a month after the first councillors take office.

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Czechoslovakia

The national committees which perform local government functions, "are our new public administration and they will build up a democratic and nationally reliable civil service," says the minister of the interior. The national government is to have jurisdiction over the status and pay of civil and municipal servants.

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[1] See *Board and Council*, May 30, 1945, p. 8.

Books in Review

From War to Postwar in Community Planning

Planning for the Future in Your Community. Issued jointly by United Service Organizations, Inc., Office of Community War Services, and Community Chests and Councils, Inc. New York. 1945. 16 pp. Ten cents each on quantity orders.

Health and Welfare Planning in the Smaller Community. New York 17, Community Chests and Councils, Inc., 1945. 27 pp. 25 cents.

The Community Council: A Natural Outgrowth of the Defense Council. Washington, D. C., Office of Civilian Defense, 1945.

Now that the war is over there are many parallel developments of thought about the transition period as it affects local communities.

The most common and most widely publicized current interest in local planning is with regard to public works and economic development.[1] These are premises of community life but they do not include all that makes localities livable. Planning for health safeguards and services, recreation and educational opportunities as rights of citizens, and welfare programs with a positive keynote not only have a place on the community agenda on their own but should be thought of as correlated with physical planning.[2]

The pamphlets listed above summarize the thinking of experienced leaders in the field of organization and planning for community services. They relate war-gained experience to postwar possibilities which may be achieved by timely and concerted action in the local community. They apply particularly to smaller communities where less planning has been done and where war needs led to the development of new organizations and services which have "survival value."

The first of these three pamphlets, *Planning for the Future in Your Community,* has the sponsorship of three organizations with outstanding experience in the community organization field. It is directed toward helping local communities face what will happen as USO withdraws. The scope of health and welfare planning outlined is broader than recreation services, which is appropriate since USO's have served as community centers in many places. This booklet refers to the second one, issued by Community Chests and Councils, Inc.

Both of these pamphlets contain a statement which is the wisdom of simplicity: "Health and welfare problems are problems of people." Both stress the potentialities of what people can do collectively to organize neighborliness, to assist individuals to meet problems which are beyond their separate capacities, and to take positive action for community well-being.

As a tool to achieve these ends, the first named pamphlet suggests that the organization of a community council may be the next step in some communities. It also urges the use and strengthening of defense councils, community recreation committees or councils of social agencies. This practical suggestion provides the link with the other two pamphlets. The second, already mentioned, tells how community councils or councils of social agencies operate, with specific suggestions.

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[1] The work of the Committee on Economic Development and its local affiliates is well known in this connection. A pamphlet issued by the War Department is the GI Roundtable (EM 33) *What Will Your Town Be Like?* (January 20, 1945). This pamphlet recognizes a "resurgence of community spirit through the United States" during wartime. Its emphasis is on job planning and local government action.

[2] *Action for Cities: A Guide for Community Planning,* Public Administration Service, 1943, presents an outline for balanced and integrated local community planning.

The third pamphlet, *The Community Council: A Natural Outgrowth of the Defense Council,* is based on OCD experience throughout the country in the civilian war services field. It stresses the possibilities of "representative but non-authoritative" planning which can be carried out under local government auspices, according to OCD. The needs of demobilized war workers and returning servicemen will call for community planning at least equal to that of wartime, according to the pamphlet. The problems of health and nutrition and the special needs of youth are pointed up as typical of the postwar responsibilities of communities for which community councils may be effective tools for action.

There is remarkable agreement on general principles of community organization running through the three publications. The following is an attempt to summarize the main points, with references to the three pamphlets by the numerals I, II and III in the order mentioned above.

1. Broad participation is stressed in community planning. "The planning council should be composed of representatives of all governmental and voluntary health, recreation and welfare agencies and of important civic bodies. Leaders from all the major elements of the community such as education, religion, labor, interracial groups, management and the professions also should be in on the project from the beginning. The group should be composed predominantly of volunteer citizens rather than professional workers." (I, 6).

The second pamphlet discounts the fear of "domination by non-professional groups." "The problem is to *get* participation by groups and individuals outside the professional field of health and welfare rather than to *limit* it." (II, 14).

The third pamphlet expresses the same thought with an additional emphasis on provision for representation of state and federal representatives who have responsibilities for programs in the local community. (III, 5).

2. The first principle implies cooperation between governmental and voluntary agencies, a point which is stated in other ways as well. In one place public services are thought of as basic, and programs developed financed and administered by voluntary associations are indicated as the way of dealing with special problems and providing services supplementary to those of government. (I, 9). The CCC pamphlet significantly points out that it is "necessary to give special consideration to the matter of governmental participation in any council." (II, 21.)

3. The possibility of community council operations under governmental auspices is a more controversial point. "Defense council operations have stimulated interest in the possibilities of health and welfare planning through a body established under public auspices, but experience is as yet too limited to permit any definite conclusions." (II, 21).

The OCD pamphlet defends its record when stating as the first principle of community council operation that "the community council should be part of local government, established by local ordinance and with an administrative budget provided at least in part from public funds." (III, 4).

The same statement of principles, however, casts some doubt on the general applicability of this suggestion in saying that "the community council should not duplicate or supplant well established community planning or coordinating bodies." (III, 6). This refers to divisions of councils of social agencies or committees for economic development which it is suggested may be given an official status and be coordinated with the over-all community planning.

4. The interrelation of community planning in the economic and physical sense with social planning is recognized with varying degrees of emphasis. (III, 5; I, 9, reference to buildings; II, 20, reference to playgrounds).

5. The importance of separating planning from operation of community programs is emphasized. (I, 7; III, 6; II, 19). Common services, however, may be operated by councils such as volunteer offices (III, 6) or the publication of a directory (II, 19).

6. Trained and specialized workers are needed to staff community councils. (I, 9; III, 7; II, 17).

7. The method of community organization is presented as "non-authoritative" (III, 3; II, 18), gradual and down to earth in dealing with specific problems. (II, 19). "Educate rather than legislate. . . . Many of the most valuable contributions of a council are indirect. . . . A council often cannot 'take credit' for what has been accomplished lest it endanger its future effectiveness." (II, 18-19). Consistent with these descriptions of method is the suggestion that an early step in any community planning is "to make a fresh study of facts about the community and its needs and resources." (I, 7).

These are the principles in bare outline that suggest what is meant by saying that community organization and planning is a process—a way of doing things together for the common good. It is never something arrived at and final—something laid out in neat blueprints. There is pattern and system in the methods used, based increasingly on dependable knowledge and tested experience, but the product is different in each community and much depends on the imagination and resourcefulness of community leaders and professional workers. In short, there is both "playing by ear" and rules for harmony in community living and planning which can be experienced in wider measure in the months and years ahead.

ARTHUR HILLMAN,
Assistant Regional Director
Office of Community War Services, Chicago

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accounting

Municipal Utility Accounting. By Dorr Hathaway, etc. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* August 1945. 40 pp. 50 cents.

Civil Service

Official Salary Plan of the County of Wayne, Michigan. Regulations Governing the Official Salary Schedule. Detroit 26, Civil Service Commission, County of Wayne, Michigan, 1945. 20 and 5 pp. respectively.

Wayne County Civil Service Commission and Its Veteran Program. Detroit, Civil Service Commission, County of Wayne, Michigan, 1945. 11 pp.

Housing

The First Seven Years. A Report of the Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh for the Years 1937-1944. Pittsburgh, The Authority, 1945. 63 pp. Illus., charts.

Housing in the 1945 New York Legislative Session. New York 10, Community Service Society, Committee on Housing, 1945. 15 pp. Ten cents.

Proceedings of the Conference on Financing the Postwar Building Boom on a Sound Basis. New York 18, National Committee on Housing, Inc., 1945. 77 pp.

Report of the National Capital Housing Authority for the Ten-Year Period 1934-1944. Washington, D. C., The Authority, 1944. xi, 219 pp. Illus.

Labor

Impact of the War on Employment in 181 Centers of War Activity. By U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945. iv, 32 pp. Ten cents.

Postwar Labor Policy. A Survey of Opinion. Report on attitudes of 600 informed persons representing labor, management and those professionally occupied in industrial relations on mediation and arbitration of postwar labor disputes and the government's role therein. Washington, D. C., The Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., 1945. iii, 41 pp.

License Fees

Municipal License Fees in Washington Cities. Seattle 5, Association of Washington Cities, 1945. 20 pp.

Municipal Government

Handbook for Employees of the City Clerk's Office. Containing Departmental Code of Ethics, Rules and Regulations, Miscellaneous Information. Los Angeles, 1945. 43 pp.

Your Government at a Glance—Facts About the City of Los Angeles. Los Angeles, City Clerk, 1945. 34 pp.

London and the National Government, 1721-1742. A Study of City Politics and the Walpole Administration. By Alfred James Henderson. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 1945. x, 242 pp. $3.

Parking

Downtown Los Angeles Parking Study. Los Angeles, Downtown Business Men's Association of Los Angeles, 1945. 23 pp. Illus., charts

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Discussion of Principles to Be Incorporated in State Urban Redevelopment Acts. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1945. 4 pp.

Mistakes We Have Made in Community Development. Mistakes We Have Made in Developing Shopping Centers. By J. C. Nichols. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1945. 8 and 15 pp. respectively. Together $1.

Tomorrow Is Here. New Haven, Connecticut, City Plan Commission, 1944. 28 pp. Illus.

Public Health

For the People's Health. New York 22, Physicians Forum for the Study of Medical Care, 1945. 16 pp. Illus.

Taxation and Finance

Balances in State General, Highway and Postwar-Reserve Funds in 1944. By N. B. Gerry. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 11 pp.

Federal Excise Taxes—Exemptions Allowed Local and State Governments. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1945. 4 pp. 25 cents.

Miscellaneous Sources of Municipal Revenues in Other States. Seattle 5, Association of Washington Cities, 1945. 6 pp.

Preparing the Way for Postwar Special Assessments. A Tentative Report by the Committee on Special Assessments. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1945. 4 pp. 25 cents.

State Tax Collections in 1945 (Preliminary). Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1945. 11 pp.

Traffic Safety

Accident Facts. Chicago 6, National Safety Council, 1945. 96 pp. 50 cents. (Reductions on quantity orders.)

Speed in the Transition Period. A Report of the Joint Committee on Postwar Speed Control. Chicago 6, National Committee for Traffic Safety, 1945. 8 pp.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

161

Organized Neighborliness
Editorial

Coast States Try Cooperation
Miriam Roher

Forging Guns into Nightsticks
Norman J. Powell and Harold Levine

Toledo and Its Big Tomorrow
Ronald E. Gregg

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Contents for November 1945

EDITORIAL COMMENT .... *Alfred Willoughby* 482

COAST STATES TRY COOPERATION .... *Miriam Roher* 484

FORGING GUNS INTO NIGHTSTICKS
Norman J. Powell and Harold Levine 488

TOLEDO AND ITS BIG TOMORROW .... *Ronald E. Gregg* 493

ERA OF COOPERATION FOR CITIES .... *Carlos M. Moran* 499

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION .... *H. M. Olmsted* 503

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST 509

CITIZEN ACTION .... *Elsie S. Parker* 512

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ...... *George H. Hallett, Jr.* 516

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP .... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 518

TAXATION AND FINANCE .... *Wade S. Smith* 521

LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROAD .... *Edward W. Weidner* 525

BOOKS IN REVIEW 529

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service,* the *Index to Legal Periodicals,* the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Organized Neighborliness

As MINORITY pressure groups continue to have their way with pliant national and state governments, the role of the local community as the chief guardian of the rights of the majority becomes more apparent.

The crucial questions during the next decade or two may be: Will the creeping paralysis of mandates and controls from "higher" governments continue to sabotage local autonomy? Will citizens overcome their lethargy and defeatism and use the power that is theirs to force government to translate their desires into administrative action?

All through history it has been the organized community—or groups of citizens within the community—that protected the people from predatory elements and established a safe place for the development of a good life. An early manifestation was the gathering of small groups around strong families behind moats and stone walls. In more recent memory on this and other continents people stayed within or near stockades. During the depression of a decade ago the need for a different type of protection emerged when tax revenues faded and many an essential service faced starvation if it had no pressure group to support it.

That emergency gave rise to the citizens' councils. These were composed of representatives of existing citizen groups who met around a table to discuss all aspects of the community's needs. The unreasonable demands of the special pleader for undiminished support of his pet activity were tempered and in hundreds of places the bad effects of the depression were minimized.

During the recent war we experienced an even more dramatic demonstration of organized neighborliness in the local defense councils which coordinated community action and understanding, met many pressing problems and developed leadership and cooperation.

Now, as such organizations are disbanding, it is widely proposed that some means be found to keep them going to cope with problems that are never absent from a way of life which is based on self-government and responsible citizenship. Here and there, it is true, the impetus originally provided by the war emergency has left a basis for more or less permanent and formal organizations. In other places new civic organizations are developing. But for the most part this tremendous cooperative force seems to be disintegrating.

It is a pity. Here is a great army of unselfish, well intentioned citizens who have learned how easy it is to do big things for their home towns by such simple methods as getting on the telephone, ringing doorbells and meeting in small groups to learn what's wrong and what to do about it.

These techniques are neither new nor difficult. With them minority political groups have dominated many communities for generations. Less often but successfully civic groups have done likewise. The problem is not how to do it; it is to get people to do it.

Most people are only dimly aware, if at all, of how effective they can be, how eager their likeminded fellows are to respond to suggestion and cooperate in something which appeals to their latent desire to perform altruistic service.

In this vast army of men and women who worked in the civilian defense organizations during their spare time is an immense reservoir of people who have already felt the stimulation and satisfaction that come from organized neighborliness. Another great source of civic workers will be found among the millions of men who have been away in the armed forces and whose home towns have been much in their minds.

Most of these people are not extroverts. They have to be challenged and asked to pitch in again for the home front battles which lie ahead. But leaders who have the talent to make things happen will find many of them ready and willing to respond.

A Good Try at an Old Chestnut

THE story of a gallant attempt to dramatize the chronic evil of the failure of state legislatures to reapportion their legislative districts is told in this issue of the REVIEW.[1]

There is logic in the contention of Candidate Smith that, if he won, he would be illegally elected because his district, the largest in Minnesota, has as many residents as fourteen counties having five and one-half times as many members in the legislature. The State Supreme Court turned him down, however, saying that the legislature's "judgment and discretion are its own to exercise or not—as its conscience permits."

Well, state legislatures have had no conscience about the way they flout the constitutional mandate to re-arrange legislative districts after each census in accordance with population shifts. Minnesota, for instance, has had no reapportionment since 1913. Large cities are treated in a similarly unfair manner in many other states.

The solemn pretension of legislators that they are representative of the people when they know they are living a lie must lose them much in self-respect. And self-respect would seem to be a necessary prerequisite to public respect which, unfortunately, is frequently lost by our legislative bodies.

Legislatures having consistently failed to do the right thing, the responsibility for reapportionment should be taken away from them. It should be made automatic. As matters stand in most of our states, legislatures are demonstrating their own lack of faith in the democratic processes and are sabotaging self-government—a pretty poor example for our people and for a world to which we are currently trying to demonstrate the superiority of democracy.

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[1] See page 504.

Coast States Try Cooperation

California, Washington and Oregon organize Pacific Coast Board of Intergovernmental Relations; states and their local governments seeking solutions to common problems.

By **MIRIAM ROHER***

WHEN you come right down to it, could anything be much more artificial than a unit of government?

Disease doesn't know a legal boundary when it sees one, as has been made clear repeatedly by the public health people. But germs are not the only anarchists in the field of public problems. How about depressions? Floods? The economic aftermath of wars? Unemployment? Prosperity? Industrial expansion? Crime?

The point does not have to be pummeled. It is usually more than obvious to any laborer in the governmental vineyard that neither he nor his city, county, state or federal agency alone is competent to meet any except the most narrowly jurisdictional of day-to-day problems. This generation's desperate manhandling of the term "coordination" gives testimony on the many attempts that have been made to break out of the strait-jacket imposed by history in the form of city governments, county governments, state governments, federal agencies.

This is the story of another such attempt. If it works it may foretell something new in governmental organization. Even if it fails to work, it will at least have been proof of the fact that the west coast of the United States harbored some men of vision, daring and good will in the years of World War II and immediately after.

What officials in Washington, Oregon and California have done is to set up an organization that transcends *all* governmental lines. They call it the Pacific Coast Board of Intergovernmental Relations. It is composed of representatives of cities, counties, the three states and the federal agencies which operate out of western offices. It meets once every three months and its purpose is to throw on the table current western problems that concern the whole region. What happens next is up to the individual men who sit on the board.

The Pacific Coast Board of Intergovernmental Relations has no power in itself to do anything except meet and talk. But should its individual members agree among themselves to do something as a result

---

*Until November 1 Miss Roher served two "masters"—the California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission as research writer and the League of California Cities, as research and information assistant and *Newsletter* editor. She is now a free-lance writer and pamphleteer. Prior to 1941 Miss Roher was publications editor for the National Municipal League and a contributor to the *National Municipal Review,* and more recently was administrative assistant with the California State Defense Council and editor of the California State War Council *News.*

of the meeting and talking, and then *go home and do it,* the board could become a powerful official body.

That some means of acting in concert on Pacific Coast problems is badly needed has been clear for some time to those who must meet these problems every day. The war underlined the mutuality of these problems. The postwar is circling it in red. War brought to the three Pacific Coast states the greatest population influx they have ever had in so short a period. It brought also immense sudden industrialization. The wartime problems resulting from these happenings is a tale told before. The postwar results are possibly less well known.

Now what happens to all this new population, most of which is staying? The war industries are either gone or going fast. Where they stood, nothing stood before. Where are the necessary jobs coming from, the necessary housing, the necessary community facilities, the necessary social controls, to cope with a new and powerful infusion of potentially warring social groups?

The day is long since past when government stood aloof from such social and economic problems. Today's elected and appointed officials know that not only their tax base but every one of their functions has its roots and takes its character from the economic and social situation of the people who live within the boundaries of their governmental unit. They know also that the economic and social situation of their people depends in turn on the economic and social situation of the people in the whole area. The Pacific Coast is an economic and social area of remarkable homogeneity. Ergo—the Pacific Coast Board of Intergovernmental Relations.

The way the board came about is an illustration, in the social science field, of the same sort of strides that the physical sciences always take in wartime. This board is an outgrowth of the Ninth Regional Civilian Defense Board which had been set up in the harried days of World War II to meet the Pacific Coast's mutual problems of defense. It, too, was composed of representatives of all levels of government. Defense became a broad term before the war was over, and came to include every war-connected civilian activity. The remarkable thing about the Ninth Regional Civilian Defense Board is that it is said to have been the only one of the regional boards which really worked. At least, that is the impression here on the West Coast, which may or may not be living up to its reputation for always arrogating to itself the place at the head of the line.

From War to Peace

In any event, the Ninth Regional Board *was* successful and the reasons for that success are said to be matters of personality. Any new organization depends on personal leadership. This one succeeded because the men who were supposed to be members actually came to meetings and did not send their third or fourth assistants or deputies. Notable among the faithful was Governor Earl Warren of California. Any meeting that a governor attends religiously and regularly is automatically a meeting of some consequence. No one else can afford to miss it.

The problems that the Ninth Regional Civilian Defense Board managed to solve by mutual consultation are water over the dam now. The precedent the board set, however, is part of the permanent reservoir of Pacific Coast governmental lore.

When civilian defense became a term to be shipped up to the attic with grandpa's old portrait (circa 1944), some of the men who had witnessed the board's remarkable razing of governmental boundaries determined that they would carry over this wartime lesson into peacetime. Over a period of a year, while the Ninth Regional Civilian Defense Board lay dormant, they talked up the idea. By June 21, 1945, they had achieved the first meeting of the Pacific Coast Board of Intergovernmental Relations, at Portland, Oregon. On September 21, 1945, the second meeting was held in San Francisco. A third meeting is already scheduled for Seattle on December 7. It appears that the new organization is fairly launched.

Problems Discussed

It is much too soon to talk about accomplishments. But a look at the agendas of the two meetings already held will illustrate the scope of the board's ambitions. Disposition of federal property, disposition and possible re-use of temporary war housing, problems arising out of the administration of federal aid, the future industrial prospects of the Pacific Coast, cooperative programs necessary to absorb the shock of war's ending, the need to retain in the west for future industrial development the skilled labor drawn by war industry, the extent of present employment and unemployment on the Pacific Coast, public works planning and timing, surplus property disposal and availability of materials for industrial conversion, estimated expenditures for gross national product and national labor force estimates.

Discussion of the latter topic, at the San Francisco meeting, showed something new in official attitudes. It was less a discussion than a schoolroom adventure. A federal man pinned a big chart to the wall. He used a pointer and he lectured on matters at least as fundamental and as difficult of comprehension as the materials of a course in graduate economics. And two governors, a dozen big city mayors, federal agency heads, and assorted other governmental leaders listened as seriously, intently and intelligently as graduate students. One could almost smell the chalk dust in the air. The event was important because it showed a willingness to study and to learn that is not always characteristic of the doers of this world. West coast people realize that they have a problem on their hands. They apparently are digging down to fundamentals to solve it.

The amplitude and variety of the roster of members and "consultants" who attended both the first and second meetings is further evidence of the degree of enthusiasm and interest which these westerners are giving to the attempt to melt artificial government barriers. An additional advantage of such varied attendance was that no question arose which could not be given a first-hand answer by some official in a position to have authoritative facts. You can get a great deal done in a short time when your information is sitting no farther away than across the room.

The prospects are good—but they are not perfect. Aside from the obvious fact that action resulting from the board's meetings depends entirely on the good will and good intentions of each individual member of the board, aside from the obvious fact that even good will and good intentions cannot transcend some legal blocks in the road to accomplishment, a new difficulty arose at the second meeting of the board. The first meeting was closed to the press. The second one was not.

The Press Attends

What elements went into the decision to invite the newspapers in must be imagined. It is not hard to see why the temptation to have public witness to this unprecedented good will fest might have been too much for men many of whom owe their positions to public approval. There are some, however, who believe that the chances for a frank, free, creative discussion of the west's problems are now considerably faded by the hot light of publicity. The reporters' pencils were very busy at that second meeting and the flashbulbs popped throughout the day. How many statements were made for the record, how many statements were not made because of the fear of the record, no one knows.

At the very least, the Pacific Coast Board of Intergovernmental Relations gives long overdue emphasis to the fact that there is hardly any problem that can be solved on a single governmental level. It represents a challenge to throw open the doors and unbarricade the staircases so that the house may be cleaned, at long last, from top to bottom. At best, the board can mean the beginning of formal governmental recognition of an aim spoken by Governor Warren at the close of the San Francisco meeting. "I'm for anything," he said, "that helps any other part of the Pacific Coast." It is the United Nations principle brought home to American government at last.

Forging Guns into Nightsticks

Readjustment of veterans who return to their old public service jobs might be made much simpler if the attitudes of civilian associates were corrected, study suggests.

By **NORMAN J. POWELL** and **HAROLD LEVINE***

THIS study is concerned with the attitudes of the public service employee toward his colleague who, having been away on military leave, is returning in increasing numbers to his former job. The focus of attention is not the veteran as such; it is the point of view, the expectations, the fears, the intellectual and emotional complex of sentiments and judgments with which the non-veteran awaits the return of his fellow employee who has been a member of the armed forces.

Only a segment of the total problem of the relations between veterans and non-veterans is explored here. But it is a major segment, for the character of the public service is both outcome and determinant of the nature of the state itself. The point is made in John Dewey's remark—in *The Public and Its Problems*—that "the state is as its officials are."

The quality of public administration in the United States, as elsewhere, will depend on administrative personnel and a focal matter in influencing the effectiveness with which public policy operates in any given case is the way in which the public employee works with his fellows.

Opportunity for the analysis in this article arose in the recent administration, by a city of middle size in the northeastern part of the United States, of a series of promotion tests to officers in the police and fire departments. The police examinations were given to sergeants and lieutenants seeking promotion to the posts of lieutenant and captain. In the fire examinations, lieutenants and captains competed for the positions of captain and assistant chief.

Included in each examination was a question requiring the candidate to write a report revelant to his rank. In the test for lieutenant, for example, the following question was asked:

"As veteran members of the force return from service, their assignment to the units to which they were attached raises certain problems with which lieutenants must be prepared to deal. Write a report to your captain outlining these problems and your recommendations for handling them."

---

*Mr. Powell, formerly on the faculties of Hunter and Brooklyn Colleges, is with the Government Department of the College of the City of New York. Previously he was director of classification and research of the New York City Civil Service Commission. Mr. Powell has conducted administrative surveys for the states of Rhode Island, New Hampshire and New York, as well as the Philadelphia Council of Social Agencies and the Federal Office of Price Administration. Mr. Levine is assistant examiner in the New York City Civil Service Commission and is author of various articles on personnel and visual education.

The remaining examinations contained the same question, with the appropriate rank substituted for lieutenant and the title of the immediate superior inserted in place of captain.

Altogether, 49 persons took the examinations. The limitations implicit in any statistical analysis of the answers preclude quantitative treatment. Thus, the number of men studied is small, the data appertain to men in civil uniformed forces, the sample is highly selected geographically and includes persons somewhat older than the typical civil servant. But the applicants' comments are suggestive of the attitudes and thinking of the non-veteran public employee. On the one hand, there are those who feel that nothing is too good for the returning veteran:

"He must be given every consideration in appreciation for the service rendered to his country. . . ."

"Nothing can be too good for the veteran. . . ."

On the other hand, there are those who say that nothing is too good for the veteran but—

"We must remember that they were willing to die to save us here at home and nothing now should be too good for us to give them when they return, but it must be executed without lowering the morale of the department."

"Allow extra credits for taking examinations, show that their interests were being considered while in service, but point out that other men would have liked to enter the services but due to the commissioner appealing their cases it was impossible to do so. . . ."

"It is the opinion of the members that the returning veterans are entitled to be given a fair amount of points in an examination but not because they are veterans to hand the promotions to them on a silver platter. It must be taken into consideration that some members were too young for the last war and are not physically able to perform duty in the present war and should not be discriminated against. Quite a few members who were not in either war have sons and daughters in the present conflict."

No Favors for Veteran

Completing the triad of general approaches is the position that there should be no differentiation between the veteran and the non-veteran:

"Of course, no favors should be shown as this would create dissension amongst the other members of the staff. The returning members should also be made to understand that they should consider the other members of the force who through no fault of their own were not in the service. . . ."

Among the likely, hypothetical problems envisaged is competition between the veteran and the non-veteran:

"One problem I have is the veteran who wants the choice post although the man on this has seniority."

"Some claim special considerations because of their veteran's rating over and above that of a non-veteran, and request easy and special work. . . ."

"There may be jealousies of other men caused by preferments allowed on examinations for promotions. . . ."

Closely tied up with this competitive process is the effect on morale:

"In returning the veterans to their former squads, it may interfere with the morale of senior members of this command who were assigned to these veterans' places."

"The patrolman on the job feels he deserves better consideration. He figures he held down the 'home front' and gave all to his city and country by remaining on the job at home."

Some candidates are not at all sure that the veteran will agree that the "home-fronter" has given "his all":

"Members of the same age and time on the job will have been promoted. These same members were not drafted and did not volunteer for armed service. This might cause uneasiness on the part of the veteran and might let him feel that he was not treated fairly in this respect. . . ."

Resentment might be expressed in the general demeanor of the veteran:

"Will be overbearing; criticize those not entering the service. . . ."

"Some veterans will look down upon those patrolmen who were not in the service. . . ."

"Patrolmen Smith and Jones are assigned to the same squad and at this time are annoying members of the squad and platoon that are of military age and through no fault of theirs were unable to be members of the armed services. The above patrolmen are of the opinion that they are superior to other members of the precinct. . . ."

A few applicants believe that an important specific factor which may produce a serious problem is that here and there will be found instances of reduction in relative rank, as a major returning to a patrolman position:

"The veteran with an officer's rank in service resents the feeling of being reduced to the subordinate rank of patrolman. . . ."

"What will be their reaction when they are again put into civilian life, in many instances from positions in the service where they were themselves in authority to the duties of a mere patrolman? Men who attained a high rank in the particular branch they were in will resent taking orders from civilian bosses. . . ."

Veterans Know More?

Some civilian members of the police and fire forces predict that the veteran will strut unbecomingly the technical knowledge he acquired in the armed services. This opinion is found particularly among persons in the fire department:

"Veterans being well informed on the various subjects of fire fighting taught them by the military will assume an independent attitude and be in a position to ridicule other firemen should they try to discuss these matters. . . ."

"In one case a man who had served in the fire fighting forces of the Navy thinks he has more knowledge than anyone in the department. . . ."

"On different occasions they have tried to express their views on how fires should be fought according to the way they were taught in the service. . . ."

Others, more cheerfully, look forward to the probability that the veteran's special training can be utilized advantageously:

"Having been trained in their respective branches of the Navy and Army, these men are highly trained and qualify above the average patrolman in regular police patrol. I would suggest that, when conditions permit, the service man be given a trial in the detective division."

"Assign veterans who may have received special training while in service to specific branches of police duty such as fingerprinting, photography, crime detection, radio. . . ."

The non-veterans lay considerable stress on the adverse psychological effects of the strains of war on the veteran:

"The mental state of men who for the past three or four years have lived under a mental and physical strain, who have killed and seen their buddies killed, must be taken into consideration as an important factor. . . ."

"Their high state of nervousness due to shell shock precipitates the making of grave mistakes. . . ."

". . . Slight neurotic and psychosis cases will be too free with firearms, due to being trained to glorify killing; will want to drive vehicles at a fast rate of speed causing recklessness, on account of doing this kind of driving in combat zones. . . ."

Not all the non-veterans' forecasts are so disturbing. A few men see no problem of adjustment at all:

"Returning veterans do not need any so-called special adjustments as to their fitness for duty or efficiency. . . ."

"I do not contemplate any trouble from the service man. . . ."

The over-all impression yielded by close examination of candidates' statements is that the points of view of the non-veterans studied differ widely, being as diversified, it may be, as those in the country generally. That the applicants' responses were unrelated to the fact that they happened to be in fire or police work or that they held one or another rank is an additional specific supporting the tentative generalization that reaction of the non-veteran to the veteran in the uniformed forces of the public service is conditioned by stimuli not peculiar to the set of circumstances studied.

Is Veteran a 'Problem'?

There is another point which emerges strikingly from the data. It is the emphasis laid by the great majority of the participants in the examination on the veteran as a bundle of difficulties, especially psychiatric. It is possible that the phrasing of the question item in the examination was such as to stimulate answers of this kind in that the question called for consideration of the "problems" raised by the returning veterans. Probably some such phrase as "problems and opportunities" would have evoked somewhat different answers.

The fact is, nevertheless, that the non-veteran is in far too many cases carrying in his mind the stereotype of the veteran who is jumpy, irritable, unpredictable, abnormal. Perhaps the cycle of movies and stories dealing with the neuropsychiatric veteran is at fault. In any event, it would be most desirable to have characterizations in great number of veterans who are utterly and completely normal. Thus, Mauldin states in *Up Front*:

"One of the foremost objections to a steady portrayal of the troubles and lives of combat infantrymen and those who work with them . . . has been that these guys are going to feel that the nation owes them a living, and that they will become 'social problems.' This feeling has been so strong in some places that veteran combat men are looked at askance by worried and peaceable citizens. That's a sad thing for a guy who was sent off to war with a blare of patriotic music, and it's really not necessary.

"There will be a few problems, undoubtedly, because combat soldiers are made up of ordinary citizens—bricklayers, farmers and musicians. There will be good ones and some bad ones. But the vast majority of combat men are going to be no problem at all. They are so damned sick and tired of having their noses rubbed in a stinking war that their only ambition will be to forget it."

It does seem distinctly unfortunate that the pathology of the veteran should figure so prominently in the thinking of the non-veteran. To be sure, problems are not solved by pretending they do not exist. Yet, equally, problems may be worsened and their impact made unnecessarily great by naive, not to say perverted, psychopathological concepts held by some non-veterans.

As a first step in promoting the development of satisfactory employee behavior patterns, it would be wise for administrators to devote portions of occasional staff meetings in public agencies to candid discussion of optimum relations between veterans and non-veterans. Printed and mimeographed materials could also be assembled for discussion purposes. The essential point is that just as the veteran employee may require adjustment so does the non-veteran in some cases need educational surgery.

Toledo and Its Big Tomorrow

Daring Norman Bel Geddes planning conception draws many students and visitors, model makes citizens of Ohio city conscious of need for long range, comprehensive program.

By **RONALD E. GREGG**[*]

THE Norman Bel Geddes model of "Toledo Tomorrow," sponsored by the *Toledo Blade,* is a courageous and brilliantly presented exhibit of master city planning. The model, approximately 60 feet in diameter, is shown daily at the Stratford Theater in the city's Zoological Gardens.

Much attention is given "Toledo Tomorrow" by both national and foreign press, magazines and official delegations. But we in Toledo are particularly interested in the response of local citizens—those who will decide whether and when to invest privately or publicly in the finer city of the future.

How did the Toledo project start? Will something be done about it?

The idea of exhibiting a "Toledo Tomorrow" grew from the original conception nearly two years ago of a $1,000 map into a $150,000 model, plus elaborate promotion. The model is produced to scale and depicts the future city as seen from an airplane at ten thousand feet. Major features shown are:

1. The nation's first union terminal for the three major types of public transportation—air, rail and highway;
2. A network of airfields, including a downtown passenger airport which would bring the largest of tomorrow's air lines into the heart of the city;
3. A system of congestion-proof express highways fed by a network of inter-connecting roads;
4. Consolidation of railroad lines, yards and terminals within the metropolitan area;
5. Beautification of the river front and development of the lower river and Maumee Bay areas for commerce and industry;
6. Patterns for "communities" within the city for easier and more efficient daily life.

Photographers of *Life*[1] and *Architectural Forum,*[2] have reproduced good shots of these features.

There are five designated observation points. At each station a broadcast voice explains the plan.

Tri-terminal for Travelers

At mid-point of the model there is a downtown airport with its triangular landing and taxi strips—five minutes from the business section, the narrator says. On the left side of the airport, nestled in a hooked peninsula, there is provision for seaplane anchorage. The seaplane ramp is farther downstream at a wider point of the river. Between the runway extensions on the uptown side is located the tri-terminal serving air, rail and bus passengers. Buses, taxies and other vehicles loop in from the Anthony Wayne Trail to either surface platforms, parking areas or baggage docks. Subsurface train tracks run beneath the station and airplane runways.

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[*] Mr. Gregg is executive secretary of the Municipal League of Toledo. He is also research director for Toledo's Postwar and Long-Range Planning Committee and the Citizens Finance Committee. Formerly instructor in government at the University of Pennsylvania, Mr. Gregg was chief investigator of Governor Earle's investigation of alleged disfranchisement of Philadelphia electors under permanent registration in 1938. He is author of a number of publications on finance and related governmental topics.

[1] September 17, 1945.

[2] August, 1945.

The area designated for the class-4 airport with 5,700-foot runways includes approximately a hundred city blocks and part of a railroad yard. Selection of this particular area assumed, first, the development of out-of-city rail marshalling yards; second, demolition in an area where structures on the average were built more than 55 years ago.

Most of the properties in the area are old and in the low-rent class with many unsanitary and substandard dwellings. Industrial properties are used for rail or warehousing purposes, commercial properties are old and run down. Acquisition of the area, however, would probably cost in the neighborhood of twenty million dollars.

Express Highways

From the next view-station one observes a network of express highways. Here, above the expanding suburban West Toledo the eye follows the proposed Washington-Monroe express highway directly downtown. Most of it is depressed. Traffic is separated by a parkway strip. Separation drives rise on the right, slowing the speed as the car approaches the local street at surface level. The opposite is true for entering the expressway. This route is bridged at several points by cross streets.

The Chicago Pike, also transformed to a depressed expressway within the city, meets and crosses the Washington - Monroe system without requiring any cross traffic. The narrator describes it as nonstop, intersection-free and congestion-proof. This is the design for the future national super-highway system.

In such a manner Toledo is traversed—from Cincinnati and Columbus in the south to Detroit, and from Cleveland and Akron in the east to Chicago or Indianapolis.

Analyses of traffic are currently being studied in relation to potential condemnation costs in order to make final decisions as to the exact location of these super-highway routes.

Docks and Bridges

The third observation point gives one the view of Maumee Bay. On the observer's right, at the mouth of the river, is a proposed class-3 airport. "Toledo Tomorrow" calls for a freight airway, served by both land planes and seaplanes. An alternate plan is to locate the major airport at this point. The area is not built up; part is park land or residential, much is lowland that needs filling.

On the east bank of the bay a new industrial dock area is proposed. Planners hoped that such relocation would provide for expansion of coal, ore and oil shipping facilities and allow the present up-river dock area to be free for redevelopment into a cleaner area—grain elevators, commercial shipping and parks.

This gradual shifting of dock area, if successful, will add to the solution of downtown traffic problems by reducing the disruptions of bridge traffic.

The "Toledo Tomorrow" plan reduces the number of bridges across the Maumee from seven to five. The down-river bridge, now used by the Wheeling and Lake Erie Railroad, would also become the crossing for the Toledo Terminal Railroad—a belt-line which circles the city—and an upper deck would be added for auto traffic on a shorter route between Cleveland and Detroit. The second bridge would be relocated (and is now ready for such considerations) so as to serve auto traffic that would otherwise use one of the midtown bridges. Relief given the midtown bridges by the two redesigned down-river bridges is estimated to be sufficient to permit the elimination of the last bridge, up-river, when the life of the present structure terminates or if the river is cleared for midtown airplane landing.

Railroads and River Front

The conception of a tri-terminal for air, auto and rail passengers which includes common trackage through the station is only a small part of the consolidation of rail facilities contemplated. Primary additions to the idea are extension of the use of the terminal belt-line and elimination of all except a few lines into the city. The planners propose the extension of out-of-city marshalling yards in order to reshuffle cars not destined for Toledo.

In addition to the elimination of many traffic hazards such a plan greatly reduces the number of grade-separations required. A pre-war survey in Toledo listed 22 for consideration. One being definitely undertaken will cost more than $800,000, so there are many potential economies possible.

As heavy industry shipping is shifted from the east bank of the Maumee to the bay area and old docks are converted for cleaner and lighter usage, the architects propose beautification and some minor park areas along the river front. On the west side an extension of Riverside Park is recommended. A riverside highway is proposed as is an extensive off-street parking system in the midtown area.

Urban Redevelopment

Patterns for the redevelopment of housing areas near the downtown district are presented in the model. A combination of single family units, multiple family units and apartment houses is needed. Street plans in such areas are altered by these plans. The proposals reduce the number of streets by replacing them alternately with play areas or landscaping. Service drives shaped like a letter "U" eliminate all except local vehicular traffic. They are connected to the remaining local streets which in turn meet through-streets and arterial routes.

Such rehousing plans as these require multi-block development which in turn requires, in most cases, use of the power of eminent domain. This presents the problem of accepting governmental housing as the economical method of redevelopment or enactment of enabling legislation by Ohio to permit joint action by the local government and private enterprise. The last session of the General Assembly did not pass the proposed urban redevelopment bill. Such legislation is a prerequisite to any plans yet presented, especially if low-cost housing is to become a significant factor in redeveloping the older parts of the city.

Particular importance is attached to this part of city planning in Toledo. A shortage of total housing facilities, inadequate housing in the older parts of the city, the desire for larger lots and open spaces, overcrowding of arterial streets, lack of easy downtown parking and the proposed expressways work in combination as a double-edged sword which slices away the tax basis of the city.

City Loses to Suburbs

Centrifugal movement of population from urban to suburban areas was reflected by an 8,000 drop in city population between 1930 and 1940 while total county population increased more than 5,000. The best available check since 1940 is the school census. Toledo schools lost an additional 3,000 pupils whereas enrollment of county schools increased. Finally, those observing the financial planning for new residences advise that as much as 80 per cent—perhaps 3,500 homes—are likely to be located in the near future in suburban areas. Such a trend would obviously transfer tax-paying ability out of the city.

Toledo has a beautiful and extensive public park system. More playgrounds are needed and are being developed gradually.

Citizen Action in Planning

From July 4 until Labor Day approximately 7,000 persons weekly saw the model "Toledo Tomorrow." Since then approximately 30,000 school children have been going in groups to view it. Clubs and other organizations arrange special tours for their members.

Many will remember particularly the dramatic presentation of the final observation station. Lights change gradually portraying the reflection of a glowing sunset, dusk and then an ideal city bathed in soft moonlight. The model presents the public with a living conception of urban progress, a glowing future, a vision to turn to reality.

"Toledo Tomorrow" is only one of many current local efforts at community planning.

The Metropolitan Planning Committee of the Toledo Chamber of Commerce also attempts master planning with particular references to downtown traffic, business area reconstruction, future industrial location and relocation, slum clearance and low-cost housing. The various subcommittees, however, are assigned to practically all phases of master planning.

Downtown property owners banded together, pooled their resources, and hired a staff of engineering consultants to make an exhaustive survey of the downtown area and all avenues of ingress and egress; several of the larger merchants are making economic studies of their own stake in this metropolitan area.

The Regional Planning Association is composed of representatives of more than 70 civic, social and lay-church groups. Proposals from all sections of the city, from planners and legislators, come eventually before this group. Explanations are heard. Questions are asked. Votes are seldom taken. This forum is self-educational, serves as a sounding-board, and accomplishes much stimulation without detracting from the promotion of proper neighborhood and other limited-community interests.

To make sure that plans come from the grass-roots, an extensive organization of neighborhood planning groups is being developed. These groups represent villages and several townships as well as parts of the city. They are affiliated with the Regional Planning Association.

The Council of Social Agencies is sponsoring, with assistance from the National Recreation Association, the development of a community-wide integrated recreation program.

The City and County Planning Commissions operate in close harmony. The chairman and vice-chairman of each are the same persons. The planning engineer and his staff serve both commissions as well as the volunteer groups in search of planning information and technical assistance. It is a herculean task for such a staff to serve so many "unofficial" groups and at the same time complete its own master plan and approve or disapprove "for substantiated reason" the improvement projects presented. But members of the plan commissions see benefits from considerable democracy in the planning, from the attempts of others to suggest, integrate and promote.

Public Financing Program

The popularity of postwar planning was anticipated, so an early start was made on fiscal planning. This was doubly necessary because both the city and schools were existing on too short rations.

Toledo was rather hard hit, even comparatively, by the depression of the 1930's. Fiscal affairs of the city still suffer from extensive relief financing. Ohio did not aid its cities as much as some other states. It enacted special refunding privileges for the cities and Toledo is still refunding. It enacted a state sales tax. Last year approximately four million dollars was collected in the Toledo area and three million was returned to the city. A constitutional over-all limitation on real estate taxation of 10 mills (city, county and schools) was enacted. A 65 per cent majority vote was required for approval of any special levy for the city or county.

Taxable assessed valuation dropped 35 per cent from 1930 to 1936. Operating expenses of many activities were cut and then cut again. County roads, city streets, school lunches, recreation, park maintenance, new hospitals and a host of other activities became WPA projects.

Then came the war with increased costs, depleted manpower and withdrawn federal works aid. Revenue from the general property tax in 1944 as compared with 1930 was 38 per cent less for the county, 33 per cent less for the city and 32 per cent less for schools.

With this picture facing them, 56 citizens accepted appointment to the Citizens Finance Committee. Subcommittees were formed—executive, research, operating services, debt service and tax delinquency, capital outlay and methods of financing. The Municipal League of Toledo and the Chamber of Commerce assigned research staffs to serve the committee. More than a hundred subcommittee meetings were held during the eleven months following July 12, 1944. The survey included the city of Toledo, Lucas County and Toledo School District. Operating budgets were projected for the next five years, 1946-50. Deferred maintenance and replacement of obsolete operating equipment were added. Bad debts and necessary outlay were put on top of this "get-the-house-in-order" study. The report issued in June 1945 was comprehensive, clear-cut and bore the marks of good judgment.[3]

The several increases of property taxes which the report calls for amount to a peak raise of 2.67 mills, from 18.94 to 21.61 mills. By 1951 the rate is estimated to be 18.23, or less than before the program was started, unless additions are made to the program by other improvements which become timely in the interim. Local public officials approve the financing program but the electorate must pass on it.

The semi-official Postwar and Long-Range Planning Committee was appointed by the city manager with cooperation from the Boards of Education and County Commissioners. It is composed of a "citizen chairman," representatives of the city, county and school administrations, City and County Plan Commissions, University of Toledo and the several agencies previously mentioned. The staff of the Municipal League of Toledo serves as the secretariate and research arm.

This committee reviews improvement proposals, studies projects in view of community need, the status of plans and assigns "priority for development."

Currently, various stages of preparation are reported for fourteen of the major city projects, six county projects and several state projects which affect the local program. Bids are being requested for roads. Preliminary plans for three buildings have been approved. Financial arrangements for the final planning of the interregional highway system, a civic auditorium and several buildings are being discussed.

In the meantime state appropriations for nearby parks have been made. Contracts have been let for approximately $15,000,000 to develop the bay-shore docks. A $250,000 hotel renovation project has started. These and many other proposed private projects fit into the master plan. The architects of the city are as busy as the industrialists who are in the midst of reconversion.

Planning in Toledo is comprehensive and widespread. The problems are large. The attack is long-range. The vision healthy. Surely the years to come will bring reasonably systematic progress.

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[3] For the report see Supplement to *Toledo City Journal,* September 15, 1945. See also p. 524 this issue.

Era of Cooperation for Cities

Substantial progress toward solution of local government problems forecast from increasing exchange of information and experience by municipalities throughout the world.

By **CARLOS M. MORAN***

THERE is an old saying in Spanish: *La Naturaleza no procede a saltos* which, translated freely, means "Nature takes its course." Literally, it says that nature does not proceed by leaps. There is evidence both for and against this theory, it seems to us today, when we feel we are living through "leaps" in all directions.

One very important "leap" was the conquest of the air. Air travel, more even than other kinds of travel, has brought new emphasis to the importance and individuality of cities all over the world. To say "I am going to India and China" is outmoded these days; now we say "I'm off to New Delhi" and "I must be in Chungking by next Saturday."

Perhaps, since the days of ancient Greece, cities have not enjoyed the stature they are achieving today, even during the times of the famous Hanseatic League or the independent cities of Renaissance Italy.

It is not strange, then, that modern times, which see increasing internationalism in many aspects, should also produce a movement toward an international "state of cities."

International cooperation at the municipal level was first presented before World War I, in 1913 in Ghent, Belgium. The First International Congress of Towns was held there that fateful last year before World War I, and it organized the International Union of Local Authorities as a permanent body. In 1924, in the United States, the American Municipal Association was formed and in 1927 it became affiliated with the I. U. L. A. This eventually resulted in the organization in 1934 of another group, the American Committee for the I. U. L. A.

In the Western Hemisphere, however, organizations for active participation on a wide scale did not exist. The project languished although in Europe congresses were being held regularly, publications exchanged and information disseminated.

In America, however, there were signs of life from another source. In 1922 Ruy de Lugo-Viña, a dynamic Cuban visionary, writer and a city councilman of Havana, who had urged the cause of universal intermunicipalism and friendly relations among cities and their inhabitants for the first time the year before in Mexico, succeeded in having the city government of Havana pass

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an extensive resolution in defense of municipalities establishing organizations, just as states and corporations do, to further good relations and an exchange of ideas for their protection and the development of their influence. Havana also pledged the aid of the city government to sponsor and foster such a movement on an international scale.

Cuba Fosters Cooperation

A year later the Cuban delegation to the Fifth International Conference of American States presented a resolution providing that governments foster the development of intermunicipal collaboration within national territories and encourage the establishment of contacts between Pan-American municipalities.

Meanwhile, the Cuban delegation to the League of Nations had recommended that the Assembly foster the idea of intermunicipalism, and a similar resolution was adopted, giving the movement worldwide recognition and prestige.

Then the Pan-American Union was instructed to organize and effect the First Pan-American Congress of Municipalities, to take up in detail subjects affecting municipalities and systems of urban administration. Delegates from all municipalities in the Americas of over 50,000 population were to attend. This conference, scheduled to take place in Havana in 1931 as a tribute to the role Cuba had played in furthering intermunicipalism, had to be postponed for seven years.

Perhaps this very postponement, until 1938, emphasized the enthusiasm evident when the Congress actually was celebrated. From then on interest in the movement became progressively evident and insistent.

One of the most practical immediate results of the congress was the establishment, with seat in Havana, of the Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Cooperation as the board of directors and secretariat of the congress. Three years later the Second Inter-American Congress of Municipalities was held with great enthusiasm. (The third will be arranged as soon as travel conditions permit.)

At the time of the founding of the Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Cooperation in 1938, permanent and active organizations for intermunicipal cooperation on a national scale existed in the Western Hemisphere only in Canada, Cuba and the United States. Since then an association, league, union or federation of municipalities has been encouraged into functioning in seven more countries: Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico and Uruguay. National congresses of municipalities are being held in all of these ten countries with increasing regularity.

In those countries where no permanent organization has yet been established, the Pan-American Commission appoints an organizing committee to work toward that end, headed by people influential and versed in municipal administrative problems. Such fostering groups are at work in nine republics: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Costa Rica, Haiti, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay and Peru. Some of their success can be measured by the fact that in spite of having no permanent organization, four of them—Argentina, Bolivia, Costa Rica and Nicaragua—have already celebrated national municipal congresses, and that Haiti, Honduras and Nicaragua already contribute to the maintenance of the commission.

Benefits to Cities

Intermunicipal cooperation, without being a panacea, can contribute to the solution of municipal problems by a steady interchange of information and experience. Small municipalities can benefit from the mistakes of larger cities, and the great urban centers have at their disposal the precedents furnished them by smaller towns. With this in mind the commission has begun to serve as a clearing house of information on problems of interest to municipal officials. To handle this important phase of its activities it carries on an increasing amount of correspondence with municipal officers, specialists and technicians, civic associations, etc., and receives visits from experts and students from all over America.

In the headquarters at Havana a library is being built up which is used more and more by students of municipal affairs. It is said to be unique in America in regard to its collection of publications in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French (the four languages of the Americas) on public administration and municipal affairs. Since the commission's budget has no provision for funds to purchase books, the library of over 6,000 volumes has been assembled entirely on the basis of exchange plus constant and apparently effective begging.

The information received by the commission in books, letters, reports, articles, bulletins and through its multiple contacts, are sifted and organized, and much of it appears in a monthly publication in English and Spanish called the *Boletin, A Municipal Digest of the Americas.* In 1940, when it was started, one thousand copies of this magazine were printed and distributed free of charge to all North, Central and South American municipalities having a population of 50,000 or more; now, circulation has been increased to some 3,000 municipalities of the 30,000-or-higher class. In spite of paper shortages and lack of funds it is hoped soon to include all cities in the 10,000 population group and over, which will bring the distribution up to some 15,000 copies sent to cities from Alaska to Patagonia.

Numerous other magazines and periodicals devoted to municipal affairs are appearing like urban blossoms throughout the Pan-American landscape. Since 1938 municipalities in ten republics have started at least one new regular publication devoted to municipal affairs.

The influence of the movement has spread so conspicuously that courses in municipal government have been initiated in the Universities of Mexico and Guayaquil (Ecuador), and renewed in the University of Havana. Last year the secretary of the commission was successful in having a municipal section of the Inter-American Bar Association established, whereby the international aspect of municipal legal affairs is recognized. Eventually, it is hoped to draw up an Inter-American Municipal Code, which should incorporate the best features of the Hispanic and Anglo-Saxon traditions of municipal administration.

Support for Commission

Perhaps one of the most fortunate evidences of the spreading eagerness to foster intermunicipal cooperation is shown by the fact that at the conclusion of the First Pan-American Congress of Municipalities in 1938 funds for the operation of the newly created secretariat and Board of Directors (the Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Cooperation) had to be advanced by the mayor of Havana. Later, in keeping with Havana's role in the initiation of the movement, the city of Havana made a permanent yearly grant to the commission. Two years ago the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs of the U. S. State Department made an annual grant-in-aid available, which has been renewed each year since. But during the 1944-45 fiscal year contributions of varying amounts were received from municipalities, associations or government agencies of thirteen different American nations.

With so many earnest demonstrations of interest in the movement, the Pan-American Commission is well on the way to being significantly useful as the American central clearing house of information on municipal administrative affairs, and the fountainhead of energy and inspiration toward changing the whole outlook for cities and the welfare of all urban dwellers. The secretary is about to make a second extensive trip through South America, which, combined with the easing of demands occasioned by the war and the growing impulse for cooperation at all levels of government, should result in further progress of the movement in the immediate future. There is little doubt, now that the war is over, that there will be inaugurated a period of even closer collaboration with the International Union of Local Authorities, with a view to more than hemispheric intermunicipalism.

All over the world engineers, architects, physicians, lawyers—and even politicians—will soon start thinking expansively about municipal problems; civic organizations will boom everywhere, busy with postwar plans; more universities will start courses on municipal government and public administration; and more citizens will demand that the fruits of knowledge be applied for their benefit.

After some 2,400 years, it looks as if history may repeat itself and cities will come into their own again. Times will be friendly to cities and citizens, and men will travel democratically from town to town, visiting, trading, learning, sharing.

Whether nature takes its course, or whether it progresses by leaps, the future is full of promise for the golden age of cities.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Commission Studies Tennessee Constitution

Convention Suggested for Rewriting 1870 Document

THE constitution of the state of Tennessee, which has remained unchanged since it was ratified by a convention in 1870, is under study by a commission of seven members appointed by Governor Jim McCord in accordance with a resolution sponsored by him and passed by this year's legislature.

The commission is headed by William L. Frierson of Chattanooga, who was solicitor-general of the United States under Woodrow Wilson. The other six members—all lawyers—are Cecil Sims of Nashville, who is secretary, District Attorney-General Will Gerber of Memphis, Captain Mitchell Long of Knoxville, John Grey of Brownsville, Brad McGinness of Carthage, and Homer Goddard of Maryville, who is the only Republican.

At a meeting on September 17 in Nashville, following the initial session held in that city in May, the commission issued a formal statement which listed eight questions that were particularly under consideration.

These eight points are expressed as follows:

"1. Should the governor be elected for a term of four instead of two years? And if so what, if any, limit should be put on the number of successive elections for which he will be eligible?

"2. Should the treasurer and comptroller be elected for a term of four years, as in the case of the secretary of state, instead of two years as now? And should these three officers be elected by the people instead of by the legislature?

"3. Is the present rule of succession to governorship in the event of the death or resignation of the governor satisfactory?

"4. Should a majority instead of two-thirds of the members of each house of the legislature be a quorum? At present one-third of the members can by absenting themselves prevent a majority from doing business.

"5. Should the compensation of members of the legislature be increased? If so should this be done by increasing the present per diem of four dollars or by paying fixed salaries?

"6. Should the requirement of the present constitution that a poll tax be levied and that the payment of this tax be a prerequisite to the right to vote be eliminated?

"7. What change should be made in the present provision for amendments to the constitution?

"8. The most difficult questions and the ones to which we are giving the most intensive study are, what should be the constitutional provisions related to the subjects of taxation and county and city governments?"

The method of revision has been the cause of much thought and discussion. If by amendments they would have to be approved by two sessions of the legislature and then by vote of the people. This would mean that no amendments could become effective before November 1950. A constitutional convention, however, could be voted on by the people soon after the 1947 legislature should decide on such action. Two successive popular elections are required, one on the question of holding a convention and the other to elect delegates. Another question is whether such a convention would be a general one, with power to revise the entire constitution, or a limited one.

The Tennessee League of Women Voters, through Mrs. Tom Ragland, president, has urged the commission to recommend a convention, the abolition of the poll tax, more home rule for cities and counties, power to the legislature to establish a modern tax structure, and a more flexible amending process.

The final report of the commission is due not later than 60 days before the opening of the 1947 legislature.

Minnesota High Court Refuses Districting Aid

Legislative districts in Minnesota, which are still based on a 1913 apportionment act although the state constitution calls for redistricting every ten years, will not be changed by judicial action. The Minnesota Supreme Court, by a decision on September 21, unanimously declined to interfere with the legislature in this respect, although redistricting as specified in the highest law of the state is 22 years overdue.

The matter came before the court in the case of Jay W. Smith, a candidate for representative in the legislature, against Mike Holm, secretary of state and head of the state election administration.

Mr. Smith's district, the 33rd, in Minneapolis, is the largest in the state and has as many residents as fourteen Minnesota counties with five and a half times as many members of the legislature. He contended that his rights are prejudiced by the great disparity in population of the various districts and sought to void the 1913 apportionment act. He claimed that he would be elected illegally if chosen next year without a reapportionment, and so would all other members.

Mr. Smith had previously won a victory in the Ramsey County District Court, when Judge Gustavus Loevinger overruled a demurrer of the state attorney-general, J. A. A. Burnquist, on behalf of Secretary Holm, to the effect that Smith could not properly sue, that the court was without jurisdiction and that the members of the legislature should have been named instead of Holm.

The Supreme Court relied heavily on the doctrine of division of powers between legislature, judiciary and executive. It considered that it had done its duty when it passed upon the 1913 act, which it did in 1914, finding it constitutional. It refused to adopt the reasoning that the 1913 act could today have become unconstitutional by change of circumstances, such as shifts of population and passage of time since reapportionment became theoretically mandatory under the constitution. It recognized the failure of the legislature to act but said, "Division of powers leaves the legislature free from compulsion. Its judgment and discretion are its own to exercise or not—as its conscience permits."

The failure to reapportion is due largely to refusal of legislators from rural districts to permit urban districts, some of which have grown far beyond their 1913 status, to have representation in proportion to their population. Some indications of willingness to go part way in that direction are reported.

Revision of the constitution by amendment to provide redistricting methods of automatic or enforceable character is being discussed—including advocacy of a constitutional convention to consider this and other matters.

Reorganization and Postwar Plans for South Carolina

Representing almost two years of

study by an administrative staff and ten months of research and analysis by technical specialists, a report to the governor and legislature of South Carolina was made public in printed form by the Preparedness for Peace Commission[1] of that state prior to its replacement this year by the Research, Planning and Development Board.

The commission, created by a 1942 act of the legislature, included three members appointed by the Senate president, three by the speaker of the House and 24 by the governor, who was *ex officio* chairman.

The new board, created by the legislature at the suggestion of the commission, consists of five members appointed by the governor with Senate approval; three are from specified districts. It supplants not only the Preparedness for Peace Commission but also eight other boards and commissions. It is attempting to carry out some of the recommendations and aims of the former commission; other phases and recommendations are pending before the legislature.

In 682 pages the report presents a mass of analytical data and detailed discussions and recommendations on three main subjects—organization and administration of the state government, taxation, and a peace time economy for the state. Technical research has been done by the Public Administration Service of Chicago.

In transmitting the report Roger C. Peace, chairman of the executive committee, stated that it had not been possible for the full commission to consider all the details of the report, but that a large majority of the recommendations made were so vital to the future progress and well-being of the state, in the opinion of the commission, that they should be passed on to the legislature, with a recommendation that it appoint a joint committee to consider the report and submit proposed legislation based thereon.

State Reorganization

The proposed reorganization of the state government would simplify financial administration by eliminating six of the eleven separate agencies now engaged in that field and set up a department of finance headed by a director to be appointed by the governor on a merit basis; the director in turn would appoint and supervise the heads of three divisions—accounts and control, budget, and purchases and property. Existing financial agencies retained would be the comptroller-general and state treasurer (both being elective constitutional officers); finance committee (reconstituted to include, besides the governor, the heads of the financial committees of the Senate and House instead of the comptroller and treasurer); the tax commission, appointed by the governor (an administrative director thereto is recommended); and the tax board of review, appointed by the governor. A state commission on local government finance, to be appointed by the governor, and a department of that name headed by a director appointed by the commission, is also recommended.

Creation of a department of personnel management is recommended, to be headed by a director appointed by the governor from a list of qualified applicants submitted by a personnel advisory board of three members, appointed by the governor for staggered six-year terms. The board would also prescribe rules and regulations, pass upon classification and compensation plans submitted by the director and make investigations concerning the enforcement of proposed legislation for a state merit system.

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[1] See the REVIEW, May 1944, p. 251.

Other recommendations as to state organization include:

A department of industrial relations under a director appointed by the governor. It would supersede the state department of labor, the unemployment compensation commission and the industrial commission. Associated therewith would be an industrial relations board of three members appointed by the governor, to hear unemployment and workmen's compensation appeals and act as labor conciliators.

Reduction of the public service commission to three members appointed by the governor from the state at large, instead of seven members each appointed from a congressional district by the legislature; an administrative director to be appointed by the commission.

Reduction of the board of public welfare to five members appointed by the governor instead of seven appointed by the legislature from congressional districts.

A department of agriculture under a board of nine members appointed by the governor for three-year overlapping terms; elimination of the elective (constitutional) commissioner of agriculture.

A department of conservation and a state conservation commission of five members appointed by the governor; the commission to appoint a director. Four existing boards and the office of chief game warden would be abolished.

A highway commission of five members appointed by the governor, instead of the present commission of fourteen members chosen from judicial districts by local legislative delegations.

A department of public safety, with the director under the governor, to take over the state highway patrol, the state constabulary and miscellaneous functions now in the departments of insurance and agriculture.

A five-member board of health under the governor instead of a committee of the state medical, pharmaceutical and dental associations plus the attorney-general and comptroller-general.

A survey of education in the state, and certain changes as to the state board of education, including appointment of the superintendent by the board instead of election by the voters as now constitutionally required.

Most of the changes are kept within the present constitution and six out of eight elective state officers are thus retained, but a constitutional convention for thorough revision is suggested.

Other Proposals

As to taxation, the repeal of various minor or nuisance taxes, the classification of property for taxation and improvements in assessment and collection methods are among the recommendations. It is urged that the legislature appoint a special joint interim committee, including lay members, to overhaul completely the tax structure and methods of its administration.

Recommendations concerning a peacetime economy include reform of the tenant farmer situation, improvement in rural living facilities, vocational education, regulation of hours, wages, child labor and labor unions, conservation of resources, state funds for aid in local public works planning, a health survey, extension of recreation areas, development of local industries, greater economic opportunity for the large Negro population (43 per cent), employment for veterans, development of power resources, etc. The work of the commission along these and other lines is continuing.

Fourteen Legislatures Aid State and Local Planning

In the recent sessions of 44 state legislatures planning commissions were established or authorized and other legislative aid given to state, regional and local planning, in fourteen states, according to the American Society of Planning Officials.

Legislation in Michigan calls for formation of regional planning commissions with boundaries comprising a homogeneous area, based on extent of urban development; existence of special agricultural, conservation or other rural problems; uniformity of social or economic interests; or the existence of regional planning problems. Regional planning commissions may accept aid from governmental agencies to accomplish their objectives.

Virginia also authorized the creation of regional planning commissions by the governing body of any municipality or county or any group of political subdivisions.

Arkansas established a fifteen-member state resources and development commission by consolidating eight existing state agencies.

Minnesota created a ten-member state resources commission. Also established by the Minnesota legislature was a postwar council to stimulate and initiate plans within the state to secure a high level of gainful employment.

A new state agency was set up by South Carolina to conduct a statewide planning program and a statewide program for the stimulation of economic activities. (See also page 504.)

Rhode Island established a nonpartisan commission of ten members, to coordinate and execute postwar programs. Every postwar project proposed by the state planning board is to be submitted to the commission for investigation.

Creation of a state development commission by Vermont and a division of progress and industry by Washington completes the list of new state planning agencies. Massachusetts and New York also added to their existing planning legislation.

States passing laws about county planning were Colorado, Michigan, Minnesota and North Carolina. The Michigan law provides for the creation of a county planning commission to be composed of five to eleven members and representing the major interests of the county, such as agriculture, recreation, transportation, industry and commerce.

City planning laws were passed by California, Minnesota and Utah. The Utah law authorizes cities and towns to create planning commissions. The other laws provide for amending existing planning acts relating to cities.

More State Laws on Urban Redevelopment

Recent information from the American Society of Planning Officials raises to seventeen the number of states adopting urban redevelopment legislation this year instead of eleven as reported in this department in October (page 453). They are grouped as follows: (1) Colorado, Indiana, Maryland, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin gave power to carry out or supervise urban redevelopment to state or local governments; (2) California, Connecticut, Illinois and Michigan gave such power to both private enterprise and government (including public housing bodies); (3) Arkansas, Florida and Tennessee made housing authorities responsible for supervision of redevelopment; (4) Alabama, Massachusetts and Minnesota gave private enterprise sole responsibility.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Voters of the city of **Old Town, Maine,** have approved a council-manager charter previously enacted by the state legislature subject to a popular referendum on September 10, 1945. It takes effect January 7, 1946, election of the council to be held previously on December 10. The council will consist of seven members elected at large, with staggered three-year terms, and will appoint the city manager, city attorney, school board, water district trustees and associate members of the board of registration; other appointments are made by the manager. Elective officials are merely the council, and a warden and ward clerk chosen by the voters of each of five wards established for election purposes.

Fairfield, Maine, on October 15, ratified by a vote of 251 to 21 an act of the 1945 legislature to give it the town manager plan.

Orient and **Reed Plantation,** both in **Maine,** have recently been placed on the official city manager list of the International City Managers' Association. The present manager of Reed Plantation is also manager of three other towns.

A committee has been appointed by the town meeting in **Lebanon, New Hampshire,** to study the town manager plan.

The Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court on October 8 upheld by a four-to-one vote the decision of Justice Daniel F. Imrie that the petition to abolish the manager plan in **Schenectady,** filed by the so-called People's League for Government—American Style, was insufficient and illegal. Permission was granted to carry the case to the Court of Appeals.

Voters of **Beckley, West Virginia,** on October 2 approved a charter commission. Strong sentiment for the council-manager plan is reported.

A citizens' committee for the city manager form of government, composed of representatives of civic organizations in **Sarasota, Florida,** has held several meetings to organize a campaign for the manager plan to be voted on in November. Representatives of twenty organizations were present at the first meeting.

Corbin, Kentucky, will vote in November on adoption of the manager plan or retention of the commission plan.

The Rotary Club of **Nevada, Missouri,** recently held a discussion of the manager plan, which under the new Missouri constitution could be adopted by a majority vote at an election called pursuant to a petition of 25 per cent of the number of votes cast at the last general city election.

Spanish Fork, Utah, will vote in November on the question of obtaining a new charter. The city clerk has expressed interest in the manager plan collecting documents describing it.

Voters of **Corpus Christi, Texas,** on October 6 approved charter amendments changing the city government from the commission to the manager plan. The unofficial vote on the amendment establishing the office of city manager was 3,236 to 1,887. Only five precincts out of 21 gave majorities against the change. Six other amendments, all of which were adopted, give the manager authority to renegotiate contracts, to appoint members of the Zoning and Planning Commission and city employees; they also provide for a park board, for an industrial and airport board and for extension of the city limits by vote of the people in the city.

In **Pittsburg, Texas,** a Committee for Civic Improvement has been organized to petition for an election on the manager plan and conduct a vigorous campaign in its behalf.

A charter commission in **Greenville,**

Texas, is studying various forms of city government, including the council-manager plan.

Interest in making a change from the commission plan to the council-manager plan is developing in **Cisco, Texas.**

The *Evening Outlook* of **Santa Monica, California,** is engaged in an effort to bring about charter reform in that city, which now has the commission plan. It is particularly interested in the council-manager plan.

Kansas Municipal Electric Plants Serve Farms

City-owned utilities in Kansas supplied 3,835 of the 42,571 electrified farms of that state in 1944, an increase of 214 over 1943. Ninety-seven city-owned utilities reported farm customers in 1944 compared with 94 in 1943.

Only 43 city-owned electric systems reported no farm customers. Twelve city systems reported rural electrification associations as wholesale customers. City-owned utilities are planning expansion of their facilities in response to demands from rural customers, notably the plants in Coffeyville, Chanute, Holton, Osawatomie and Horton.

The city-owned lines in rural areas averaged 3.6 farm customers per mile in 1944, compared with 2.8 in 1943. These farm customers used an average of 1,099 kilowatt hours per year for which they paid 4.4 cents per kilowatt hour. In 1943 only 855 kilowatt hours were used at an average cost of 5.4 cents per kilowatt hour.

REA cooperatives served 17,636 electrified farms in 1944, an increase of almost 1,500 in one year. Privately-owned utilities supplied 21,100 farms with electricity, an increase of 520, as reported by the State Corporation Commission.

Of the 126,738 occupied farms in Kansas, in 1944, 33.6 per cent are now electrified, compared with 29.6 per cent in 1943.

JOHN G. STUTZ, *Executive Director*
League of Kansas Municipalities

Researcher's Digest

GRA Announces New Program

President Gravlin Lists Aims, Publication Plans

WRITING in the first number of *GRA Notes and References,* Leslie M. Gravlin, president of the **Governmental Research Association** and director of the Hartford Governmental Research Institute, comments on the association's new and enlarged program approved by its Board of Trustees for 1945-1946.

The September issue of *Notes and References* inaugurates a new publication to appear monthly. This will be a four-page professional bulletin featuring a lead article on a current topic in the field, a Washington news column summarizing federal legislation and national activities affecting local and state government, a section on activities of research organizations, as well as a column on individual professional activities. *Special Bulletin Series,* an information sheet, will be issued as occasion requires.

A new edition of the *GRA Directory* will be available early in 1946. Two special publications are in process: A twelve-page pamphlet describing the purposes, history and work of the GRA and another to be titled *How to Organize a Citizen Research Agency.* Material for the latter has been gathered from the experiences of GRA members.

The organization is concerned over ways and means of developing a "supply of trained men and women for the citizen research movement," says Mr. Gravlin. It is looking into the possibilities of collaborating with schools of government and public administration and is planning a series of regional conferences, to be attended by representatives of the GRA and faculty members of colleges and universities, to "acquaint the latter more fully with the constructive purposes of agencies such as those represented in the GRA, in order to make careers in citizen research as appealing as those in other sciences, professions and businesses." Consideration is being given to sponsorship of "resident fellowships" to be awarded to outstanding candidates for advanced degrees in government and public administration.

The office of the GRA is building a research library. It seeks ultimately to become a clearing house for research and statistical information desired by its membership. A program for the establishment of field contacts is being prepared by the secretary, who hopes to visit each agency. Other GRA officials plan visits to organizations in their regions.

An Economic Survey of the Los Angeles Area

The **John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation,** concerned with the problems of the Los Angeles region and with the development of plans to make it a better place in which to live and work, has published *An Economic Survey of the Los Angeles Area.*[1] Authors of the study are Frank L. Kidner, director of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of California in Berkeley, and Dr. Philip Neff, research economist. Miss Anne M. Mumford, executive secretary of the foundation, is a member of its Economic Committee which assisted the authors.

The study covers the development of the Los Angeles economy, regional economic specialization in 1940, prewar trends in the community's economy, the effects of the war on its economy, postwar employment, comparative stability of the community, and implications and policy.

Annual Legislative Sessions

This fall Connecticut voters were asked to decide whether the state's legislative sessions should be changed from a five-month session every two years to an approximately three-months period every year. The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, Inc.,** Carter W. Atkins, executive director, devoted one issue of *Your State and Local Government—News and Views* to a discussion of the pros and cons of annual sessions. Criticizing the legislature for its failure to improve legislative procedure, the council comments that "anyone who votes for the proposed amendment should at the same time commit himself to full use of his influence to bring about those reforms in our legislative procedure which with annual sessions would be more imperatively needed than ever."

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Why Not Cooperation?

"The proposed 21 per cent over-all tax rate increase for 1946 warrants joint budget action," claims the **Citizens Bureau of Milwaukee.** The bureau, whose new executive director is Norman N. Gill, points out that the five governing bodies which determine Milwaukee's local tax rate — Milwaukee Common Council, Milwaukee Board of School Directors, Board of Vocational and Adult Education, County Board of Supervisors and the Metropolitan Sewerage Commission—have never sat down together to discuss their expenditures. It suggests that joint invitations from Mayor John L. Bohn and County Board Chairman Lawrence J. Timmerman would initiate this procedure. The bureau points out that the five governments have had two experiences recently in joint action on a uniform cost of living adjustment in all salaries and a uniform-wage schedule submitted by a joint committee.

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[1] Haynes Foundation, Los Angeles, 1945. 151 pp. $2.

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Philadelphia Problems Studied

The **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** has received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for a study of police administration in that city in relation to Negroes. Research on the project is under the direction of Dr. Thorsten Sellin, of the Sociology Department at the University of Pennsylvania, who will be assisted by Dr. G. Gordon Brown, formerly of Temple University.

The bureau is also investigating the probable future costs of all city operations, including debt service, for the Philadelphia City Planning Commission. Bruce Smith and Dr. Carl E. McCombs, of the Institute of Public Administration, and Robert E. Pickup, executive director of the Providence Governmental Research Bureau, are assisting Dr. William C. Beyer, director of the bureau, and his staff.

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Sad Financial Picture

"Financial recovery lags in Boston," says the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau** in a recent bulletin. While other cities "have cleaned up their deficits, balanced their budgets, and are now able to show an operating surplus," Boston still has an unbalanced budget and has failed to eliminate its deficit. "Boston's failure to achieve financial recovery under the stimulus of war economy makes for an uneasiness over the postwar outlook," claims the bureau. "An unbalanced budget, a persistent deficit and an excessive tax rate all contribute to financial weakness and uncertainty."

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Subway Riders Pay Dividends

"The city is receiving a greatly increased rental from the Broad Street Subway as a result of the two-cent rental payable for each passenger in excess of 52 million a year," reports *Citizens' Business* of the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.** Basic yearly rental for the subway—built by the city and leased to private operators—is $900,000; rental for 1945 (year ended June 30) amounted to $2,282,586.

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Police in Rhode Island

The latest report in a series issued by the **Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council,** Robert M. Goodrich, executive director, deals with *Law Enforcement in Rhode Island.* It was prepared by Bruce Smith of the Institute of Public Administration, which organization has been conducting a survey of governmental affairs in Rhode Island for the council.

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Taxing Intangibles

"The Rate and Base of the Intangibles Tax and Missouri's Economic Future," is discussed by the **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute** in its bulletin *Mind Your Business.* Victor D. Brannon, assistant director, is in charge of bureau affairs in the absence of Director Charlton F. Chute, on leave.

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Salaries

The **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations,** Norman MacDonald, executive director, has issued its compilation of *Municipal Salaries in Massachusetts 1944* (31 pages). Tables cover salaries in cities, in towns over 5,000, in towns under 5,000, salary adjustments for 1943, 1944 and 1945, and a cost of living index.

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Grants-in-Aid

The **Bureau of Business Research of Pennsylvania State College** has published *State Grants-in-Aid* (41 pp.), prepared by Randall S. Stout, instructor in economics at the college.

Teachers and Schools

"Relationship of Teachers' Salaries to School Improvement," is the subject of the September 27 issue of the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research's** *City Problems* (6 pp.). The bulletin was prepared by staff members Lennox L. Moak, executive director, Harlan W. Gilmore and Val C. Morgensen.

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Checking the Budget

The **Bureau of Municipal Research of Des Moines,** of which Glenn N. Hoffman is secretary, has been studying the proposed 1946 budget of the city's four taxing bodies — city, county, schools and hospital. It has submitted a number of proposed changes.

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Public Works

"Public Works and Private Housing" are discussed by the **Duluth Governmental Research Bureau** in its September bulletin. Harry Reed is executive secretary.

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Public Utilities

"Future Management of Three City-Owned Utilities" is the subject of a four-page mimeographed study made by the **Municipal League of Seattle,** C. A. Crosser, executive secretary. The study is informational only.

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Stream Pollution

"The abatement of stream pollution is probably the most expensive, technical and involved enterprise that Pennsylvania municipalities have ever been called upon to undertake and finance," says the **Pennsylvania Economy League,** Western Division, in its latest publication, *Stream Pollution Abatement as It Concerns Political Subdivisions in Pennsylvania* (16 pp. mimeo.). The bulletin deals more specifically with municipalities in Allegheny County. The league's *Newsletter* for September 1945 is a digest of the larger study.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

'Get Out the Vote' Campaigns Conducted

Flyers and Rallies Are Used to Offset Apathy

BUSY as the proverbial bee were local civic groups throughout the nation as election day approached. In New York State alone dozens of citizen organizations strove to overcome the "off-year" apathy of the voters and secure a large registration and vote.

One of the most active of these groups was the **New York League of Women Voters.** Both state and local organizations, though strictly nonpartisan, exerted every effort to educate the voter and "get out the vote."

"The Big Three for Good Government" was a four-page flyer which the **New York City League of Women Voters** distributed in apartment houses, at meetings and on street corners. The "Big Three" were REGISTER in your election district, ENROLL in a political party and VOTE intelligently. The flyer listed voting requirements and methods, described the proportional representation system of election by which the city selects its Council, gave pros and cons on the six constitutional amendments and one proposition on the ballot with its recommendations where such had been made. Its last page listed the city officers to be chosen with their duties, terms and salaries. (The league makes no recommendations on candidates.)

The **Metropolitan Evening League of Women Voters,** the business and professional women's group in the New York City League, devoted its October meeting to an airing of the views of the three political groups contesting the city election. Questions on such pertinent matters as the five-cent fare, education, housing, social welfare, veterans, were asked of representatives of the candidates with the audience participating in the discussion. The meeting was held jointly with the **American Women's Association.**

Prior to the primary election, the **Buffalo League of Women Voters** conducted a street corner interview. Thirty-five per cent of those questioned said they had never voted in a primary. The same percentage intimated they did not intend to vote this year. The **Geneva League** as well as other local leagues throughout the state distributed election flyers at street corners. The **Rensselaer County League** had the mayor, assemblymen, and county chairmen of all parties as guests at a dinner meeting where the county chairmen spoke and answered questions.

The **Citizens Union of New York City,** whose secretary is George H. Hallett, Jr., distributed a hundred thousand copies of its *Voters Directory,* which lists all candidates in the city election, describes their records and qualifications, declares some endorsed qualified and preferred, or qualified.

The **Long Beach** (New York) **Citizens Union,** of which Albert A. Arditti is chairman, has endorsed five candidates for the first Council under the council-manager plan which goes into effect January 1. The union has been publishing a column in the weekly *Long Island Independent* in which it has endeavored to acquaint citizens with the principles of the council-manager plan and to stress the need for a capable council to appoint the first city manager and get the city off to a good start. Featured in the column were directions on how to vote the P. R. ballot since proportional representation will be used—for the first time—to elect the council.

The **Hamilton County** (Ohio) **Good Government League** distributed widely a postal card containing directions for registering. The subject for its pre-election luncheon was "Where Is Cincinnati Going? Forward or Back?"

The **Cincinnati City Charter Committee,** of which Forest Frank is executive director, supported a list of candidates for the city council, as it has done ever since the manager plan was adopted in that city. One feature of its election campaign was a "Presentation Luncheon for the Charter Candidates." Another was a series of broadcasts by its candidates.

One of the many activities of the **Citizens League of Detroit,** led by its executive secretary, William P. Lovett, was the placing of its representatives in city election booths as watchers.

The **Citizens League of Cleveland,** whose new director is John E. Bebout, issued its 47th annual report on candidates, published a list of voting requirements and listed places of registration for Cleveland and its suburban communities.

The Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) has issued the 25th edition of its *Voters Directory,* this year jointly with the **Allegheny County League of Women Voters.**

County Civic Groups Seek Home Rule Charter

Banding together to secure a new charter for Buchanan County under the provisions of the new Missouri constitution, some 50 civic groups of the county and St. Joseph are circulating petitions to place the election of a charter commission on the ballot. G. Keyes Page, executive secretary of the **St. Joseph Citizens Good Government Association,** reports that the necessary 7,500 signatures to the petitions are fast being secured.

That association was the original sponsor of the movement, sending letters to all civic groups in the community seeking their cooperation. According to Mr. Page the response was "gratifying and indicative of a very real public interest in the possible benefits of home rule to the county." Blanket endorsements and, in most cases, a valuable contribution in man and woman hours, have been received from the League of Women Voters, Senior and Junior Chambers of Commerce, Central Labor Council (A. F. of L.), Ministerial Alliance of the Council of Churches, Parent and Teachers Councils of both St. Joseph and Buchanan County (with 53 affiliated units), Rotary, Kiwanis and Lions Clubs, Buchanan County Farm Bureau, St. Joseph Real Estate Board, American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Business and Professional Women's Club, Women's Division of the Chamber of Commerce, American Association of University Women, Junior League, St. Joseph Chapter of the Missouri State Teachers Association, and approximately 25 other local clubs and civic groups.

A county-wide **Advisory Committee**, composed of representatives from these organizations, will act not only in securing signatures to the necessary petitions but throughout the deliberations of the commission and the campaign for adoption of a charter.

The local press, including two dailies, a weekly journal of predominantly rural circulation and a labor publication, is solidly behind the movement.

The Citizens Good Government Association is sponsoring two county government essay contests—one for the high school students of the city schools and an identical but separate one for students in rural high schools. Three prizes will be awarded in each contest: first prize will be a $100 victory bond, second a $50 victory bond, and third a cash award of $10.

Education on the Manager Plan

Following through on its *Report to the Citizens,* a survey of the government of the city,[1] the **Augusta** (Georgia) **Citizens Union** has published a four-page appendix supplementing the report's recommendation for adequate executive authority either through a mayor or a manager with, "the weight of evidence" in favor of "the latter solution." The appendix lists questions and answers on the manager plan and gives references on additional material.

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Reapportionment Again

In announcing its dinner meeting on "The Needed Change in Representation in the State Senate," the **Los Angeles Municipal League** comments: "For a long time we have heard the cry, Los Angeles County has one senator for 35 per cent of the state's population. Two senators represent the majority of the population in California and 38 senators represent the other half. Is this democracy?"

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Civil Service

The **Citizens' Civil Service Association of Illinois,** in a release entitled "Civil Service in the 64th General Assembly," finds that "the idea of qualification and training as requisites for appointment to civil service in Illinois received scant consideration." A brief summary of the legislation introduced is presented.

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Merit Rating

In the hope that a rating system can be installed under the Personnel Commission, to be used in connection with the 1946 city budget, the **Springfield** (Massachusetts) **Taxpayers Association,** Henry W. Connor, executive director, has prepared a plan of municipal salary increases based on merit ratings. The city adopted a centralized personnel plan several years ago. Positions have been classified and minimum and maximum salaries established for them. A rating plan would provide an equitable method of raising salaries on a merit basis.

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[1] Made by Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed for the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League.

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Public Works

Now that the state may proceed with plans for much needed new buildings, as well as the rehabilitation of present ones, **the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey,** Edward Staples, executive director, has suggested to the General Assembly the need for discarding the old haphazard method of providing building funds, with department heads competing for available funds, in favor of a modern, businesslike plan. It has suggested that the following considerations be made:

1. That great care be exercised to determine that every building project undertaken actually is needed;
2. That provisions be made for over-all long range plans to meet the state's building needs from the standpoint of the state as a whole;
3. That a system of priorities be set up to determine which building projects come first.
4. That the state receive a full dollar's worth of value for every dollar spent;
5. That sound provisions be set up for maintenance.

All of its members and a 50 per cent cross-section of the city have been questioned by the **Denison** (Texas) **Chamber of Commerce** regarding their views on the chamber's suggestion for a city program of public works. The questionnaire listed a number of proposed civic improvements with a place for a "yes" or "no" vote, then provided space for three additional suggestions. Returns were made by 532 persons, 98 per cent of whom favored some kind of a city plan. In addition to rating eight items in the order of their preference, these persons suggested nearly two thousand additional proposals. The chamber comments that "many of the suggestions touched on phases of community life that might otherwise have been overlooked and that we are justified in classifying as excellent."

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What Is a "Civic Club"?

The **U. S. Chamber of Commerce** seeks from its local chambers, for "a fellow-manager," a definition of "civic club." "What is it in your city?", it asks.

* * *

A Junior State

Patterning their organization after a state government, the **Junior State of Altgeld Gardens,** a public housing project in Chicago, has elected a state assembly, governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state and treasurer. Also chosen at the polls were commissioners of music, arts, dancing, athletics, woodcraft, newspaper and labor. Representation in the assembly is based on the arts and crafts interests of the citizens.

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Program for Action

An ambitious program of studies by committees is being carried out by the **Citizens' League of Port Huron,** of which Miss Margaret Elliott is executive secretary. Among matters to be studied and reported on are garbage and sewage disposal plant, county health unit, taxes and assessments of both city and county, city planning, recreation program, water works, county roads and the police, fire and sheriff departments. Results of the studies will be reported in the League's publication, *The Citizen,* and by way of public forums and the radio.

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A Chairman Reports

The annual report of Albert A. Arditti as chairman of the **Long Beach** (New York) **Citizens Union,** covering the organization's first three years, presents an amazing array of accomplishments, culminating in the securing of charter amendments to provide the manager plan and proportional representation for the election of the council.

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New Organizations

The **Illinois League of Women Voters** reports the birth of two new local leagues—in Thornton Township and Hancock County (Carthage). Two new college leagues have also been added to the list—Mundelein College and the University of Illinois.

The **St. Clair Flats Association** and the **Harsen Island Improvement Association,** both in existence for over 25 years, have merged into a new group to be known as the **Harsen-Island-St. Clair Flats Association.** The new group, which covers a community located about 50 miles from Detroit, is mapping out a program of community benefits for which it will work. Ninety per cent of its members are summer residents only.

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Strictly Personal

The Seattle Municipal League pays tribute to the memory of **James A. Haight,** well known attorney and civic leader, who died recently at the age of 86. Mr. Haight was one of the incorporators of the league in 1914 and served two terms as president, in 1913 and in 1923. Ten years later the league made him an honorary life member.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

France Uses P. R. in Paris and National Elections

Norway Revives Its Use
Mons. Ryan, Friend of P. R.

THE first postwar national elections held throughout France on October 21 to set up a constituent assembly were by a party list system of proportional representation. The municipal elections in Paris on April 28 were also under this system, though the municipal and departmental elections elsewhere in France were held on the old plan of plurality elections with a second balloting when no one received a clear majority at the first.

The national and Paris elections were the first public elections ever held in France under a true system of P. R. From 1919 to 1927 the French Chamber of Deputies was elected by a system improperly called P. R., whose principal effects were those of the majority system though it did assign some seats to minorities when no ticket polled an absolute majority. Just before the war the Chamber had voted to adopt P. R. but the decision was never acted on by the upper house or put into effect.

The much publicized dispute between General DeGaulle and certain labor and leftist leaders as to the method to be used in this first parliamentary election since the country's liberation was not concerned with the principle of P. R., which was accepted by both sides, but with certain details of the system. The leftists wanted the fractions of quotas of votes left unused in the several districts added up over the whole country for the assignment of additional seats to nation-wide lists, as in Czechoslovakia, so as to make the total representation of parties almost exactly proportional. The plan actually used made the fairest possible distribution of seats to parties within large districts considered separately, which is the usual procedure.

The voter was given no choice of individual candidates, such as he has in many list system countries, but had to accept the order of nomination on the petitions of the list he chose to vote for. If a party won three seats in a district, the first three candidates on its list as nominated were elected.

We go to press too early to give the results of the national elections. The results of the municipal council elections in Paris were summarized by *Free France* as follows:

Paris Municipal Council Elections, 1945

Parties	Councilmen Elected	Elected in 1935
Communist	27	8
Popular Democrat	13	3
Republican Democratic Union	13	18
Socialist	12	5
Resistance	8	—
Radical Socialist	6	5
Democratic Alliance	4	20
Independent Socialist	1	—
Miscellaneous candidates	6	—

Nine women were among the councilmen chosen.

These first P. R. elections were held under decrees of the provisional government. The constituent assembly just elected will determine whether the use of P. R. will be continued and extended to other elections.

A P. R. Election in Norway

Norway appears to have been the first of the Allied countries over-run by Germany to hold a national election since its liberation. It elected its parliament on October 8 by a party list system of P. R. similar to the one in use before the war. The last previous election had been in 1936.

Last June Norway's four major parties—Labor, Conservative, Liberal and Farmer—issued a common program to serve as a basis of cooperation in the rebuilding of Norway, stressing economic cooperation as the keynote. They agreed, nevertheless, to present separate lists of candidates and to remain free to express differences on matters not covered in the program.

The results, still not quite complete, as reported by the Norwegian desk of the Office of War Information and the Norwegian Consulate in New York, were as follows:

ELECTIONS OF NORWEGIAN STORTING

(One-Chamber Parliament)

Party	1945	1936
Labor	76	70
Conservative	26	36
Liberal	21	23
Communist	11	0
Farmer	10	18
Christian People	6	2
Others	0	1
Total	150	150

With a considerable shifting of sentiment, because of the experiences of the country during the war, the changes were not exaggerated as they often are in plurality elections and every large group of voters received substantial representation. The Labor party won a bare majority of the seats. The large basis of agreement already reached with three of the other parties should make an effective government reasonably simple.

P. R. elections for municipal councils have been scheduled for November 19.

Other liberated countries which will probably soon be reviving the use of P. R. for national elections include Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium and Austria. Finland has already held a national P. R. election, as reported in this department in May.

Monsignor John A. Ryan

Monsignor John A. Ryan, former professor of moral theology at the Catholic University and Trinity College in Washington, D. C., who died at the age of 76 on September 18, was not only a pioneer in the field of minimum wage legislation and one of the foremost leaders of his church and the nation in the whole field of social reform, but an enlightened exponent of the principles and machinery of democratic government. He was a member of the Advisory Council of the Proportional Representation League from 1925 till the time of his death.

When P. R. was under attack in Cleveland in 1925 he sent the following statement, which was used effectively in that year's successful defense campaign:

"The news that an attempt will be made to repeal the P. R. provisions of the Cleveland city charter distresses but does not surprise me. Such a move was to be expected from the political bosses and other representatives of powerful special interests. P. R. is the fairest method of electing officials that has yet been devised, for it enables every minority, indeed every voter, to exercise some influence in the choice of officials. Particularly surprising will it be if the wage earners or the groups that suffer from racial or religious intolerance shall be misled into voting away any advantages that they can enjoy under proportional representation. I cannot believe that they will thus betray their dearest interests."

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Agriculture Department Studies Rural Debt

Ohio County Survey Is First of Similar Reports on States

THE Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, has issued a report (mimeographed, 46 pp.) entitled, *Local Government Debt in Rural Counties of Ohio.* It is a study of 46 rural counties of the state, and it covers the period from 1910 to 1942. It was undertaken as a "pilot" study with the expectation that similar studies of other states would follow.

The subject matter of the report is restricted to a consideration of the indebtedness of all local governmental units providing services to farms and farm communities. The interrelationships of public borrowing to other aspects of local finance, such as expenditures and taxes, are secondary to the major purpose of the study.

Mr. A. H. Tostlebe, author of the report, discovered that gross public indebtedness in the 46 counties rose from $9,000,000 in 1910 to a peak of almost $56,000,000 in 1924, representing a per capita increase from $8.01 to $51. By 1942, however, it had decreased to $19,000,000, or $17.11 per capita. From 1910 to 1930 county and township borrowing was primarily for the purpose of road improvement, while the rapid increase in school district indebtedness occurred during the decade following 1914 as a result of the movement for school consolidation. After 1930 most borrowing was for welfare and refunding, but township debt practically disappeared.

The author observed that expansion of local government credit frequently occurred in postwar periods and was especially noticeable after the Civil War and World War I. Excesses in expenditures as part of the resulting "boom" contributed in part to the subsequent collapse of credit and the depression.

Wiser policies are recommended by the author for the present postwar period. "Through foresight and planning, the construction of new public facilities may be timed so that in many instances the borrowing and spending connected therewith will benefit the general economy, and so that the local community will benefit as well in lower costs of loans and of the facilities they finance. In recent years the desirability has been emphasized of timing public works so that the bulk of them can be financed and built when private industry is least active. To the extent that this can be done it helps to regularize employment and markets."

Federal Aid May Strengthen County Highway Departments

In the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944, the magazine *Better Roads* sees an opportunity for county highway departments to strengthen their position materially. In the first place, the act specifically requires that appropriate local officials shall be consulted in the selection of federal-aid secondary system roads. The Public Roads Administration permits the details regarding such consultation to be arranged as best suits the needs of the states. The states remain the sole points of contact of the Public Roads Administration.

Inquiry by the magazine indicated that apparently county officials actually were being consulted in most cases. A survey of thirteen representative counties revealed, however, that most plans were in early preliminary stages. Nevertheless, it showed that a rather wide variation in kinds of work was contemplated. Some counties planned to raise the grades on trunk routes, some to replace bridges, and some to provide for a gravel-surfaced road as a minimum for every rural home. The officials of the thirteen counties expressed varied opinions as to the effectiveness of the program in their communities in providing employment in the immediate postwar period.

Jefferson County Consolidation Study Progresses

The proposal to establish an investigating committee to consider governmental consolidation in Jefferson County, Alabama, has been enacted into law.[1] Appointments to the commission now are being made by the county and by the cities of Birmingham and Bessemer. Representatives of various patriotic, educational, professional, industrial and labor organizations in the county will be represented on the committee as specified in the act.

Texas Counties to Acquire Abandoned Army Airfields

The state of Texas has established machinery whereby its counties, as well as its municipalities, may acquire airfields as they are abandoned by the Army. Assistance in the acquisition of such fields will be one of the major objectives of the newly-created State Aeronautics Commission. It will assist counties and municipalities also in financing and locating new airfields and in receiving and distributing any federal funds available for such purposes.

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[1] See the REVIEW, September 1945, p. 421.

County Road Legislation Surveyed

The Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944 has stimulated a number of states to modify their highway laws in order to qualify to receive the grants.

Better Roads, a magazine devoted to highway improvement, has conducted a survey of highway legislation in the 44 state legislatures which met in regular session in 1945. Its published findings reveal that a substantial number of states reported that no additional legislation was necessary. Many states, however, passed amending legislation. Much of the legislation affected county and township highway construction activities.

Five states permitted their local units to levy additional taxes to match federal funds. Kansas, in addition, authorized counties to issue road bonds up to 2 per cent of the county's taxable valuation if approved by 60 per cent of the voters. Adjustments in the amount or method of distribution of highway funds to counties and townships were made in a dozen or more states. Several states enacted legislation which shifted additional road mileage from township to county and from county to state highway systems. Two states authorized counties to use state highway machinery for construction and emergency purposes.

Maryland enacted the broadest authorization to its subdivisions in regard to highways: "The counties, the city of Baltimore, and the cities, municipalities, towns, special taxing areas and other state and local subdivisions of government in the state of Maryland are hereby authorized and empowered to do any and all acts and things necessary to comply with the terms, conditions and provisions [of the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944]." The subdivisions were empowered to borrow without regard to the debt limits and to tax in addition to taxing powers theretofore conferred.

Missouri Counties Continue Self-Analysis

Numerous Missouri counties are continuing to conduct surveys and to engage in other activities in efforts to improve their governmental structure and procedures.

The charter commission of St. Louis County, which is engaged in drafting a home rule charter for that county, has requested the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis to conduct the necessary research.

In Buchanan County an Advisory Committee,[1] composed of representatives of some 50 endorsing groups, is campaigning for the appointment of a commission to draft a county home rule charter under the provisions of the new Missouri constitution. The group is circulating petitions to place the question on the ballot.

In cooperation with the University of Denver, analytical studies of county administration and finance have been completed in Pettis, Pemiscot, Cape Girardeau, and Marion Counties, Missouri. These studies were conducted by University of Denver graduate students specializing in government.

Jasper County, in cooperation with the Jasper County Tax Economy Association, has installed modernized tax accounting and collection procedures. Identified as the first major revision of tax accounting and collection procedures since the county was organized, the improvements anticipated include (1) savings of $3,000 to $5,000 annually, (2) increased speed and accuracy in preparing tax records, (3) better service to the taxpayer, and (4) generally improved property tax administration.

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[1] See also p. 513 this issue.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Local Units Mark Time on Public Works

Await Action by Congress on Its Federal Aid Policy

WHEN this column for last month was prepared, the Congress had just reconvened and aside from the President's message there was little indication of what cooperation the state and local governments might expect from Washington to meet their reconversion problems. During the month little of an encouraging nature has developed, and the majority of localities with "postwar plans" are still marking time, waiting for clarification of federal policy on a number of fundamentals affecting local action.

It must be recalled that two considerations underlie most of the local postwar programs: First, to provide in advance the detailed specifications etc. for sorely needed local improvements whose acquisition was necessarily deferred during the war period; and second, through this public construction to help "take up the slack" in employment during the reconversion period, when private employers would necessarily face inevitable delays.

The plans were prepared not only to lay the spectre but actually to prevent the development of large-scale unemployment and its attendant losses, misery and unproductive governmental expenditures. And most important of all, they were intended to fit into a national program for caring for postwar unemployment, although many of the local planners were solely handicapped by lack of knowledge of what the national program would be and some of them foresaw that their work could be nullified by delays at the national level.

As things are developing, there is reason to believe that local public works programs may be of extremely limited use in "taking up the slack" in employment for the simple reason that they cannot be carried into operation soon enough. And they cannot be carried into operation because federal cooperation has not been forthcoming. Federal assistance in the preparation of local public works plans is late in coming and on a niggardly scale, only $17,500,000 having been provided to date as compared with $500,000,000 requested. Further, the timing of the local projects has been hindered by federal inaction.

Unemployment insurance was largely counted on to provide a brief breathing spell before the need for public employment reached serious proportions, and an orderly exodus of displayed war workers was at least hoped for if not generally expected. The Congress appears to have postponed indefinitely further consideration of liberalization of unemployment benefits, although there is some prospect of federal allotments to war workers for carfare home.

Equally serious, the financing of postwar public works is still up in the air. A few localities, it is true, drafted their plans with the expectation that the local unit would bear 100 per cent of the cost; most places, however, expected that a part of the financing would be assumed by the federal government, and this has been particularly true of those plans which were large enough to exert the most influence on the over-all employment picture. Except for the implementation of the $1,500,000,000 highway aid bill, which had already been promised, the Congress has as yet done nothing about providing federal aid for local public works construction. Obviously, to the extent that federal participation is withheld, the scope of local programs will be reduced, and there will be that much less of public works.

Other Obstacles

Even were the localities prepared to start their programs without knowing how much federal aid will be forthcoming, there are other obstacles. There are, for one thing, obvious uncertainties besetting a city considering issuing its bonds to meet construction costs. Decreases in federal income taxes are admittedly going to operate to increase somewhat local borrowing costs, since the benefits of tax exemption of local bonds will be diminished in proportion as tax rates are cut. Is the reduction going to be four percentage points, however, or a 20 per cent slash "across the board"? Will the cut be more or less than investors have already anticipated and hence already reflected in borrowing costs? Finance officers can guess at this one, or can decide to wait.

Similarly, uncertainty as to federal policies on wages and hours introduces delays, as does the confused situation respecting materials. Even were the bonds sold and the cash in hand, there is no assurance that contractors can make firm bids under present conditions.

All these circumstances point up in delays and focus attention increasingly on the Congress. Obviously, the time is past for a thoroughly constructive program at the national level which would utilize to the full the tremendous capabilities of the local governments in facilitating national reconversion. The most that can be hoped for now is a speedy clarification of national policy so that the localities can tell immediately how much of their planning can be saved and how much must be junked. And there is now the very real prospect that much of the war-conserved assets, accumulated in "surpluses" reserved for "deferred maintenance" and "postwar contingencies" may have to be diverted to direct relief during the coming months, while reserves for capital improvements are frittered away in "make work" emergency employment projects.

That was not the way it was "planned" by local government, but it is now increasingly clear that planning is at least as "total" as war, and the refusal of Congress to plan, dramatized by its abolition of the National Resources Planning Board, can yet bring on another period of local government chaos.

Georgia's New Constitution Draws Fire

Georgia's new constitution, ratified by the voters on August 7, 1945, has been construed by the state attorney-general and some attorneys as leaving local governments without power to issue additional bonds until new enabling laws are passed by the legislature or the situation is clarified by the State Supreme Court.

Much of the conflict revolves around the language of the new constitution and the existing statute law. The new constitution provides that no political subdivision of the state may issue bonds "without the assent of the majority of the qualified voters . . . voting in an election for that purpose to be held as prescribed by law." The old constitution provided for approval "by two-thirds of the qualified voters . . . provided said two-thirds so voting shall be a majority of the registered voters," and existing statutory law providing for local bond elections follows the language of the old constitution.

According to the *Atlanta Constitution,* in its issue of September 30, 1945, Attorney-General Cook has stated that "it is questionable whether any bonds can be issued by any of the political divisions of the state until the General Assembly has passed proper enabling acts, or amended the present existing acts." On the other hand, both supporters and opponents of the constitution in the State Senate are quoted as agreeing that no new enabling acts are needed and that bond elections can be held without waiting for new legislation.

Argument has also arisen as to the status of rural school districts under the new constitution, it being held by some that the rural school districts have been abolished and school financing placed on a county-wide basis except for independent city school systems. A test case has already been brought on this question, with the county court holding that the rural district still exists and has the right to vote bonds and tax itself. A speedy hearing by the State Supreme Court is expected.

Cambridge Makes Over-all Plan

A weakness of many otherwise excellent programs for postwar improvements has been that insufficient attention has been paid to the other expenditure requirements of the community and to the means by which over-all requirements were to be financed. This pitfall has been avoided by Cambridge, Massachusetts, where the Planning Commission, the city manager and a committee of department heads appointed by the manager have just published the city's postwar program.[1]

The treatment of the subject in this report is especially interesting in that it not only provides a well rounded examination of community needs, but also integrates the recommendations for improvements (both in capital outlays and in services) with the final recommendation that the five-year operating and capital budget device be used. The concluding chapter is devoted to a five-year budget summary, giving the actual budget for 1945 and the estimate for the years 1946-50, inclusive. Something over $2,000,000 of new improvements are proposed to be undertaken during the period, with increases in debt service and operating costs such that the tax rate is not anticipated to exceed 1945's total of $35.90 per $1,000. The over-all projection includes taxes levied in the city for state, county, school and district purposes.

Property Reassessment Urged by City Manager

A reassessment of all taxable property of the city of McAllen, Texas, to eliminate inequalities and raise values above their present "ridiculously" low level, has been proposed as the first act of his administration by City Manager Bill N. Taylor,[2] McAllen's first manager who formerly served in the same capacity at Port Arthur, Texas, where he was responsible for a number of needed accounting, budgeting, and administrative changes.

The City Manager, in a report to the City Commission, disclosed that although the average ratio of assessed to estimated true value was a nominal 60 per cent for real property and 75 per cent for personal property, actually individual parcels of both realty and personalty were assessed at widely varying ratios. The Board of

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[1] *Postwar Cambridge: Report to the City Council on Postwar Plans.* Office of the City Manager, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1945. 97 pp.

[2] See *A Brief on Assessing Practices in McAllen, Texas.* 1945.

Equalization, while able to make some rough adjustments especially in personalty valuations to eliminate glaring inequalities, lacked the fundamental records to do more than scratch the surface. A scientific reappraisal was recommended, with the installation of land maps, valuation standards, and individual records.

Toledo Citizens Urge Added Revenues

The voting of additional ad valorem property taxes outside the existing tax rate limit and enactment of a city tax on utility bills are among the recommendations urged on Toledo, Ohio, by a citizens committee[3] which has been studying the community's fiscal requirements. The group pointed out that its recommendations differ only in details from those of preceding bodies which since 1936 have urged that "sooner, rather than later, the citizens must honestly and intelligently face the issue of conducting a city government and paying the cost of it as it goes along."

The present study group, the Citizens Finance Committee, was originally appointed as a three-man body, in April 1943, to study a proposed charter amendment to be submitted at the November 1943 election. The proposal was abandoned without submission, but the committee was continued and expanded to include some 50 persons active in civic affairs. The committee examined the operating, debt service, and capital improvement requirements not only of the city but of the Toledo School District and of Lucas County, with special reference to the five years 1946-50.

The committee found, as had preceding groups, that Toledo's practice of operating on a deficit basis could not be cured by "economies"—unless the citizens were willing to have the city government close up shop—but was caused basically by inability to raise sufficient revenues under the existing revenue system, which is characterized by a 10-mill over-all tax rate limit and inadequate state aid. A good part of the city's debt is payable inside the tax rate limit, and the city has been increasing funds for operating purposes by refunding maturing limited tax bonds. To permit retirement of maturing obligations, the committee recommended enactment of a consumer utility tax at the rate of 5 per cent of gross utility bills, the proceeds (estimated at about $700,000 annually) to be earmarked for service on "inside" debt charges. At the same time, voting of a permanent addition of 1.55 mills to the city's present 4.45 mill share of the 10-mill rate was urged, raising the city rate to 6 mills without the necessity for annual referendums on the subject.

To meet immediate repair and replacement needs, the voting of a special tax levy of 7/10 of a mill annually in 1946 and 1947 and of 68/100 of a mill in 1948 was recommended. And for capital outlays, extra levies were urged to begin in 1948 at 3/10 of a mill and run at slightly lower rates thereafter. The voting of additional millage rates for capital outlays by the county, for the school library debt, and for school repairs and replacements, was also urged. All told, the increases recommended in ad valorem property taxes would add 2.83 mills for 1946, 2.82 mills in 1947, 3.24 mills in 1948, 2.72 mills in 1949, and lesser amounts thereafter. It was pointed out, however, that the total tax rate for city, school and county purposes would still remain modest, ranging down from an estimated 21.77 mills for 1946, including the extra levies recommended to be voted.

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[3] Report of the Citizens Finance Committee of the City of Toledo, *Toledo City Journal,* Sept. 15, 1945. (Supplement)

Revenue from State Income Tax Rises

State corporation and personal income tax collections have risen 114.3 per cent from 1940 to 1944, says the Federation of Tax Administrators. This increase was despite repeal of their income tax laws by South Dakota, in 1943, and West Virginia, in 1942, and despite the lowering of rates in other states. Thirty-two states imposed income taxes in 1944.

Total income tax receipts rose from $365,100,000 in 1940 to $437,900,000 in 1941; $578,700,000 in 1942; $695,800,000 in 1943 (Delaware added a war emergency gross withholding tax of 1 per cent); and $782,400,000 in 1944. The 1944 figure does not include the last six months of the calendar year collections for Arizona, Arkansas and Vermont.

Four states—Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland and Tennessee—reported 1943 collections lower than the previous year, while 1944 collections of eleven states were lower than their 1943 collections.

Importance of the income tax in holding 1944 state revenues at a high level is indicated by the fact that this tax accounted for 28.8 per cent of the combined excise and income tax collections of $2,720,000,000, exceeding even gasoline tax receipts, which were 27.5 per cent of the total, and sales tax receipts, 27.4 per cent of the total.

In 1941 income taxes accounted for only 18.2 per cent of the combined state income total, whereas gasoline collections for 1941, their peak year, accounted for 41.7 per cent of the total and sales taxes for 25.4 per cent.

State sales tax collections increased substantially during the war years, rising from $515,200,000 in 1940 to $745,400,000 in 1944—an increase of 44.7 per cent.

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Local Home Rule Ordered in Germany

U. S. Zone Codes Provide Near-Manager Plan at Once

VIRTUALLY complete local home rule will be given municipalities, counties and city-counties in the United States zone of Germany under terms of an order of September 20.

The order, which directs German authorities in each place to prepare a local government code "not later than October 15," terminates the pre-war controls of the central government over local units and makes the prescribed form of government apparently exactly similar to the council-manager plan as used in cities and counties in the United States. Previously the appointment of a *burgomeister* by a local council was subject to veto by the central government.

The codes, it is directed, must provide:

1. A popularly elected council in each *gemeinde* (municipality), *stadkreis* (city-county) and *landkreis* (rural county)—except that small *gemeinden* may substitute an elected chief executive and town meeting;
2. A chief executive appointed by and responsible to the council;
3. Open meetings of the council with decisions by majority vote;
4. Definite powers and functions, including the provision of revenue, and with no veto by any official or body of any other governmental unit;
5. Freedom to adopt charters, within limitations;
6. Workable machinery for the conduct of honest and secret elections upon a democratic suffrage;

7. Additional provisions to encourage widespread citizen participation in public affairs. Race or religious discrimination, promotion of Nazi ideology, interference by higher units of government and executive veto power are among the things specifically forbidden.

Gemeinde elections are to be held next year in January, *landkreis* elections in March and *stadkreis* elections in May, subject to variations necessitated by military security, the order provided.

Greater London Plan Praised, Criticized[1]

The Greater London plan lacks the cohesion, the realism and the penetrating analysis of its predecessor, the London County Council plan. Despite an appearance of having been hashed together by a number of people working in rather a hurry, despite sections which read a little too much like a guide book, there nevertheless runs through the whole work the obvious constructive influence of the great town planner [Sir Patrick Abercrombie] responsible for it.

By far the most important recommendation of this report appears to be of an administrative rather than a technical nature: the suggestion for a planning board for the whole Greater London area. As the plan states: "this authority should not merely be a sanctioning authority with power only to prevent . . . but should be an authority with constructive duties and powers to produce physical changes in the area. For this purpose it should have power to buy and to sell land." There should also be, as the plan argues, a great reduction in the number and an increase in the size of planning authorities, through the development of joint planning committees, in areas suited by economic, social and traditional factors to be united. This type of machinery is needed in other areas outside London, but here that need is specially marked because there exist 143 totally independent authorities. Nothing in the report is more important than this recognition of the complete futility of hoping that there will be planning whilst this administrative jungle is not cleared up. At the same time we must be permitted to doubt the wisdom of the suggestion that the Greater London Planning Board should consist "of a small number of eminent men." It must consist of representatives of the democratically elected local authorities in the region, being responsible, of course, to the Minister of Town and Country Planning.

The second most important aspect of this plan is the way in which, throughout, the widest possible view is taken of what really constitutes Greater London. The area considered is that radiating roughly 30 miles round Charing Cross, with a resident population of about ten and a quarter million persons . . .

Decentralization Prescribed

The main thesis of the report involves a radical scheme of decentralization, radical enough to involve many complications but not so radical as many "dispersal-mongers" might have wished. Just over one million persons, it is suggested, should be transferred from so-called "inner" London to so-called "outer" London. The first area is that already "built-up," roughly ten to fifteen miles from Charing Cross. Between this area and the "outer" one, which spreads from about 20 to 30 miles from Charing Cross, lies the green agricultural belt five miles wide. . . .

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[1] This article is reprinted from *Public Administration* (London), Spring 1945.

The types of dispersal suggested in the Abercrombie scheme may be defined as of three types. The first, although quantitatively large, is not very significant, involving as it does about 400,000 persons moved from the county of London into the less developed parts of inner London. We shall have reason to find many faults with this scheme, but it has none of the novelty or qualitative significance of the second dispersal suggestion. This relates to the creation of about eight "new" satellite towns in outer London, in Hertfordshire, Essex, Kent and Surrey. Another 400,000 are to go to these new communities. Still another 150,000 or so are to go to towns on the edge of the London conurbation, whilst lastly 100,000 are to be moved right away from London altogether. Amongst these we may assume that some will be civil servants.

Plan for Dispersal

The chief objection to the first type of dispersal is that the population should have been catered for in the same type of way as Abercrombie suggested catering for the county population, not by building in relatively undeveloped areas, but by adopting a higher density approach to development in the inner area. The idea in this plan is that, by and large, population density in the inner London area should be kept down to 50 persons per acre (about twelve houses). . . . This is a prodigal policy which will leave inner London with less and less good open space, even though it may give her more and more uncultivated "private" gardens. It is a policy which has already set the land speculators busy hunting for budding development areas. . . .

Far more weighty objections, however, can be raised against building several new communities in outer London, if these communities are going to be planned along the lines suggested. The plan reverts to the old "sprawl" but gives it a new name. In fact, the new communities suggested are going to increase the "journey to work" and further "devour the earth where crops have been." True it is that Abercrombie makes two qualifications in regard to these new communities. He wants both industry and communal facilities constructed inside the communities. But this is quite unrealistic. The communities are suggested as being limited to about 40,000 persons, at the most 60,000, a size which cannot afford a fraction of the shopping, amusement, club, educational or local authority types of amenity which Londoners have for long years been used to near the central areas. Industry simply cannot function as efficiently, nor can communities expect to thrive, in small groups 25 to 50 miles from the metropolis, as can communities of between 150,000 and 300,000 only ten-fifteen miles from Charing Cross. *It is one thing to encourage such small towns to grow up to cater for persons coming from less developed and smaller communities: it is quite another thing* to force people backwards from developed highly nodalized London suburbs, into these sparsely developed semi-communities. It is even acknowledged that it will take years for the amenities and factories to follow—if they ever do. For many industries moving out here would mean the necessity of subsidization and an inevitable ruination of much good market-garden land.

London Plan

There is nothing desirable about spreading London out over larger and larger areas. . . . The effect of dispersal along the lines suggested would be to lower the standard of living of the persons (over a million) who are moved from the inner areas. It is not necessary to occupy hundreds of square miles of open country round London; her congestion can be solved without losing any of it. More vertical building, greater but planned densities in the highly developed areas, can lead to a more concentric but less overcrowded London. At the same time such a policy will not lead to an uneconomic dispersal of firms over wide areas. Instead a few large and well-planned industrial estates can be planned. . . .

In any case where some movement out from London is needed, or when it is necessary to draw off future intending immigrants, the places to develop are those already existing outside the peripheral boundaries of London. . . . These places are certainly not yet (as the report suggests) too large, most of them could do with greater diversification of industry, and all of them are far enough from London proper to be capable of development without prejudicing the agricultural improvement of London's great market-gardening and milk-producing hinterland. . . .

Land Nationalization

There is contained in this plan yet another great plea for government action. No such plan can possibly be conceived of without land nationalization or its equivalents. . . . Land within miles of these satellites, as also in the inner areas most likely to be developed, will already be receiving special attention at the hands of land speculators and real estate agents.

Whatever we may say about dispersal (and it is worth noting that this plan is by no means as dispersal-minded as some might have wished it to be) the planning conception looked at broadly, as well as innumerable details looked at closely make this plan the work of a truly great planner. We must avoid octopus-like extensions of London just as much as ostrich-like isolation of London's small satellite neighbours. This is clearly in the mind of Sir Patrick Abercrombie throughout the plan, even though it is not emphasized. United, the towns of this great metropolitan area can plan and prosper, divided they must fail to plan and will fall. Let us press for all that is best in this plan, especially for the unification of planning areas and the increase of regional planning powers. Then let London's citizens adapt that machinery, by democratic means, to their real needs, seeing to it that profit is made out of this vast map of possibility.

Hugh Stowell Phillips

France Plans Rebuilding of Cities

The housing problem in France is acute in some parts of the country and non-existent in others.[1] In the south for example, where the war passed by rapidly, there is no immediate problem, whereas in the north, and particularly in Normandy, the situation is serious.

This does not mean the Ministry of Reconstruction intends ignoring those parts of the country which have been saved from destruction. That was the intention of Vichy, however, which drew up plans for the devastated areas but made no plans for such cities as Toulouse which have not even a sewage system.

One of the first problems confronting the free central government was to find architects to replan whole cities and towns which had been utterly destroyed and in which not a house, or no more than a handful of houses, remains standing. There are a great many such towns, unfortunately.

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[1] *Municipal Journal,* August 24, 1945, p. 1710.

Books in Review

Canadian Government and Politics. By H. McD. Clokie. New York, Longmans, Green & Company, 1945. viii, 351 pp. $3.50.

Professor Clokie, head of the department of political science at the University of Manitoba, has made a valuable contribution to a better understanding of the Canadian government. He has written a comprehensive, interesting and readable description and analysis of Canadian political institutions. While his study is supposed to to be an elementary or introductory treatment, he does not oversimplify the subject matter or avoid the more difficult issues. He is inclined, however, to lean more toward the legalistic rather than the practical side in his approach to many of the issues. He has made frequent comparisons with British and American institutions to explain the background and development of Canadian structure and practice. This feature should enable American readers to get a better perspective of the constitutional and political problems of Canada.

The nine chapters of the book are devoted to the following subjects: preliminary considerations, from colony to dominion, the Canadian constitutional system, political parties and the electorate, the Parliament of Canada, the administration of the dominion of Canada, the provinces and Canadian federalism, local government in Canada, and problems for the future. The outstanding chapters are those dealing with the constitutional system and political parties. The author has dispensed with footnotes but has added a useful bibliography at the end of each chapter. Sixty-six pages of appendices, valuable for reference, follow the text of the book. The more important of these are the British North American Act of 1867 (as amended to date) and the Statute of Westminster, 1931. An outline map of Canada and a good index have been added.

Professor Clokie's book should be of interest to American readers for several reasons. It gives, in brief compass for the first time, an authoritative and up-to-date account of Canadian governmental institutions and processes of which most Americans are woefully ignorant. It explains how British parliamentary practices have been modified by American influences and environment. It tells how the American type of federal system works under parliamentary government, which was originally evolved for a unitary state. It gives the bases upon which dominion-provincial cooperation rests, which constitute the essence of a workable federation.

We now have much to learn in a governmental way from Canada, just as Canada of 80 years ago had a great deal to learn from us. Few Americans have any idea of the growing importance that Canada is fast assuming in world affairs. Since 1931 Canada has been for all practical purposes an independent nation—a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, it is true, but tied to Great Britain only by tradition. During the war just ended, Canada has grown to the stature of a world power, and has become the acknowledged leader of the middle class powers. She has succeeded as a government in organizing a national economy that stretches over 4,000 miles of territory—a 200-mile wide ribbon, so to speak, along her southern border—and cuts perpendicularly across formidable geographic barriers. Unlike the United States, she still has a vast frontier and many rich and largely unexploited natural resources. Certainly the government of such a country, even if it were not our closest neighbor, should deserve some study on the part of Americans. And I know of no better book for this purpose than the one under review.

A. E. Buck

Institute of Public Administration.

The Municipal Year Book 1945. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1945. x, 603 pp. $8.50.

Despite some exceptional evidence to the contrary most city officials and employees would like to improve the service they render. And they worry mightily over the judgment on their stewardship which will be their lot tomorrow among their fellow-citizens and later in the pages of history.

So, just as people in general seek self-improvement by comparing themselves with others, public servants are hungry for dependable facts about accomplishments, improved methods, unit costs and many other yardsticks concerning municipal operations.

It was not until the annual publication of *The Municipal Year Book* began in 1934, however, that this type of essential information became available within the covers of a single book arranged for easy reference. Each volume of the last eleven years has been a great storehouse of information and the newest, *The Municipal Year Book for 1945,* is no exception except in the fact that, as usual, new information for which there is current demand has been added.

Now it is easier to compare one city with another because each city is classified as to its economic base—manufacturing, retail or wholesale trade, etc.—for it is obviously futile and unfair to attempt to prove anything, for example, by comparing the costs of a wealthy suburban village with those of a manufacturing village of similar size.

Another timely addition is the information on hours of work per week, overtime pay, vacation allowance and retirement systems for municipal employees.

More cities are becoming interested, in their search for new sources of revenue, in the possibilities of refuse collection charges and sewer rentals; here in a few pages they can obtain the basic facts concerning the places which have tried these sources.

Other new features in the 1945 volume include data on home rule, finance, planning, public health, traffic safety, the number of governmental units in each metropolitan area, cities annexing land in 1944, and many others. The regular features which have proved so useful in the past to public officials, governmental researchers, academicians and, in fact, to anyone who needs to know his facts about cities, are brought up to date.

The task of gathering this tremendous body of information and organizing it so that the user can find what he needs in a few moments was a prodigious one. Only a few years ago the person seeking municipal information would have had to engage in long searches through library shelves and keep something more than his own five-foot shelf close at hand to have anything comparable. It would be difficult if not impossible to find as handy and useful a reference volume.

A. W.

Fire Insurance for Local and State Governments. A guide to Complete and Economical Coverage. By Robert S. Barnes. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1945. 24 pp. $1.

This bulletin is a practical guide for purchasing fire insurance and comprehensive coverage. It describes the usual practice governing fire and allied hazards insurable under a standard fire policy; restriction of insurance to insurable interests; restriction of loss settlements to the insurable value of the property or risk; the coinsurance agreement; and methods of insuring property as to location. Proven methods to save money in buying fire insurance and practices which produce satisfactory loss settlements are described. A form for adequate fire insurance records is included and explained.

McCarthy of Wisconsin. By Edward W. Fitzpatrick. New York City, Columbia University Press, 1944. x, 316 pp. $3.50.

From the point of view of readers of the National Municipal Review the life of Charles McCarthy is notable for his connection with the development of the Legislative Reference Library and his responsibility for much of the legislation enacted in the so-called LaFollette era. "At a time when great economists said a state income tax could not be framed," comments the author, McCarthy was "largely responsible for the first successful state income tax act." The son of Irish immigrants, McCarthy became a powerful and picturesque influence in Wisconsin politics during the regime of the older LaFollette. He played an important part in building up the reputation of the University of Wisconsin, in developing its extension division, and in establishing continuation schools throughout Wisconsin. The author's account, taken in the main from 46 boxes of manuscripts in the Wisconsin Historical Society, documents in the possession of the McCarthy family and the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library, should prove of particular interest to librarians, legislators, political scientists and educators.

The second problem was to ascertain that the rebuilding of these communities would be entirely for the benefit of the townspeople and that no private interests should be able to influence the plan. Here the government took an unusual step. It was decided that no local architects should be permitted to draw up the plans, even if it were the wish of the local council, and that the local council, in any event, would not be allowed to choose any architect it wished to plan the new city. Instead the government presented a list of architects to the local council, and a choice could be made from that list only. Once the choice was made then the local council could discuss the plan with the architect; but once the final plan was made and approved by the Ministry of Reconstruction, then the work would have to go ahead with the aid of the council.

The list offered to each city or town includes well known names of architects of very different schools. It is best, in the opinion of the government, to leave the plan in the hands of a competent architect who is an expert, and who knows his work. It does not like the idea of such famous men being led by local councils.

Side by side with this plan is the far more intricate one of rebuilding those untouched cities which are in serious need of modernization. Here the local authority is given a much wider scope, for it is realized that the job is different from rebuilding a completely devastated area. There will be much of local and historical importance which the council will want left strictly alone, and these wishes will be respected.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Business and Industry

Financing Small Business. By Emerson P. Schmidt, etc. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University School of Law, *Law and Contemporary Problems,* Summer-Autumn, 1945. 225 pp. $2.50.

New York Business in the National Economy, Selling a City to Industry, Streamlining a City for Industry, War Between Cities for Basing Points in Steel Industry. By Herbert S. Swan. New York City, 1945. 34, 10, 6, and 14 pp. respectively. $1, 40 cents, 25 cents, and 50 cents. (Apply author, 299 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.).

Crime

Criminology and Penology. (Third edition.) By John Lewis Gillin. New York City, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1945. x, 615 pp. $4.50.

Fire

National Fire Codes for Building Construction and Equipment 1944. Compiled by Robert S. Moulton. Boston 10, National Fire Protection Association, 1944. 512 pp. $3.

Land Use

Land Use—A Challenge to State Leadership. By Louis Bromfield, etc. Chicago, Council of State Governments, *State Government,* October 1945. 26 pp. 35 cents.

1943-44 Summary of Outstanding Federal and State Legislation Affecting Rural Land Use. Compiled by Ruth McQuown. Washington, D. C., United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1945. 160 pp.

Legislation

Digest of 1945 Laws Affecting Towns and Counties. Albany, New York, Association of Towns of the State of New York, 1945. 63 pp.

Military Training

Universal Military Training and National Security. Edited by Paul Russell Anderson. Philadelphia, *The Annals* of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, September 1945. vii, 204 pp. $2.

Parties

Political Parties—An American Way. By Franklin L. Burdette. New York 20, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1945. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Business License Taxes—A Major Potential Source of Municipal Revenue. By Malcolm M. Davisson. Sacramento, League of California Cities, 1945. 72 pp. $1.

City Finances 1943. Vol. 3: Statistical Compendium. By U. S. Bureau of Census. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945. ix, 224 pp. $

Diagnosing State Tax Troubles. Summary of Official Investigations. By Mabel L. Walker. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1945. 18 pp. 50 cents.

A Program for Federal Cities. Newark 2, New Jersey, National Association of State Chambers of Commerce, 1945. 32 pp.

The State Dollar—Where It Came From, Where It Went. Springfield, Illinois, Director of Finance, 1945. 15 pp.

Veterans

Farms for Veterans. By Lowry Nelson. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1945. 22 pp. 25 cents.

The Facts About Homes for Veterans. The Housing Shortage, Housing Available for Veterans, Home Loans under the G. I. Bill of Rights. By National Housing Agency. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1945. 14 pp. 5 cents; $3.75 per hundred.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

61
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Editorial

Bay State Lobbyists Toe Mark

Eleanor W. Killpartrick

Texas Apportionment Problem

Stuart A. MacCorkle

Better Laws through Research

Tax Rates of American Cities

Volker Fellows

More Cities Adopt Manager Plan

H. M. Olmsted

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Contents for December 1945

EDITORIAL COMMENT . . . . *Alfred Willoughby* 534

BAY STATE LOBBYISTS TOE MARK . . . . *Eleanor W. Killpartrick* 536

TEXAS APPORTIONMENT PROBLEM . . . . *Stuart A. MacCorkle* 540

BETTER LAWS THROUGH RESEARCH . . *Kansas Government Journal* 544

TAX RATES OF AMERICAN CITIES . . . . *Volker Fellows* 547

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION . . . . *H. M. Olmsted* 567

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST 574

CITIZEN ACTION . . . . *Elsie S. Parker* 576

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION . . . . *George H. Hallett, Jr.* 581

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP . . . . *Elwyn A. Mauck* 584

TAXATION AND FINANCE . . . . *Wade S. Smith* 586

LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROAD . . . . *Edward W. Weidner* 590

BOOKS IN REVIEW 594

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Toledo Prefers a Mirror

WHEN any group reaches for more than its share of power and influence in this country it is pretty likely to get its ears pinned back if the people find ways to do it.

This fundamental distrust of power seekers was demonstrated again in the recent Toledo election. In a surprise move some months ago an organized labor group announced it would campaign to kill the proportional representation method of electing Toledo's city council. It was proposed to substitute election at large, without a primary, which would have made it possible for a single disciplined minority to capture the entire council.

The people of Toledo were puzzled. In the past this group and its compatriots in other cities had been among the warm supporters of P. R. as an eminently fair method and it had been quite generally recognized that P. R. had given the city representative, relatively superior city councils during the last ten years. Now they trotted out the same old arguments used by the old style political organizations only a few years ago, and the arguments, although advanced with a slightly different angle, sounded hollow and unconvincing in the mouths of former friends.

The leaders of the kill-P. R. movement were soundly defeated at the election.[1] It was obvious that they didn't even deliver the members of their own organization.

Toledoans, like Americans in general, feel safer and more satisfied if minorities are not stifled. A mirror is preferable to bossism of any kind.

Self-destruction by the States

THE callous disregard of census figures by state legislatures which are constitutionally and morally mandated to give fair representation to all parts of their states' populations is, in the long run, probably more damaging and weakening to the states themselves than it is to the under-represented cities.

More and more the cities are bypassing the state governments to deal directly with the national government. In the immediate future this tendency is almost certain to increase, and as it does so the relations of states to their cities will continue to deteriorate. The resulting loss of local self-reliance and of state sovereignty will be a high price to pay for the preservation of unfair, undemocratic political advantage.

A recent study[2] showed that 45 of 67 major cities had less legislative representation than an apportionment based on population would furnish, twelve of these having less than half enough. The largest city in 31 of 44 states studied was underrepresented.

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[1] See page 581, this issue.

[2] "Urban Representation in State Legislatures," by Douglas H. MacNeil, *State Government,* April 1945.

It might be considered surprising that local leaders of political thought make little protest over this shocking situation, but the truth is that the most potent local politicians look forward to larger careers and this makes them want to stay "right" with state organizations. So what amounts to a bipartisan conspiracy exists here as it does in many other undesirable situations.

Seldom does leadership emerge which boldly faces the issue and makes it clear to the people how badly they are being gypped. The people of Seattle, after fuming for 30 years, succeeded in equalizing the situation by winning a constitutional amendment by initiative petition. St. Louis won relative equality this year through the adoption of Missouri's new constitution.

When New Jersey set out in 1943 to revise its ancient constitution, rural bossism blocked this needed advance until it had extorted an agreement that the present unfair basis of representation would remain undisturbed.

The tarnished old cry that cities should not be granted their fair share of representation because they are essentially evil does not hold water. The thirteen states which have done a reasonably fair job of reapportionment find no evidence of damage to their rural areas.

So the shameful reason for this nullification of representative government is clear: currently successful political organizations don't want to risk loss of control.

Crooked Elections

THE recent election showed again that the days of crooked practices at the ballot box didn't pass with the horse and buggy.

In Yonkers, New York, for example, it was charged that in seven of that city's twelve wards voting machines were jammed or locked so that it was impossible to register votes for the candidates of one party. There were numerous complaints in practically every precinct that the policemen who were there to prevent violations of the election law violated it freely themselves by standing over voters urging them to approve a referendum for higher police pay. It was widely claimed that watchers and inspectors gave undesired "assistance" by suggesting to voters how they fill out their proportional representation ballots for councilmen. Electioneering went on in and at the doorways of polling places. Automobiles decorated with campaign posters were parked at the curb.

Such things obviously violated the state election laws but a civic leader of Yonkers remarked: "What can you do? Put the whole police department in jail? Bring charges against many of the people who worked in the polling places?"

The answer is, yes! Unless Yonkers wants to serve notice that it doesn't demand honest elections. If the district attorney doesn't consider it his duty to move, civic organizations have a heavy obligation to do so. Any other course will bring a steady worsening of the situation.

Bay State Lobbyists Toe Mark

Massachusetts law providing for regulation of activities of pressure groups has vastly improved lobbying practices during past 55 years; officials and agents respect it.

By **ELEANOR W. KILLPARTRICK***

ACCOUNTS of the colorful Washington lobbyist of the nineteenth century could easily have been written of his contemporary, the Massachusetts lobbyist.

As early as 1869 popular criticism of conditions at the State House led to an investigation of lobbying, but this cursory examination into the activities of the railroad lobbyists did not result in regulatory legislation.

In sharp contrast to the meager report of the 1869 investigating committee is the lengthy, thorough report of the House of Representatives committee appointed in 1890 to investigate lobbying by a street railway company. Legislation granting the company a charter was about to pass in the lower house when a legislator made eight specific charges involving unethical lobbying by the company.

In its report the committee did not lay the entire blame upon the company but frankly charged that the situation at the State House forced business interests to hire lobbyists for protection. It did, however, accuse the company of making a bad situation worse by its extensive use of lobbyists and its lavish expenditure of money.

Appended to the report was a bill that became the basis of the Lobby Law of 1890, which with minor changes has regulated lobbying to this day. While the lobby law did not reform the colorful rogue of the nineteenth century lobby overnight, it was an important step forward which facilitated his disappearance and the rise of men and women of higher caliber.

Briefly, the law requires the registration of lobbyists by their employers within one week of employment. It classes lobbyists who appear before legislative committees as legislative counsel and those who lobby other than at public hearings as legislative agents. The sergeant-at-arms provides two separate registration dockets upon which each employer must enter detailed information regarding his employment of legislative counsel and/or agents.

The sergeant-at-arms sends each registered lobbyist an authorization blank to be signed by his employer and returned within ten days of registration. He insists upon compliance with this regulation. Noncompliance is punishable by a fine of up to $1,000 and/or disqualification from acting as counsel or agent until the termination of three regular legislative sessions.

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*Miss Killpartrick is a member of the research staff of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations. Previously she was research assistant to Philip H. Cornick, director of research for the Special Commission on Real Estate Taxation and Related Matters appointed by the Massachusetts legislature in 1943, and was appointed secretary to the commission in September 1944. During her senior year at Boston University Miss Killpartrick was assistant in the Department of Government.

Registration Requirements

As each bill of interest is introduced, the employer is required to enter its title and number in the appropriate docket beside his own name and that of his counsel or agent. In practice, employers usually enter the number of each bill under a general heading such as "all bills relating to insurance." This simple listing of bill numbers does not give as complete a picture as was originally intended.

With few exceptions, all bills must be filed by one P.M. on the second Saturday of the session. If employers were required not only to give the titles of bills but also to indicate their stand on each as soon as it was determined, the dockets would reveal early in the session the general policy of the individual interest groups.

Upon prorogation, the sergeant-at-arms closes the dockets and turns them over to the state secretary who sends each registered employer a financial statement to be filled out in detail and returned within 30 days of prorogation. All expenses incurred in promoting or opposing legislation must be listed. Where a lobbyist receives an annual salary or retainer, the amount allotted to lobbying must be indicated. Where no allotment is made, the entire salary must be given. These sworn statements are open to the public.

Upon expiration of the 30 days, the state secretary sends the names of all employers not having filed returns to the attorney-general, who is empowered to prosecute if his reminder is unheeded. Of the 149 employers registered during the 1943 legislative session, only four failed to file a financial return. Five statements were returned by the state secretary. In two instances he pointed out that the name of the legislative counsel on the financial statement was not the name registered in the docket. In the other cases the employer either neglected to state what amount of the employee's annual salary had been allotted to legislative activity or did not include the total salary where no part of it was apportioned. In each case the second statement was returned promptly with a letter of regret that the first had not been filled out properly.

While there is general compliance with the provision requiring financial statements, it is difficult to measure how effective it is in checking the excessive or improper use of money. The statements include the names of all persons to whom money was paid and the reasons for payment, with specific reference to the legislation listed in the dockets, but they do not reveal how the money was spent. Usually a lump sum is listed together with the numbers of the bills involved. In 1943 the amounts varied from $10 on one return to $3,400 on another.

Despite its limitations this provision is necessary, and credit is due both to public officials and employers of lobbyists for the way in which they enforce and observe it.

Other provisions prevent the members of state and district political committees from acting as legislative agents; require legislative committees to allow a legislative counsel to address them only upon subjects listed beside his name in the legislative docket; and forbid the employment of lobbyists for compensation dependent upon the passage or rejection of proposed legislation. The law exempts the employment by a town of its solicitor to represent it before the legislature, provided the solicitor receives no additional compensation.

Violations Disbar Lobbyists

The legislature may "upon cause shown therefor" and after a hearing disbar a lobbyist until the termination of the third regular session after disbarment. Violation of the lobby law is punishable by a fine of from $100 to $1,000 and, in the case of a lobbyist, disbarment for three years. The law provides that the attorney-general "shall cause prosecutions to be instituted" for violation of any of its provisions.

The General Court has increased the effectiveness of the law through supplementary legislative rules. Strictly enforced is the one denying lobbyists, including ex-legislator lobbyists, access to the Senate and House chambers, corridors, anterooms, reading rooms, cloak rooms and reception rooms on any day when there is a legislative session.

To protect themselves from unscrupulous newspapermen, the two branches require newsmen, before they are admitted to the press gallery, to declare in writing that they are not employed by any person or corporation interested in pending legislation and will not act in such capacity while enjoying press privileges. The reporters may engage in other work but it must be approved by the committees on rules and reported to both branches.

Another rule forbids legislators to act as legislative counsel for any party before any legislative committee. Likewise, they are forbidden to purchase directly or indirectly securities of any organization, except those of the state and its political subdivisions, knowing that there is pending legislation affecting the organization.

Within this framework of regulatory legislation and supplementary legislative rules, the present-day lobbyists carry on their legislative activities. While some still use any available means to influence legislation, others are highly regarded by the legislators. They have made a career of lobbying and would not, by resort to corrupt practices, risk losing the respect they have won.

Much work is done before legislative committees. The extensive system of joint committee hearings gives lobbyists an opportunity to present their arguments frankly and openly. The committee system is not a farce, nor do the committees have enormous power. Bills favorably reported out can be defeated. Bills unfavorably reported frequently become law.

Any one may petition the General Court. Every petition must be printed in bill form and referred to a committee which must report it out. Petitioners are thus able to watch the progress of their bills. This publicity makes unnecessary many of the tactics employed, often in self-defense, by lobbyists in states where the legislative procedure is not so open.

Practices common to lobbying everywhere are frequently employed. Lobbyists present briefs to committee members, send memoranda to other legislators, seek out individual members, enlist the aid of sympathetic friends of recalcitrant legislators, and prevail upon constituents to get in touch with legislators. The state publishes a list of legislators, together with their pictures and brief summaries of their backgrounds, which is invaluable to the lobbyists.

Social Lobby Still Functions

The social lobby, of primary importance during the nineteenth century, has not been entirely discarded. There are lobbyists who are more than willing to make the legislator's stay in Boston during the session a pleasant one. Arrangement of credit facilities, special hotel rates, free tickets to sports events, etc., do not violate the letter of the lobby law. They can be eliminated only through adoption of a higher code of ethics by certain lobbyists and legislators.

Since the General Court has not established its own research agency, the legislators are largely dependent upon the research done by outside organizations. In 1910 a Legislative Reference Library was added to the State Library. Adjoining the main library, it contains collections of statutes, law reports, departmental publications and lists of books, pamphlets and magazine articles, but the General Court has not seen fit to expand it into a competent research agency. At present, one legislative reference assistant helps legislators seeking information.

The need for objective research is partially met by the general practice of appointing interim committees and special commissions to make investigations. A regular standing committee may recommend the appointment of a special commission to study proposed legislation and to report to the next General Court. Commissions are also used as a means of postponing action on controversial issues. These commissions, consisting of senators, representatives and appointees of the governor, may hire technical experts if necessary. Twenty-six commissions were established in 1943.

The offices of Senate and House counsel were originally established primarily to assist legislators in bill-drafting. Today, redrafting, making titles cover the entire contents of bills, and passing on their constitutionality have largely replaced their bill-drafting function.

The interest groups draft their own bills, although they frequently present them informally to the Senate or House counsel before filing to make certain they are constitutional and in proper form. They thus avoid later revision which might lessen the possibility of passage.

This bill-drafting by interest groups is fully publicized. The printed bill contains the name of the legislator who introduced it, the name of the petitioner who filed it, and a brief summary of the petition. The daily list of legislative hearings gives the number of each bill, the petitioner, and a summary of the

(Continued on page 543)

Texas Apportionment Problem

Despite constitutional mandate, legislature has failed to make reapportionment since 1920; metropolitan areas, with large population increase, greatly under-represented.

By **STUART A. MacCORKLE***

THE apportionment of membership in state legislatures is an ever present problem. For the most part our state systems are compromises between the conflicting principles of representation according to population and representation resting upon a geographic area. Regardless of the exact nature of the system, however, it is essential to representative government that there be a large degree of public confidence in the fairness of the results obtained. One hears the charge frequently made that our urban areas have rather generally been discriminated against. Only a few months ago Douglas H. MacNeil, in an article appearing in *State Government*, produced much evidence to substantiate this charge.[1]

The Texas constitution provides for the creation of two sets of districts, one for senators and the other for representatives. Membership in the House, the constitution states, "shall be apportioned among the several counties, according to the number of population in each, as nearly as may be, on a ratio obtained by dividing the population of the state, as ascertained by the most recent United States census, by the number of members of which the House is composed."[2] It directs further that the state, as nearly as possible, be divided into senatorial districts of contiguous territory according to the number of qualified electors.[3] The most important thing to note at this point is that the senatorial district is based upon qualified electors and the representative district upon population.

Why should there be this difference in the basis of apportionment for the two houses? The same difference was found in the constitution of 1845. Commenting on this point Alonzo Wasson said: "Hence, if it was meant to serve some purpose, it was one growing out of conditions existing at least 30 years before our present constitution was written. But what the purpose was has baffled the reasoning of everyone who has tried to find out."[4]

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[1] Douglas H. MacNeil, "Urban Representation in the State Legislatures," *State Government*, April 1945, p. 59.

[2] Art. III, Sec. 26.

[3] Art. III, Sec. 25.

[4] Alonzo Wasson, "Texas Senate, House Districts Are Set Up by Different Rules," *Dallas Morning News*, September 15, 1944.

The present constitution directs that: "The legislature shall, at its first session after the publication of each United States decennial census, apportion the state into senatorial and representative districts."[5] The purpose of this unequivocal constitutional directive to the legislature is undoubtedly to ensure that the district system will be periodically reviewed for the purpose of taking into account changes in the population and in the electorate.

The population trends of the past century bear witness to the aptness of the constitutional provision for a reapportionment every ten years. In 1850, the year in which the population of Texas was first enumerated by the federal government, there were approximately 212,000 people living in the state. At that time there were only two incorporated areas of 2,500 or more inhabitants, the combined population of these being 7,665 or 3.6 per cent of the state's total population. By 1900 the urban population had increased to around 520,000, approximately 17 per cent of the total population, and the number of urban places was 56. In 1940 there were almost three million people living in 196 urban places, about 45 per cent of a total population of more than six million.

The increase in population has not been evenly spread over the state. For instance, one third of the population has been concentrated in eleven relatively small areas. The eleven metropolitan districts listed by the Bureau of the Census in 1940 contained a population of slightly over two million, or about 32 per cent of the total population.

The number of qualified electors has likewise grown with the passing years. According to the *Texas Almanac,* the estimated qualified number for the entire state in 1920 was 811,104; for 1940, 1,448,860; and for 1944, 1,567,143.

No Apportionment Since 1921

The present apportionment system was established by the legislature in 1921 and was based upon the federal census of 1920. There has not been an apportionment upon either the 1930 or the 1940 census. The result is that charges have been made from time to time that there is no equity in the present apportionment system. A brief glance at the population figures will indicate that there is some basis in fact for such an assertion; however, our particular interest here is not in the entire system, but in the representation of urban areas.

In the first place, it is to be noted that a constitutional amendment adopted in 1936 limits to seven the number of representatives from any one county unless the population exceeds 700,000, in which case one additional representative is allowed for each 100,000 population.[6] The maximum number of representatives in the House is set by the constitution at 150.[7] Therefore, under the present scheme of things it is practically impossible for the more populous counties to attain the number of representatives to which their population would entitle them if a quota system were strictly applied. The existing apportionment distributes 150 seats in the House of Representatives among 127 districts. If a perfect apportionment were made, each member of the House would represent 31,088 people—the number derived by dividing a 1920 population of 4,663,228 by 150. If an apportionment were made on the basis of the 1940 census, each member would represent 42,765 people.

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[5] Art. III, Sec. 28.

[6] Art. III, Sec. 26-a.

[7] Art. III, Sec. 2.

Cities Under-represented

Dallas County, in which the city of Dallas is located, has five representatives and shares in a flotorial member. These six represented a 1920 population of 260,418 and a 1940 population of 443,923. On a strict quota basis, Dallas and its environs should have eight representatives by the 1920 census and ten by the 1940 census. The constitutional restriction on urban county representation, if applied, would undoubtedly affect the total number.

Bexar County, in which San Antonio is located, has five representatives. On the basis of the 1920 census, the district is entitled to six, while on the basis of the 1940 census it should have seven representatives. Harris County, in which Houston is situated, also has five representatives at present. On the basis of the 1920 census, it is entitled to six representatives, while on the basis of the 1940 census, again ignoring the constitutional restriction, it is entitled to twelve.

The eleven metropolitan districts listed by the Bureau of the Census for 1940 were dominated by the cities of Amarillo, Austin, Beaumont-Port Arthur, Corpus Christi, Dallas, El Paso, Fort Worth, Galveston, Houston, San Antonio and Waco. Their total population in 1940 was 2,041,165. An apportionment based upon the 1940 census would allot, if strictly applied, a total of 47 representatives. The districts in which these cities are included at present have a total of 33 representatives, including flotorial members.

With regard to the apportionment of senators, it will be recalled that the constitutional basis for senatorial districts is qualified electors rather than population. However, Alonzo Wasson, who has studied and written much regarding the 1921 apportionment, concluded: "About the only deduction which could be made from the evidence afforded by the apportionment act itself is that population was used in making up some senatorial districts and qualified electors in making up others; a conclusion which will be allowed to stand tentatively until denied by some one who had part in the work."[8]

However, he later wrote: "As anyone who examines it will see, population alone was used in making the existing apportionment for both House and Senate. About the only conclusion one can come to is that in the particular matter the fathers of 1875 nodded and did an idle thing."[9]

The state is divided into 31 districts, each with one senator. The 1920 breakdown of poll taxes is not readily available, but it may be assumed with a reasonable degree of accuracy to reflect population differences. The total population in

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[8] *Dallas Morning News,* May 28, 1940.

[9] *Ibid,* September 15, 1944.

1920 was 4,663,228. The senatorial districts in which the eleven present-day metropolitan areas are located had in 1920 about 40 per cent of the total population and approximately 35 per cent of the senators. In 1940 these districts had more than one half the total population and slightly over one third of the senators. The total of state poll tax receipts for 1940 was, according to the *Texas Almanac,* 1,259,878, and the eleven metropolitan districts had almost half of the total poll tax receipts. These cities, in other words, were under-represented on the basis of the 1920 population figures, and it may be assumed for qualified electors, and even more under-represented on the basis of 1940 population and poll tax receipts.

To attempt to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the interest of the city and the rural area is rapidly becoming more difficult. The city and the county are blending into one another, and no doubt this trend will become more pronounced as time passes. Economically, there should be no conflict between the two. They must sell to and buy from each other. The present apportionment system, however, clearly discriminates against urban areas and tends to invite the development of urban - rural conflict over public policy. Although the constitution prohibits absolute equity in so far as thickly urbanized areas are concerned, the legislature is able and should work out a more reasonable system of representation.

BAY STATE LOBBYISTS

(Continued from page 539)

petition. Likewise, the reports of the joint committees, which appear in the daily journals of both houses, refer to the petitioner by name.

The names of all petitioners are thus easily accessible to the legislators as well as to the general public which may obtain copies of the *Daily List of Committee Hearings* and the daily *Journals* free of charge.

On the whole, lobbying in Massachusetts is vastly improved over what it was at the turn of the century. The lobby law is carefully worded, public officials carry out its provisions, and lobbyists, in most instances, appear willing to abide by its regulations. Moreover, the General Court has expressed a desire to improve its relations with the lobbyists through the inclusion in its rules of further regulation.

With the exception of providing itself with an objective research agency, the General Court has probably gone as far as is possible in regulating lobbying by means of legal provisions. Any further improvement will result from the action of the citizens in their choice of legislators and from the gradual realization by the interest groups that it is to their advantage to maintain a high standard of behavior in their relations with the General Court.

Better Laws through Research

Kansas Legislative Council founded in 1933, the first of its kind, demonstrates that reliable governmental research, directed by experts, is a prerequisite to sound statutes.

Editorial from *Kansas Government Journal*

THE faith of the 1933 state legislators and other sponsors of the legislative council idea is bearing fruit in better state government. The sponsors were experimenting with a new idea. The Kansas legislators, like many of their predecessors since statehood, were also willing to experiment with a new law and a new scheme to improve representative government which had never been tried in any other state. And so the "little legislature," as it was so often referred to in the beginning, convened for the first time in May 1933. Lieutenant Governor Jess Denious of Dodge City, who presides over the seventh legislative council this year, was a member of the first council.

The new council members were not too sure of their objectives or of their missions. They moved slowly, as is becoming to a committee of a good legislative body. Be it remembered here, however, that no funds were appropriated in the first four years of the legislative council for fact-finding or government research as we know it today in the present legislative council. The Spelman Fund of New York City (a Rockefeller foundation) made a generous offer to assist the Kansas Legislative Council in undertaking fact-finding and research with a grant of $15,000 a year. In fact, the Kansas Legislative Council accepted three Spelman grants totaling $50,000 for a period of three years before the state legislature began to recognize the value of government research and fact-finding for a state legislative agency.

In 1937 the state legislature appropriated $20,000 annually for the research department of the legislative council. Several special appropriations for legislative studies have been made each session since then but the appropriation designated for research has been $25,000 annually from 1939 until this year, when it was given a moderate increase to $27,000 annually.

The next most important action of the legislative council was the employment of Dr. Frederic H. Guild, professor of political science for ten years at the University of Kansas, who also had had experience in legislative reference work. The fact-finding and government research work of the council's research department, accomplished with its meager funds, has been phenomenal. The distinguished service of Dr. Guild and his aides in eleven years has a lasting place in the history of the legislative council movement. . . .

As pointed out here, the legislators in the beginning did not visualize just what service they could get from a legislative council. Certainly they did not expect fact-finding and government research service. They did not appreciate the value of these things in legislative procedure. The reports and recommendations of the early councils were given little consideration by the legislature when it met to make laws. In fact, it was often heard in the legislative halls that a recommendation of the legislative council was the "kiss of death" for a bill.

Need for "Tools"

Dr. Guild proved the value of facts and more facts. Each session more and more important legislative measures were referred to the council and more and more legislators were seen going to the Doctor's office for more and more "tools" for making good laws. . . . Today, few if any important state laws are considered and enacted before a thorough search is made for useful information on all phases of the subject. Also, a legislative-council-prepared-and-recommended bill has the best chance for enactment into law.

The work of the 1943-44 Kansas Legislative Council achieved an unusual and striking degree of success when measured by the legislation passed in 1945. In all, the council submitted 25 bills for legislative consideration and 22 definite recommendations on other subjects. On the 47 subjects thus presented to the legislature, eighteen bills were enacted and the legislative action on fifteen other subjects was in conformity with council recommendations. In other words, more than 70 per cent of the legislative program prepared by the council was carried out.

Only two significant council bills were not introduced by the legislative committees to which they were submitted. Only four council bills introduced failed of final passage and these were approved in the first house. Only one bill to carry out a council recommendation, that on judicial redistricting, was defeated on the floor of the first house. Only two specific recommendations for legislative action other than bills resulted in no legislation, while three recommendations for legislative consideration resulted in no action, one of them because the agency concerned decided not to submit the expected bill. Furthermore, no legislation was passed on the six subjects on which the council recommended that no legislative action be taken.

In addition, the council gave consideration and study to a variety of subjects upon which no specific recommendations were made for legislative action. Some of these subjects were represented by formal council reports to the legislature while others did not reach the stage of formal council proposals and reports. There is evidence that council consideration of these subjects influenced the legislative approach thereto, although such effects cannot be tabulated in terms of conformity with council action. Furthermore, a statement of the results of the work of the 1943-44 council in the 1945 legislature does not reveal the extent to which the legislation was affected by the activities of previous councils.

A new method adopted by the 1943-44 legislative council for presenting its recommendations and findings to the state legislature is believed to have played an important part in the use which the 1945 legislature made of the council's work. In the last session of the legislative council before the legislature convened, the lieutenant governor was authorized to appoint a steering committee composed of two senators and three representatives who had been re-elected and would be serving in the 1945 legislature. It became the duty of these committeemen to stand ready at all times to transmit the findings and recommendations of the council to the committees of the state legislature and on the floors of the state legislature.

Council Findings Sponsored

Under the chairmanship of Senator Paul Wunsch of Kingman, this committee divided the report of the council between the House and Senate. It then laid the council recommendations and findings before the several committees of the legislature on the recommendation of the presiding officers of the Senate and House. This follow-up method gave the legislative council's measures a sponsorship which they had not had heretofore in the state legislature. One of the first acts of the new legislative council, in May 1945, was to make this steering committee a permanent procedure.

Senator E. A. Briles, president pro tem of the Senate, with eight years' experience on the legislative council, has the experience record of the 27 members. Lieutenant Governor Denious, Senator Wunsch, Representatives Hagaman, Abels and Stamper each have had four years' experience on the council. In all, fourteen of the 27 members of the current council have had previous experience. The council members average 1.4 man-years in legislative council experience and 21.5 man-years of previous experience in all branches of government.

The legislative council's greatest contribution to good state government arises from the general recognition throughout the state, for which it is responsible, that reliable government research is a prerequisite to good legislation. Next in importance to the representative system of lawmaking, it is the search for all the facts and their use in lawmaking which provides an assurance of good and workable laws. The legislative council has gained a reputation for being a reliable and trustworthy standing committee on the more difficult legislative problems. Each year it becomes more useful.

Tax Rates of American Cities

Property taxes go up for second successive year; increased payrolls, filling of war-made gaps in municipal employee ranks and postwar plans make further increases probable.

By THE VOLKER FELLOWS*
National Training School for Public Service

FOR the second successive year tax rates upon property in municipalities of the United States increased. A comparison of adjusted current tax rates for 1945 with those of last year (Table I) shows an increase of 22 cents per thousand assessed valuation and indicates what may well surpass the levies of pre-war years.

For two years after Pearl Harbor, 1942 and 1943, local tax rates decreased, but for the last two years the adjusted average tax rate for American cities show increases that practically offset the decreases of the preceding two years.

From present indications property tax rates in American cities during the next few years have no place to go but up. Even though some new sources of revenue may be made available, the property tax will still remain the principal source of local revenue and may be expected to bear a major part of the increased costs of government now in prospect.

Increased public payrolls have been the principal factor in increased property taxes this year and last, and will be the principal cause of future tax rises. One of the reconversion jobs already under way is re-employment by municipalities to fill positions that have long been vacant. A full complement of municipal employees at increased pay scales cannot help but require new tax revenue, a fact that should be recognized now by both public officials and taxpayers, for there is little purpose in either explaining why or complaining about higher taxes after the expenditure has been authorized.

The second factor responsible for further local tax increases is a heavier outlay for materials and for capital purposes. In order to feed the war effort our cities have been on a starvation diet the past few years so far as new improvements are concerned, but during this period they have accumulated demands for improvements and have developed plans for acquiring them. Part of such plans include setting aside funds for capital improvements, but the money thus encumbered will not be adequate to meet more than a small part of the capital budget program. The balance must come from taxation, whether raised to finance pay-as-you-go programs or for principal and interest on bonds.

Forty-eight per cent of the 250 cities reporting in both 1945 and 1944 showed increases in the adjusted tax rate, 39 per cent of the cities reported lower tax rates and 13 per cent reported no change. Only Group III (population 250,000 to 500,000) showed a decrease in adjusted tax rate; Group I (population 1,000,000 or over) and Group II (population 500,000 to 1,000,000) had the greatest increases of $1.16 and $1.29

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*Bernard Kandyba, University of Illinois; Carl Leiden, Iowa State College; Robert McGregor, Washington and Jefferson College; Robert McWilliams, University of Michigan; John Pendergrass, Kalamazoo College; Eldon W. Sneeinger, Ohio State University; Rue Witten, Queens College, New York City; Kathryn Yount, University of Oregon.

TABLE I
ANNUAL CHANGE IN ASSESSED VALUE AND AVERAGE ADJUSTED TAX RATE OF AMERICAN CITIES

	Per Cent of Change in Assessment	*Average Adjusted Tax Rate, Amount of Change*[a]
1944-45	+1.3%	$+.22
1943-44	+1.1	+.12
1942-43	+ .6	—.35
1941-42	+1.5	—.05
1940-41	— .1	+.02
1939-40	—1.5	+.29
1938-39	— .5	+.45

TABLE II
NUMBER OF CITIES SHOWING DECREASES IN ADJUSTED TAX RATE 1943-1944

Population Group[b]	*Decrease*	*Increase*	*No Change*
I[c]	0	2	1
II	1	8	0
III	11	7	4
IV	20	25	6
V	31	31	6
VI[d]	33	46	15
Total	96	119	32

TABLE III
COMPARISON OF 1945 AND 1944 AVERAGE UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED TAX RATES OF 250 AMERICAN CITIES

Population Group[b]	*Average Unadjusted Rates per $1,000 Assessed Value* 1945	1944	Increase	*Average Adjusted Rates per $1,000 Assessed Value* 1945	1944	Increase
I[c]	$40.05	$38.15	$1.90	$30.55	$29.39	$1.16
II	34.20	33.59	.61	30.64	29.35	1.29
III	42.99	42.70	.29	25.47	25.70	—.23
IV	40.30	39.12	1.18	28.92	28.61	.31
V	38.75	37.90	.85	27.88	27.53	.35
VI[d]	38.27	37.34	.93	26.16	26.12	.04
Total	$38.95	$39.05	$ .90	$27.25	$27.03	$ .22

[a] Per $1,000 of assessed value.

[b] Population groups defined by the United States Bureau of the Census as indicated in tabulation following article.

[c] New York City and Chicago not included.

[d] Group VI is defined by the Bureau of the Census to include cities between 25,000 and 50,000 population, but in this study cities under 30,000 population were not tabulated.

respectively. Practically no change occurred in the tax rate of cities between 30,000 and 50,000, the increase being four cents.

Over the five-year period (1940-1945) decreases were reported by all population groups except I and II. Group I showed an increase of 41 cents and Group II an increase of $2.54. An average increase of 21 cents was reported for all 229 cities reporting.

The average increase in assessed value of 1.3 per cent over 1944 was distributed fairly equally throughout all groups. The average increase in assessed valuation for the period 1940-45 was 6.5 per cent but was confined to cities under 500,000 population, with cities over 500,000 showing very small increases.

The number of installments in which city taxes are payable show a tendency for payments to be in four installments or less and for elimination of more than four payments.

Actual Tax Rates Reported

The tax rates reported in the accompanying table are those levied per thousand dollars of assessed valuation by all units of government which derive any portion of their revenues from the general property tax. In addition to city, school, county and state levies there are, in some states, numerous special dis-

TABLE IV

Five-Year Comparison of Average Unadjusted and Adjusted Tax Rates of 229 American Cities

Population	*Average Unadjusted Rates per $1,000 Assessed Value*			*Average Adjusted Rates per $1,000 Assessed Value*		
Group[b]	*1945*	*1940*	*Decrease*	*1945*	*1940*	*Decrease*
I[c]	$40.05	$39.62	$+.43	$30.55	$30.14	$+ .41
II	34.20	33.57	.63	30.64	28.10	+2.54
III	42.99	43.83	.84	25.47	26.07	.60
IV	38.81	40.33	1.52	28.36	29.67	1.31
V	38.76	38.97	.21	27.48	27.84	.36
VI[d]	37.35	37.59	.24	26.63	26.77	.14
Total	$38.51	$39.04	$ .47	$27.34	$27.13	$+.21

TABLE V

Changes in Assessed Value Over One-Year and Five-Year Periods

Population	*Average Per Capita Assessed Value*		*Per Cent Increase in Assessment*	*Per Cent Increase in Assessment*
Group[b]	*1945*	*1944*	*1944-1945*	*1940-1495*
I[c]	$1,475	$1,449	1.7%	.6%
II	1,674	1,654	1.1	.6
III	1,214	1,190	2	3.3
IV	1,268	1,253	1.3	8.7
V	1,264	1,252	1.0	9.6
VI[d]	1,251	1,242	.7	10.6
Total	$1,359	$1,341	1.3	6.5

(See footnotes on preceding page.)

tricts performing services which are financed by taxes on general property. The compact form of tabulation makes it impossible to print the separate rates for all special districts, but these have been included under one of four general headings: city, school, county or state. Wherever possible the common practice in a majority of the municipalities studied was the determining factor in classifying a special district rate. Levies of park, library, relief, sanitary and water supply districts are included with the city rate, since these functions are performed by the municipal government in a majority of cities.

In all such cases the amount and nature of such additions are indicated in a footnote. Officials of municipalities sometimes express annoyance at this procedure and point out that their actual city levy is much smaller than the rate given. While one may recognize some validity in this argument, a practical solution to the problem must be obtained if a fair and accurate comparison of tax rates of the several municipalities is to be made.

The tax rates reported by municipalities do not give a complete picture of the average tax burden carried by general property in various cities. In the first place, they cannot indicate the quantity or quality of services rendered. Two municipalities may be served identically by the same types of governmental units, yet the schools in one city may be doing a better job than the schools in the second city and at less cost while the crime prevention record of the second city and the work of its police department may far excel that of the first city and again at less cost. Therefore, a comparison of tax rates cannot show the relative quality of service or the efficiency of the administration.

Adjusted Tax Rates

A majority of the state laws prescribe that the legal basis of assessment be 100 per cent of true value. Exceptions are found in North Dakota and Washington where 50 per cent of true value is the legal basis of assessment, and in Alabama and Iowa where it is 60 per cent. In Arkansas the State Corporation Commission has responsibility for determination of what the assess-

TABLE VI
NUMBER OF INSTALLMENTS IN WHICH CITY TAXES ARE PAYABLE

Number of Installments	*Per Cent of Cities 1945*	*Per Cent of Cities 1940*	*Per Cent of Cities 1935*
1	18%	17%	23%
2	51	48	47
3	3	3	4
4	19	19	19
5-9	1	2	2
10 and over	5	6	5
Optional	3	5	
	100%	100%	100%

ment ratio shall be and has set the ratio at 50 per cent. The California law requires that assessments shall be in proportion to value, but does not indicate what that proportion shall be. Actually assessments have been 50 per cent for counties and anywhere from 50 to 75 per cent for cities.

Even in cities where legal requirements specify assessments at full or true cash value, extreme care must be exercised in comparing actual rates levied, for it is a well known fact that assessments often vary from legal requirements. As a matter of fact it may be said that assessment at full cash value or 100 per cent of true value is the exception rather than the rule.

Because of these variations in legal requirements and assessing practices, actual tax rates levied are adjusted by applying to them an estimated ratio of assessed valuation to true cash or full value for each city. The adjusted tax rates computed by applying these estimated assessment ratios to the actual tax rates are all on a theoretically uniform 100 per cent basis and are therefore comparable in considerable degree.

While it is a fairly simple procedure to apply the assessment ratio to the actual tax rate to obtain the adjusted tax rate, the determination of the assessment ratio is not so simple. In some cities detailed studies have been made comparing the assessed values and selling prices of all types of property. In a few states the state tax commissions publish annual estimates of the assessment ratios of the local assessing units but their figures are frequently disputed by local agencies. A notable example is found in New York State where local estimates differ considerple is found in New York State Tax Commission. The ratios shown in the compilation for certain New York cities are those reported by local authorities while a footnote at the end of the tabulation indicates both the ratio reported by the city and by the State Tax Commission.

Assessments Averaged

In using the assessment ratios reported in this study, it must be remembered they reflect overall average assessing practices and do not necessarily hold true for one particular piece or type of property. The average assessment ratio may be reported at say 80 per cent, yet there may be pieces of property which are assessed, for example, at 60 per cent and others at possibly 100 per cent. Further, residential property might be assessed at one ratio while commercial and industrial property is assessed at a different ratio. The figure reported is the overall average of all assessments within the city.

In a few states—California, Pennsylvania and Texas—the county and the city prepare separate property assessment rolls. Frequently the county assesses at a different ratio from the city. In such cases each tax rate is adjusted by the appropriate ratio and the sum of the adjusted rates is shown as the total adjusted tax rate.

In a few cases, Pittsburgh for instance, land is taxed at a different rate from buildings, and the rate shown is the weighted average of the individual rates.

Method of Compilation

This is the 24th annual tabulation of tax rates of cities over 30,000 population and has been made possible through the continued cooperation of city and county officials, chambers of commerce and bureaus of governmental research throughout the country in answering the questionnaires sent to them. Questionnaires were mailed to the 343 cities involved and replies were obtained from 327. The 1944-45 comparisons were based on 250 cities replying in both years, while the 1940-45 comparisons include 229 cities reporting in both 1940 and 1945.

The assessed values reported are those set by the cities and are different from county assessments in those parts of the country where the county assesses at a different ratio. The reader is warned against multiplying the assessed value by the total tax rate to arrive at the total tax levy for all units of government. It is impossible to obtain the total levy by this method since varying bases (ratios) of assessment and different tax rates that may be levied on real and personal property must be taken into account.

(See following page for tabulation.)

COMPARATIVE TAX RATES OF 327 AMERICAN CITIES FOR 1945

Compiled by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research from Data Furnished by City Officials and Members of the Governmental Research Association

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
	Group I												
	Population 1,000,000 or over												
1	New York, N. Y.[1]	7,454,995	$15,902,977,696	0	2	—	—	—	—	$28.20	100	$28.20	1
2	Chicago, Ill.[2]	3,396,808	4,886,619,059	16	2	22.60	13.30	3.80	N	39.70	100	39.70	2
3	Philadelphia, Pa.[3]	1,931,334	3,065,860,312	21	Op	17.00	11.75	N	N	28.75	100	28.75	3
4	Detroit, Mich.	1,623,452	2,906,345,890	27	2	19.69	9.73	4.99	N	34.41	100	34.41	4
5	Los Angeles, Calif.[4]	1,504,277	1,488,773,355	22	2	22.51	18.22	16.27	N	57.00	50	28.50	5
	Group II												
	Population 500,000 to 1,000,000												
6	Cleveland, Ohio	878,336	1,357,118,740	21	2	15.70	9.30	4.80	N	29.80	100	29.80	6
7	Baltimore, Md.[5]	859,100	1,731,712,734	34	Op	23.12	5.78*	N	1.20	30.10	100	30.10	7
8	St. Louis, Mo.[6]	816,048	1,099,906,671	17	4	17.50	9.00	N	.90	27.40	100	27.40	8
9	Boston, Mass.[7]	770,816	1,479,172,000	10	2	29.60*	9.58*	2.11*	1.21*	42.50	100	42.50	9
10	Pittsburgh, Pa.[8]	671,659	980,327,361	0	12	17.90*	11.75	8.63	N	38.28	100	38.28	10
11	Washington, D. C.[9]	663,091	1,542,711,216	10	2	—	—	N	N	17.50	95*	16.63	11

See also general notes at end of tabulation.

N=None

*=Estimated

—=Figures or breakdown not available

Op=Optional

§=These cities reported different assessment ratios for the city and county, or for land and buildings. The figure shown is the weighted average (to the nearest integer) of the several ratios.

NO STATE LEVY ON PROPERTY in the following states: California, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Vermont, and Virginia. No state levy on real estate in Pennsylvania.

[1] **New York City.** Rate shown is for borough of Manhattan. Total rate for Bronx is $27.90; Brooklyn, $27.90; Queens, $28.20; and Richmond, $27.90. Totals include levy for reassessment of special assessments which are borough-wide in character. Breakdown of total rate estimated from appropriations. Assessment ratio shown is figure reported by the State Tax Commission. However, there is considerable controversy on the accuracy of this ratio. Some local civic organizations contend that some properties are assessed at 160 per cent or higher, while others are assessed below 100 per cent of true value. See footnote o.

[2] **Chicago.** City rate includes $4.40 park and $3.40 sanitary district rates. County rate includes $.40 forest preserve rate. Assessed valuations shown above are Cook County Assessor's full value figures. The Illinois State Department of Revenue contends that the assessor's full value figures for real estate are really 73 per cent of full value. See footnote da.

[3] **Philadelphia.** There is no county tax. City and county are consolidated and city rate covers all costs. Assessment includes approximately $640,000,000 "money at interest" taxed at 4 mills by the city.

[4] **Los Angeles.** County rate includes $2.39 flood control rate on land and improvements only and $5.00 metropolitan water district rate.

[5] **Baltimore.** Assessed value includes $49,500,000 shares of banks and trust companies, $276,000,000 deposits in savings banks, and $72,450,000 railroad securities taxed at $10, $1.875, and $3 respectively. School rate estimated from appropriations. There is no county government in Baltimore.

[6] **St Louis.** St. Louis is a city and county within itself. City rate includes county rate.

[7] **Boston.** Breakdown of total rate of $42.50 estimated on basis of appropriations. Statutory requirement is that valuation be a fair cash value. According to local authorities evidence is overwhelming that a very large percentage of property is over-assessed.

[5] **Pittsburgh.** City rate is weighted average of $25 on land and $12.50 on buildings. Because of varying proportions of land to buildings on different pieces of property, the rate actually varies from $20 to $30.

[9] **Washington, D. C.** Ratio estimated at 95 per cent; assessments in downtown are reported as being 100 per cent, and those in outlying areas as being at 90 per cent. School rate included in city rate. Home owners pay taxes in as many as four installments.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
12	San Francisco, Calif.[10]	634,536	846,625,476	16	2	36.97	11.33	N	N	48.30	50	24.15	12
13	Milwaukee, Wis.[11]	587,472	869,251,170	15	10	11.06	11.13	8.44	.37	31.00	89§	27.46	13
14	Buffalo, N. Y.[o]	575,901	900,299,314	0	2	24.90	8.39	9.58	.05	42.92	92	39.49	14
	Group III **Population 250,000 to 500,000**												
15	New Orleans, La.[11a]	494,537	511,832,207	28	2	21.50	7.00	5.50	5.75	39.75	71§	28.38	15
16	Minneapolis, Minn.[k]	492,370	236,045,675	22	4	57.50	25.80	12.56	4.14	100.00	34	34.00	16
17	Cincinnati, Ohio[12]	455,610	915,587,710	15	2	9.88	7.33	2.59	N	19.80	80	15.84	17
18	Newark, N. J.[13]	429,760	714,259,200	29	4	27.30	14.35	7.05	2.90	51.60	100	51.60	18
19	Kansas City, Mo.	399,178	522,706,892	31	1	14.00	13.50	6.80	.90	35.20	65	22.88	19
20	Indianapolis, Ind.[e]	386,972	551,536,130	20	2	14.79	9.50	5.72	1.10	31.11	75	23.33	20
21	Houston, Tex.[w]	384,514	378,000,000*	—	1	18.75	12.50	9.20	7.20	47.65	47§	22.19	21
22	Seattle, Wash.[14]	368,302	290,773,842	28	2	21.10	13.50	13.42	2.18	50.20	35	17.57	22
23	Rochester, N. Y.[15]	324,975	537,501,522	0	4	19.78	10.59	9.89	—	40.26	91§	36.65	23
24	Denver, Colo.[16]	322,412	396,483,950	31	2	19.86	15.40	N	3.64	38.90	80	31.12	24
25	Louisville, Ky.[17]	319,077	451,045,588	28	1	15.15	7.85	4.30	.50	27.80	84§	23.39	25
26	Columbus, Ohio[q]	306,087	454,650,010	22	2	7.28	8.22	2.50	N	18.00	80	14.40	26
27	Portland, Ore.[18]	305,394	348,238,105	18	4	22.30	10.20	13.60	N	46.10	57	26.28	27
28	Atlanta, Ga.[19]	302,288	378,473,431	32	3	11.20	6.30	13.50	5.00	36.00	59§	21.20	28
29	Oakland, Calif.[20]	302,163	289,054,328	17	2	24.60	16.60	14.50	N	55.70	35	19.50	29
30	Jersey City, N. J.[21]	301,173	510,121,374	21	4	16.96	24.53	15.59	3.64	60.72	75	45.54	30
31	Dallas, Tex.[w]	294,734	304,114,450	30	2	17.00	7.50	8.00	7.20	39.70	54§	21.35	31
32	Memphis, Tenn.	292,942	332,709,792	15	4	11.50	6.50	8.70	.80	27.50	80	22.00	32
33	St. Paul, Minn.[22]	287,736	136,431,128	21	4	63.99	—	30.47	4.14	98.60	35	34.51	33
34	Toledo, Ohio[q]	282,349	470,000,000*	25*	2	8.75	7.68	2.77	N	19.20	100	19.20	34
35	Birmingham, Ala.[a]	267,583	203,725,657	18	4	11.50	6.50	11.50	6.50	36.00	40	14.40	35

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[10] **San Francisco.** Assessed value does not include $370,051,995 solvent credits taxed at $1 per $1000. City and county governments combined.

[11] **Milwaukee.** City rate includes $.93 Metropolitan Sewerage District rate.

[11a] **New Orleans.** Figure in county column is levee and flood reparation rate. There is no county rate as such. See footnote g.

[12] **Cincinnati.** County rate includes county park district rate of $.03. Intangible personalty taxed on income not included in assessed valuation.

[13] **Newark.** City rate includes rate for school debt service. See footnote n.

[14] **Seattle.** County rate includes $1.51, Port of Seattle rate. See footnote y.

[15] **Rochester.** State Tax Commission reports assessments at 93 per cent but local authorities believe that it is more nearly 119 per cent of true value.

[16] **Denver.** Consolidated city-county rate because of city-county governmental organization.

[17] **Louisville.** Real estate rate shown. Rate on personal property is $32.80.

[18] **Portland.** City rate includes $.90 port and $1.30 dock rates. See footnote s.

[19] **Atlanta.** School rate includes $1.50 levied on property in city limits for county schools. See footnote d.

[20] **Oakland.** County rate includes $.20 park, $2.20 municipal utility and $.10 mosquito abatement rates.

[21] **Jersey City.** Assessed value excludes $111,971,632 second-class railroad valuations. See footnote n.

[22] **St. Paul.** Rate shown is for non-homestead property. Rate on homesteads is $96.50. See footnote k.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
36	San Antonio, Tex.[w]	253,854	208,421,050	22	5	17.70	11.50	6.70	5.50	41.40	65§	26.78	36
37	Providence, R. I.[23]	253,504	501,914,540	—	4	—	—	N	N	25.00	100	25.00	37
	Group IV **Population 100,000 to 250,000**												
38	Akron, Ohio[24]	244,791	358,601,840	30	2	12.50	9.71	3.99	N	26.20	64	16.77	38
39	Omaha, Neb.	233,844	255,315,869	31	2	13.45	16.00	5.45	3.80	38.70	63§	24.32	39
40	Dayton, Ohio[24a]	210,718	350,713,410	31	2	8.31	8.10	4.19	N	20.60	76§	15.66	40
41	Syracuse, N. Y.[o]	205,967	338,005,392	0	4	20.59	9.09	12.22	.05	41.95	100	41.95	41
42	Oklahoma City, Okla.[25]	204,424	131,017,152	14	4	17.90	22.78	8.87	N	49.55	40	19.82	42
43	San Diego, Calif.[26]	203,341	221,759,855	19	2	21.40	18.30	17.60	N	57.30	50	28.65	43
44	Worcester, Mass.[27]	193,694	265,811,950	7	Op	26.50	8.53	1.22	.75	37.00	100	37.00	44
45	Richmond, Va.[28]	193,042	333,516,598	14	10	14.50	7.50	N	N	22.00	100	22.00	45
46	Honolulu, Hawaii[29]	179,358	146,735,144	—	2	—	—	N	N	27.26	80	21.81	46
47	Fort Worth, Tex.[30]	177,662	175,578,380	26	2	17.00	11.00	12.10	5.50	45.60	64§	29.32	47
48	Jacksonville, Fla.[31]	173,065	94,001,140	15	1	24.00	10.07	6.21	N	40.28	70	28.28	48
49	Miami, Fla.[c]	172,172	224,366,010	14	1	30.56	10.80	5.80	N	47.16	100	47.16	49
50	Youngstown, Ohio[32]	167,720	291,225,460	15	2	7.48	7.87	3.45	N	18.80	80	15.04	50
51	Nashville, Tenn.[33]	167,402	183,136,403	34	2	22.00	—	—	—		100	—	51
52	Hartford, Conn.[34]	166,267	386,786,838	20	4	16.65	11.77	.55	1.03	30.00	100	30.00	52
53	Grand Rapids, Mich.[j]	164,292	210,985,815	23	1	10.72	5.70	3.00	N	19.42	100	19.42	53
54	Long Beach, Calif.[35]	164,271	253,127,120	14	2	12.12	19.54	21.27	N	52.93	50	26.47	54
55	New Haven, Conn.[36]	160,605	319,507,430	20	2	16.02	10.61	.43	.44	27.50	100	27.50	55
56	Des Moines, Iowa[f]	159,819	144,140,557	12	2	22.26	25.93	14.29	N	62.48	60	37.49	56
57	Flint, Mich.[37]	151,543	229,261,914	24	3	8.61	7.68	4.01	N	20.30	80	16.24	57

[23] **Providence.** Assessed value does not include $220,365,820 intangible personal property taxed at 4 mills. See footnote u.

[24] **Akron.** City rate includes $.11 park rate. See footnote q.

[24a] **Dayton.** City rate includes $2.16 conservancy district rate.

[25] **Oklahoma City.** First $1,000 of homestead assessment taxed at only $9.45 ($3.78 adjusted). See footnote r.

[26] **San Diego.** County rate includes $.40 county water authority.

[27] **Worcester.** Local authorities believe that assessments are at approximately 92 per cent of true value.

[28] **Richmond.** While payment of taxes in two installments is the customary practice, by signing a special agreement they may be paid in ten installments.

[29] **Honolulu.** City rate covers cost of school and county government. Land is assessed at 60 per cent, improvements at 100 per cent of true value. *Homestead Exemption:* First $1,500 assessed value, plus one-half of value between $1,500 and $5,000; maximum $3,250.

[30] **Fort Worth.** County rate includes $3.50 water control.

[31] **Jacksonville.** County rate includes $.11 navigation and $.35 air base authority rates. See footnote c.

[32] **Youngstown.** City rate includes $1.42 sanitary district and $.12 township rates. See footnote q.

[33] **Nashville.** City rate includes school rate.

[34] **Hartford.** City rate includes $.96 metropolitan district rate.

[35] **Long Beach.** County rate includes $5 water district and $2.39 county flood control rates. City rate includes $.10 sanitation district #3 rate.

[36] **New Haven.** Tax rate for small annexed territory (Ward 32) is $15.48.

[37] **Flint.** County rate includes $1 tuberculosis sanitarium rate. See footnote j.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
58	Salt Lake City, Utah[38]	149,934	149,270,096	33	1	16.75	17.00	8.50	4.00	46.25	70	32.38	58
59	Springfield, Mass.	149,554	251,846,015	8	2	18.68	12.14	1.48	1.20	33.50	100	33.50	59
60	Bridgeport, Conn.	147,121	282,290,680	28	2	20.84	6.34	.22	.90	28.30	100	28.30	60
61	Norfolk, Va.[39]	144,332	180,474,042	14	4	—	—	N	N	25.00	100	25.00	61
62	Yonkers, N. Y.[40]	142,598	284,168,367	0	4	23.06	9.20	5.76	.05	38.07	100	38.07	62
63	Tulsa, Okla.[r]	142,157	125,757,204	37	4	16.25	17.54	7.25	N	41.04	60	24.62	63
64	Scranton Pa.[41]	140,404	96,657,803	0	4	18.69	24.00	8.20	N	50.89	75	38.17	64
65	Patterson, N. J.[n]	139,656	164,393,548	13	4	17.04	15.08	8.48	2.91	43.51	100	43.51	65
66	Albany, N. Y.[42]	130,577	238,192,947	0	1	23.89	—	9.82	.05	33.76	95	32.07	66
67	Chattanooga, Tenn.	128,163	119,059,158	8	4	22.00	—	15.80	.80	38.60	60	23.16	67
68	Trenton, N. J.	124,697	151,807,744	18	4	20.01	17.65	7.89	2.85	48.40	82§	39.53	68
69	Spokane, Wash.[43]	122,001	83,753,052	23	2	18.00	13.00	11.80	—	42.80	50	21.40	69
70	Kansas City, Kans.	121,458	84,626,835	19	2	17.52	19.60	9.80	.70	47.62	60	28.57	70
71	Fort Wayne, Ind.[e]	118,410	182,000,000*	37*	2	10.00	10.00	4.50	1.30	25.80	75	19.35	71
72	Camden, N. J.[n]	117,536	130,428,015	15	4	18.52	16.15	11.81	2.72	49.20	68	33.37	72
73	Erie, Pa.[t]	116,955	125,268,880	0	Op	15.50	17.00	7.00	N	39.50	94§	37.05	73
74	Fall River, Mass.	115,428	110,586,700	17	2	—	—	—	—	38.90	100	38.90	74
75	Wichita, Kans.	114,966	136,972,687	26	2	12.87	18.25	7.28	.70	39.10	70	23.37	75
76	Wilmington, Del.	112,504	164,855,875	0	1	14.30	1.70	4.00	N	20.00	80	16.00	76
77	Gary, Ind.[e]	111,719	142,000,000*	40*	2	13.83	17.08	5.60	1.10	37.61	40	15.04	77
78	Knoxville, Tenn.	111,580	140,220,468	29	1	19.18	7.32	16.60	.80	43.90	69§	30.32	78
79	Cambridge, Mass.	110,879	170,984,100	8	2	25.54	7.77	.93	1.66	35.90	100	35.90	79
80	Reading, Pa.[t]	110,568	137,000,000*	0	1	11.00	15.00	6.50	N	32.50	94§	30.55	80
81	New Bedford, Mass.	110,341	97,875,775	13	2	29.21*	10.59*	1.36	.84	42.00	100	42.00	81
82	Elizabeth, N. J.[n]	109,912	133,911,730	11	4	16.99	17.85	7.12	2.94	44.90	100	44.90	82
83	Tacoma, Wash.[44]	109,408	59,109,653	28	2	20.67	18.90	14.25	2.20	56.02	50	28.01	83
84	Canton, Ohio[q]	108,401	177,394,930	20	2	4.70	8.80	2.50	N	16.00	80	12.80	84
85	Tampa, Fla.[c]	108,391	79,439,290	20	10	32.00	14.50	14.00	N	60.50	67§	40.50	85
86	Sacramento, Calif.[45]	105,958	135,723,010	15	2	20.50	20.10	12.60	N	53.20	67§	35.53	86
87	Peoria, Ill.[46]	105,087	83,436,240	34	2	30.35	21.50	3.75	N	55.60	30	16.68	87

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[38] **Salt Lake City.** County rate includes $.70 mosquito abatement and water district rates combined. See footnote x.

[39] **Norfolk,** et al. School rate included in city rate.

[40] **Yonkers.** Local agencies feel that assessments are over 100 per cent.

[41] **Scranton.** City rate is weighted average of $26.32 on land and $13.16 on improvements. County rate includes $2.70 for institutions and poor.

[42] **Albany.** There is some local opinion that assessments are over 100 per cent.

[43] **Spokane.** County rate includes both state and county rates as local authorities were unable to give the breakdown. See footnote y.

[44] **Tacoma.** City rate includes $2.50 park rate. County rate includes $4.25 port district rate. See footnote y.

[45] **Sacramento.** County rate includes $.30 utility district and $.40 flood control.

[46] **Peoria.** City rate includes $3 town, $2.85 park district and $3.75 sanitary district rates. See footnote da.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
88	Somerville, Mass.	102,177	116,941,600	7	10	24.06	10.09	1.16	3.49	38.80	100	38.80	88
89	Lowell, Mass.	101,389	94,256,050	11	1	42.58	—	1.15	1.07	44.80	100	44.80	89
90	South Bend, Ind.[e]	101,268	152,460,370	29	2	10.05	10.75	6.10	1.10	28.00	70	19.60	90
91	Duluth, Minn.[47]	101,065	46,242,127	20	4	43.63	40.38	22.45	4.14	110.60	40	44.24	91
92	Charlotte, N. C.[48]	100,899	122,688,460*	25	12	11.17	2.83	7.30	N	21.30	67	14.27	92
93	Utica, N. Y.	100,518	124,112,225	0	2	21.74	9.70	9.16	—	40.60	81§	33.11	93
	Group V												
	Population 50,000 to 100,000												
94	Waterbury, Conn.	99,314	190,810,009	27	2	19.33	9.26	.54	.87	30.00	80	24.00	94
95	Shreveport, La.	98,167	113,054,131	33	1	16.00	9.00	2.00	5.57	32.57	67	21.82	95
96	Lynn, Mass.	98,123	131,915,855	10	2	19.61	9.95	1.46	1.78	32.80	100	32.80	96
97	Evansville, Ind.[e]	97,062	129,107,570	—	2	9.10	10.60	8.00	1.10	28.80	75	21.60	97
98	Allentown, Pa.[t]	96,904	107,758,725	0	4	12.40	15.00	5.00	N	32.40	75	24.30	98
99	El Paso, Tex.[49]	96,810	83,176,580	22	2	13.50	11.50	6.60	5.50	37.10	63§	23.55	99
100	Savannah, Ga.[50]	95,996	64,687,985	23	4	23.00	10.00	12.50	5.00	50.50	65§	33.05	100
101	Little Rock, Ark.[51]	88,039	46,375,696	34	3	13.20	18.00	8.80	9.00	49.00	30	14.70	101
102	Austin, Tex.[w]	87,930	76,684,990	19	1	16.50	7.00	7.70	5.50	36.70	61§	22.35	102
103	Schenectady, N. Y.[52]	87,549	163,505,800	0	4	19.14	10.81	8.40	—	38.35	85	32.60	103
104	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.[53]	86,236	80,848,031	0	4	15.98	17.50	8.00	N	41.48	100	41.48	104
105	Berkeley, Calif.[54]	85,547	101,008,230	1	2	16.56	17.54	14.50	N	48.60	52	25.24	105
106	Rockford, Ill.[55]	84,637	63,000,000*	35	2	22.11	25.00	4.10	N	51.21	40	20.49	106
107	Lawrence, Mass.	84,323	83,834,125	9	2	17.68	14.13	2.68	1.31	35.80	100	35.80	107
108	Harrisburg, Pa.[t]	83,893	93,898,870	0	Op	14.00	15.50	6.00	N	35.50	55	19.53	108
109	Saginaw, Mich.[j]	82,794	118,328,604	21	4	8.25	5.74	3.25	N	17.24	72§	12.49	109
110	Glendale, Calif.[56]	82,582	74,022,755	18	2	13.66	23.10	16.27	N	53.03	50	26.52	110
111	Sioux City. Iowa[57]	82,364	79,492,422	25	2	17.84	20.33	7.25	N	45.42	60	27.25	111
112	Lincoln, Neb.[58]	81,984	96,382,246	22	2	11.60	17.00	2.46	3.57	34.63	80§	27.59	112
113	Pasadena Calif.[59]	81,864	128,774,390	20	1	11.74	20.44	16.27	N	48.45	67§	32.28	113

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[47] **Duluth.** Rate shown applies to non-homestead property. Rate on homesteads is $108.02 ($27 adjusted). See footnote k.

[48] **Charlotte.** Assessed value subject to increase by amount of late returns which come in until June 30, 1946. See footnote p.

[49] **El Paso.** Local authority states that city normally assesses at 70 per cent of true value, but due to inflated values not over 40 per cent this year. See footnote w.

[50] **Savannah.** Assessed valuation reported is 1944 figure. Figure for 1945 not available in time for this report.

[51] **Little Rock.** City rate includes $1.20 police and fire pension and $1 library maintenance rates.

[52] **Schenectady.** Ratio shown is the equalization rate set by the New York State Tax Commission. See footnote o.

[53] **Wilkes-Barre.** County rate includes $1 institution tax rate. School rate excludes $5 per capita tax.

[54] **Berkeley.** County rate includes park district, water district and and mosquito abatement rates totaling $2.50.

[55] **Rockford.** City rate includes $2.52 road and bridge rate and a combined rate of $6.78 for sanitary district, park and township.

[56] **Glendale** County rate includes $2.39 flood control rate.

[57] **Sioux City.** Rates given include moneys and credits taxed at 5 mills. See footnote f.

[58] **Lincoln.** City rate includes $1 sanitary district rate.

[59] **Pasadena.** County rate includes $2.39 flood control rate.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Tutal			
114	Altoona, Pa.[t]	80,214	71,513,700	0	1	10.00	18.00	6.00	N	34.00	61§	20.90	114
115	Winston-Salem, N. C.[p]	79,815	119,352,373	47	1	16.39	2.11	5.00	N	23.50	70	16.45	115
116	Bayonne, N. J.[n]	79,198	122,830,040	21	4	—	—	—	—	58.68	100	58.68	116
117	Huntington, W. Va.[60]	78,836	128,106,545	53	2	5.00	9.18	4.48	.10	18.76	95	17.82	117
118	Lansing, Mich.[j]	78,753	114,723,660	19	1	16.70	10.60	4.30	N	31.60	80	25.28	118
119	Mobile, Ala.[a]	78,720	54,529,120	32	1	7.50	9.00	12.50	6.50	35.50	60	21.30	119
120	Binghamton, N. Y.[o]	78,309	105,347,923	0	4	21.86	10.55	4.39	—	36.80	100	36.80	120
121	Montgomery, Ala.	78.084	47,815,187	31	1	12.50	—	—	—	—	—	—	121
122	Niagara Falls, N. Y.[o]	78,029	158,627,080	0	2	19.25	12.58	5.00	—	36.83	85	31.31	122
123	Manchester, N. H.	77,685	90,670,488	24	1	28.71	—	4.14	.15	33.00	100	33.00	123
124	Quincy, Mass.	75,810	Not reported										124
125	Pawtucket, R. I.[n]	75,797	158,442,651	30	4	—	—	—	—	21.00	100	21.00	125
126	St. Joseph, Mo.	75,111	60,406,870	27	1	15.00	—	21.20	—	36.20	65	23.55	126
127	E. St. Louis, Ill.[61]	75.609	47,704,686	38	2	33.13	24.90	5.50	N	63.53	40	25.41	127
128	Springfield, Ill.[62]	75,503	54,172,094	21	2	21.45	20.50	5.30	N	47.25	40	18.90	128
129	Portland, Me.[63]	73,643	80,352,200	24	1	29.23	13.50	1.38	6.29	50.40	90*	45.36	129
130	Charleston, S. C.	71,275	Not reported										130
131	Springfield, Ohio[q]	70,662	Not reported										131
132	Troy, N. Y.[o]	70,304	71,735,831	0	2	32.75	12.14	12.39	—	57.28	86	49.26	132
133	Hammond, Ind.[e]	70,184	100,195,865	—	2	13.50	14.80	7.40	1.10	36.80	50	18.40	133
134	Newton, Mass.[h]	69,873	169,681,050	10	10	—	—	—	—	28.60	100	28.60	134
135	Roanoke, Va.	69,287	68,509,653	17	4	—	—	N	N	25.00	60	15.00	135
136	Lakewood, Ohio[q]	69,160	95,733,720	10	2	7.00	14.20	4.80	N	26.00	60	15.60	136
137	East Orange, N. J.[n]	68,945	104,647,700	9	4	16.85	14.15	7.17	2.83	41.00	100	41.00	137
138	New Britain, Conn	68,685	112,965,942	19	1	—	—	—	—	28.75	100	28.75	138
139	San Jose, Calif.	68,457	68,037,695	—	2	15.72							139
140	Charleston, W. Va.[64]	67,914	122,877,295		2	—	—	—	—	51.38	60	30.83	140
141	Topeka, Kans.[65]	67,833	92,699,217	44	2	13.99	17.88	5.78	.75	38.40	95§	36.44	141
142	Madison, Wisc.	67,447	140,192,910	16	2	10.50	11.85	5.95	.20	28.50	96§	27.35	142
143	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.[o]	67,362	141,906,968	0	2	12.27	13.40	7.71	—	33.38	100	33.38	143

[60] **Huntington.** City rate includes $.60 park rate. See footnote x.

[61] **East St. Louis.** City rate includes $8.20 East Side levee, $3.70 park, $3.40 town and $1.33 health district rates. See footnote da.

[62] **Springfield.** City rate includes $1.67 sanitary district and $2 park rates. See footnote da.

[63] **Portland.** City rate includes $.05 bridge service. Ratio estimated at 90 per cent.

[64] **Charleston.** Rate shown is for Class IV property totaling $70,193,625. The rate for Class II property valued at $22,373,850 is $25.69 per $1000 and the rate for Class I property consisting of $28,057,920 in personal property and $2,251,900 in public utility property is $12.85 per $1,000.

[65] **Topeka.** Assessed value includes $21,630,316 intangibles assessed at $.50 per $100. City rate includes $.43 library rate. County rate includes $1.95 Washburn University rate.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
144	Racine, Wisc.	67,195	111,188,535	18	7	5.52	11.40	5.05	.24	22.21	84§	18.59	144
145	Johnstown, Pa.[t]	66,668	72,640,115	7	4	14.00	17.00	6.00	N	37.00	97§	35.80	145
146	Pontiac, Mich.[j]	66,626	94,376,745	34	1	12.73	8.33	3.87	N	24.93	70	17.45	146
147	Davenport, Iowa[f]	66,039	62,054,154	9	1	18.00	19.57	7.30	N	44.87	60	26.92	147
148	Oak Park, Ill.[66]	66,015	102,884,904	12	2	11.70	15.10	3.80	N	30.60	80	24.48	148
149	Augusta, Ga.[d]	65,919	49,287,175	38	3	20.00							149
150	Phoenix, Ariz.	65,414	77,882,096	24	2	17.20	28.40	6.40	8.30	60.30	62§	37.03	150
151	Evanston, Ill.[67]	65,389	125,206,853	13	2	11.10	14.30	4.30	N	29.70	100	29.70	151
152	Cicero, Ill.	64,712	Not reported										152
153	Atlantic City, N. J.[n]	64,094	78,223,170	9	4	35.80	12.90	13.20	2.90	64.80	100	64.80	153
154	Dearborn, Mich.[j]	63,584	252,741,614	38	4	13.07	11.22	4.93	N	29.22	100	29.22	154
155	Medford, Mass.[h]	63,083	77,852,700	5	2	—	—	—	—	38.00	100	38.00	155
156	Terra Haute, Ind.[e]	62,693	57,238,560	35	2	15.57	13.98	8.35	1.10	39.00	65	25.35	156
157	Columbia, S. C.	62,396	25,929,560	35		—	—	—	—	33.00	35	11.55	157
158	Brockton, Mass.	62,343	71,191,300	11	—	—	—	—	—	42.60	100	42.60	158
159	Cedar Rapids, Iowa	62,120	65,611,008	24	2	15.61	20.31	4.71	N	40.63	59§	23.91	159
160	Jackson, Miss.[m]	62,107	65,781,352	26	3	22.60	9.40	—	—	32.00	60	19.20	160
161	Covington, Ky.	62,018	57,148,480	25	2	15.70	13.70	—	—	29.40	70	20.58	161
162	Passaic, N. J.[n]	61,394	83,539,975	17	4	24.40	17.27	8.45	2.88	53.00	100	53.00	162
163	Lancaster, Pa.[t]	61,345	91,023,450	0	1	6.00	11.50	1.50	N	19.00	91§	18.25	163
164	Springfield, Mo.	61,238	41,206,246	29	1	11.20	14.50	5.30	.90	31.90	40	12.76	164
165	Wheeling, W. Va.[s]	61,099	124,828,950	53	2	13.10	—	—	—	40.71	75	30.53	165
166	Galveston, Tex.[w]	60,862	Not reported										166
167	St. Petersburg, Fla.[68]	60,812	101,441,767	8	1	21.00	—	17.71	N	38.71	100	38.71	167
168	Fresno, Calif.	60,685	64,141,445	36	2	16.10	23.70	8.80	N	48.60	100	48.60	168
169	Durham, N. C.[p]	60,195	96,987,325	35	1	12.75	2.75	5.50	N	21.00	75	15.75	169
170	Greensboro, N. C.[p]	59,319	101,222,580	26	1				N		85		170
171	Decatur, Ill.[69]	59,305	35,724,992	19	2	31.40	23.20	3.40	N	58.00	29	16.82	171
172	Chester, Pa.	59,285	58,743,357	0	—	15.25	17.00	5.00	N	37.25	85§	31.53	172
173	Beaumont, Tex.[70]	59,061	60,000,000*	17*	4	18.50	11.10	3.16	.72	33.48	72§	24.14	173

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[66] **Oak Park.** City rate includes $3.40 sanitary district, $1.20 park district, $.60 poor relief, $.20 driveway maintenance and $.20 mosquito abatement rates. County rate includes $.40 forest preserve rate.

[67] **Evanston.** City rate includes a combined rate of $4 for township, poor relief and sanitary district. County rate includes a combined rate of $.90 for forest preserve and mosquito abatement.

[68] **St. Petersburg.** There are approximately twenty state and county tax rate districts in the city. Rates vary because of city and school districts and roads. City rate shown is only one of four varying from $18 to $21. See footnote C.

[69] **Decatur.** City rate includes $4.10 town, $3.30 road and bridge, $2 sanitary district, $4 parks and $1.30, T.B. San. rates.

[70] **Beaumont.** County rate includes $.18 drainage district #6, $.04 navigation district, $1 South Park independent school district, $1 French independent school district and $.20 Lamar College district rates.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
174	Bethlehem, Pa.[t]	58,490	70,277,604	0	4	12.00	16.00	8.50	N	36.50	64§	23.43	174
175	New Rochelle, N. Y.[o]	58,408	138,418,950	0	4	20.40	14.00	7.00	.20	41.60	100	41.60	175
176	Malden, Mass.[71]	58,010	69,443,650	9	2	25.81	12.03	1.96	N	39.80	100	39.80	176
177	Macon, Ga.[d]	57,865	44,704,000*	25*	9	13.00	—	26.00	5.00	44.00	50	22.00	177
178	Corpus Christi, Tex.	57,301	58,410,400	20	1	20.00	13.50	12.00	7.70	53.20	46§	24.63	178
179	York, Pa.	56,712	50,677,820	0	1	12.50	20.00	6.00	N	38.50	48§	18.25	179
180	Union City, N. J.[72]	56,173	61,512,890	7	4	25.41	17.12	12.60	2.90	58.03	100	58.03	180
181	Waco, Tex.	55,982	51,899,900	28	12	17.00	8.00	4.70	7.20	36.90	70§	25.89	181
182	McKeesport, Pa.[t]	55,355	58,901,275	0	1	13.50	17.00	—	N	30.50	70	21.35	182
183	Irvington, N. J.[n]	55,328	Not reported										183
184	Cleveland Heights, Ohio[q]	54,992	103,857,900	5	2	4.50	14.90	4.80	N	24.20	60	14.52	184
185	Stockton, Calif.	54,714	68,853,665	15	10	19.80	16.84	13.70	N	50.34	62§	31.03	185
186	East Chicago, Ind.[73]	54,637	102,038,565	20	2	13.73	9.77	5.60	1.10	30.20	50	15.10	186
187	Kalamazoo, Mich.[j]	54,097	77,559,115	25	12	8.80	12.67	4.00	N	25.47	71§	18.06	187
188	Holyoke, Mass.	53,750	71,627,180	5	2	25.46	—	1.50	2.04	29.00	100	29.00	188
189	Santa Monica, Calif.[74]	53,500	49,557,085	17	2	21.23	20.95	21.27	N	63.45	50	31.73	189
190	Columbus, Ga.[d]	53,280	44,362,484	21	1	15.00	9.00				50		190
191	Pueblo, Colo.[75]	52,162	30,121,754	—	2	33.10	19.02	10.00	3.64	65.76	50	32.88	191
192	Waterloo, Iowa[76]	51,743	48,993,654	20	2	13.92	18.99	5.82	N	38.73	60	23.24	192
193	Amarillo, Tex.[w]	51,686	64,729,000	26	2	11.90	11.50	6.00	7.20	36.60	66§	24.00	193
194	Asheville, N. C.[p]	51,310	56,090,844	3	1	15.30	3.60	10.70	N	29.60	75	22.20	194
195	Highland Park, Mich.	50,810	95,963,850	31	2	14.85	14.15	4.95	N	33.95	60	20.37	195
196	Portsmouth, Va.	50,745	37,957,252	7	2	—	—	—	—	25.00	70	17.50	196
197	Hamilton, Ohio[77]	50,592	77,298,754	24	2	8.42	7.36	2.60	N	18.38	70	12.87	197
198	Hoboken, N. J.	50,115	Not reported										198
	Group VI Population 30,000 to 50,000												
199	Hamtramck, Mich.[j]	49,839	83,927,220	—	2	20.00	12.54	5.23	N	37.77	67	21.80	199
200	Brookline, Mass.[h]	49,786	130,417,400	10	2	17.83	5.03	.81	2.33	26.00	100	26.00	200
201	Muncie, Ind.[78]	49,720	51,632,895	44	2	13.60	14.40	4.70	1.10	33.80	60	20.28	201
202	Pittsfield, Mass.	49,684	Not reported										202

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[71] **Malden.** City rate includes $4.16 welfare and veterans aid rates. No state levy because receipts exceed payments.

[72] **Union City.** Rate for former town of Union shown. Rate for annexed portion is $57.98.

[73] **East Chicago.** City rate includes $2.25 sanitary districts, $.60 library and $1.83 township rates.

[74] **Santa Monica.** County rate includes $5 Metropolitan water and $2.39 county flood control rates.

[75] **Pueblo.** City rate includes $5.75 conservancy district rate.

[76] **Waterloo.** East side rate shown. Rate for west side is $38.68.

[77] **Hamilton.** City rate includes $3.14 conservancy rate. See footnote q.

[78] **Muncie.** City rate includes $.65 library rate.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
203	Jackson, Mich.[j]	49,656	73,940,315	18	5	9.22	8.39	4.23	N	21.84	80	17.47	203
204	Lexington, Ky.	49,304	71,609,296	37	2	18.00	7.80	—	—	25.80	90	23.22	204
205	Woonsocket, R. I.[u]	49,303	78,741,010	28	4	—	—	N	N	25.00	100	25.00	205
206	Clifton, N. J.[n]	48,827	55,341,400	10	4	18.15	18.91	8.17	2.87	48.10	75*	36.08	206
207	Kenosha, Wis.	48,765	73,504,530	11	3	7.18	15.00	8.82	—	31.00	80	24.80	207
208	Berwyn, Ill.[79]	48,451	54,704,037	7	2	11.80	16.40	3.80	N	32.00	100	32.00	208
209	Bay City, Mich.[j]	47,956	50,380,560	21	1	21.76	12.10	5.70	N	39.56	68§	27.12	209
210	Stamford, Conn.[80]	47,938	112,518,246	19	1	—	—	—	—	32.50	100	32.50	210
211	Muskegon, Mich.[j]	47,697	64,191,975	29	1	8.77	9.38	3.80	N	21.95	90§	19.86	211
212	New Castle, Pa.	47,638	52,624,120	0	Op	13.00	20.00	5.00	N	38.00	100	38.00	212
213	Aurora, Ill.[81]	47,170	29,287,774	24	2	28.32	27.50	3.75	N	59.57	33	19.66	213
214	Cranston, R. I.[u]	47,085	82,308,840	24	4	—	—	N	N	24.00	100	24.00	214
215	Raleigh, N. C.[82]	46,897	67,089,110	19	Op	13.50	—	8.80	N	22.30	65	14.50	215
216	Everett, Mass.[h]	46,784	80,893,450	16	2	17.53	8.00	1.14	2.93	29.60	100	29.60	216
217	Haverhill, Mass.[h]	46,752	49,339,200	11	1	29.69	7.95	1.15	.81	39.60	100	39.60	217
218	Green Bay, Wis.[83]	46,235	58,935,180	12	2	8.79	13.91	6.41	.25	29.36	85§	24.82	218
219	Port Arthur, Tex.[w]	46,140	30,539,160	19	2	19.00	—	—	—	—	70	—	219
220	Wichita Falls, Tex.[84]	45,112	36,169,940	38	2	15.00	12.00	13.30	7.20	47.50	67	31.83	220
221	Elmira, N. Y.[o]	45,106	50,800,059	0	2	22.94	12.50	6.69	—	42.13	84§	35.47	221
222	Lima, Ohio[q]	44,711	62,842,774	20	2	6.90	7.40	3.30	N	17.60	75	13.20	222
223	Lynchburg, Va.	44,541	44,481,494	8	—	12.00	11.50	N	N	23.50	70	16.45	223
224	Williamsport, Pa.[85]	44,355	29,819,545	0	Op	13.75	22.00	8.00	N	43.75	56§	24.65	224
225	Lorain, Ohio[q]	44,125	83,000,000*	—	2	6.34	5.90	2.04	N	14.28	80	11.42	225
226	Dubuque, Iowa	43,892	35,621,271	23	2	22.27	17.51	6.95	N	46.73	60	28.04	226
227	Ogden, Utah	43,688	39,265,976	—	Op	17.50	15.50	8.30	4.00	45.30	50	22.65	227
228	San Bernardino, Calif.[86]	43,646	32,819,970	28	2	16.60	22.10	18.50	N	57.20	50	28.60	228
229	Battle Creek, Mich.[j]	43,453	71,481,050	25	1	7.80	8.80	3.20	N	19.80	100	19.80	229
230	Warren, Ohio[q]	42,837	73,724,000	—	2	5.80	7.60	2.80	N	16.20	80	12.96	230
231	Rock Island, Ill.[87]	42,775	25,318,757	30	2	21.60	28.20	5.50	N	55.30	40	22.12	231

[79] **Berwyn.** City rate includes $3.40 sanitary district, $.60 public health, $.50 township and $.40 poor relief rates. Tax rates apply on 100 per cent of assessor's appraised valuation.

[80] **Stamford.** Tax rate shown is for 1st city district; rate for 3rd city district is $27.50.

[81] **Aurora.** City rate includes $4.10 township, $4.20 sanitary district and $2.42 road and bridge rates. County rate includes $.35 forest preserve rate.

[82] **Raleigh.** County rate includes school rate. See footnote p.

[83] **Green Bay.** City rate includes $2.20 metropolitan sewage disposal rate.

[84] **Wichita Falls.** County rate includes $8 Wichita County irrigation district rate. School rate includes $2 junior college rates. See footnote w.

[85] **Williamsport.** County also charges $4 on personal property only.

[85a] **Dubuque.** Assessed value does not include $10,551,372 in moneys and credits taxed at 5 mills.

[86] **San Bernardino.** County rate includes $1.90 flood control rate.

[87] **Rock Island.** City rate includes $2.90 township and $2.03 street and bridge rates.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
232	La Crosse, Wis.	42,707	57,158,985	15	3	7.21	11.42	7.14	.23	26.00	84	21.58	232
233	Jamestown, N. Y.[o]	42,638	56,897,013	0	1	13.03	16.76	7.21	—	37.00	87§	32.22	233
234	Joliet, Ill.[88]	42,365	26,576,552	—	2	24.10	34.10	7.00	N	65.20	25	16.30	234
235	Fitchburg, Mass.[h]	41,824	49,215,400	15	2	20.34	12.64	1.87	1.15	36.00	100	36.00	235
236	Chicopee, Mass.[h]	41,664	40,170,020	7	2	—	—	—	—	40.00	100	40.00	236
237	Bloomfield, N. J.[n]	41,623	66,106,300	14	4	15.50	16.60	7.20	2.90	42.20	100	42.20	237
238	Anderson, Ind.	41,572	41,958,700	—	2	—	—	—	—	70.00	—	—	238
239	Council Bluffs, Iowa	41,439	21,017,004	19	2	28.90	35.17	8.92	N	72.99	59§	42.90	239
240	Chelsea, Mass.[h]	41,259	42,212,400	8	2	33.03	11.04	N	3.73	47.80	100	47.80	240
241	Perth Amboy, N. J.[n]	41,242	45,152,725	3	4	20.85	18.36	13.76	3.03	56.00	50	28.00	241
242	Salem, Mass.[h]	41,213	54,666,860	12	2	20.28	11.65	2.38	1.19	35.50	100	35.50	242
243	Sioux Falls, S. D.[v]	40,832	48,046,347	19	2	15.16	14.06	4.04	N	33.26	70	23.28	243
244	Sheboygan, Wis.	40,638	53,350,055	13	2	13.67	12.89	4.68	.24	31.48	102§	31.97	244
245	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.[o]	40,478	53,423,815	0	4	24.93	8.88	5.33	—	39.14	70	27.40	245
246	Quincy, Ill.	40,469	40,889,829	45	2	16.10	15.20	4.10	N	35.40	50	17.70	246
247	Portsmouth, Ohio[q]	40,466	51,040,888	23	4	10.13	10.18	3.69	N	24.00	100	24.00	247
248	White Plains, N. Y.[o]	40,327	114,158,232	0	2	13.29	14.50	7.53	—	35.32	100	35.32	248
249	Waltham, Mass.[h]	40,020	52,798,650	7	2	—	—	—	—	34.60	100	34.60	249
250	Arlington, Mass.[h]	40,013	56,168,350	6	2	—	—	—	—	34.40	100	34.40	250
251	Norwalk, Conn.[89]	39,849	80,616,503	15	2	—	—	—	—	24.90	80	19.92	251
252	Montclair, N. J.	39,807	81,669,000	9	4	16.10	17.30	10.10	—	43.50	100	43.50	252
253	East Cleveland, Ohio[q]	39,495	54,983,650	15	2	7.80	13.10	4.80	N	25.70	50	12.85	253
254	Meriden, Conn.	39,494	66,564,630	21	2	13.16	12.24	.29	.31	26.00	100	26.00	254
255	Cumberland, Md.	39,483	49,500,000	16	Op	12.50	7.62	10.08	1.20	31.40	80	25.12	255
256	Kearny, N. J.	39,467	Not reported										256
257	West New York, N. J.[n]	39,439	37,210,660	10	4	24.12	22.24	14.47	3.33	64.16	60	38.50	257
258	Laredo, Tex.[w]	39,274	20,781,138	29	12	21.30	7.10	13.10	7.20	48.70	67§	32.87	258
259	Oshkosh, Wis.	39,089	49,259,500	21	4	11.51	15.63	3.45	.61	31.20	89§	27.95	259
260	Alhambra, Calif.	38,935	31,633,275	22	2	15.07	19.76*	13.62*	N	48.45	50	24.23	260
261	Lewiston, Me.	38,598	34,070,090	11	1	—	—	—	—	37.00	65	24.05	261
262	High Point, N. C.[p]	38,495	48,600,000	29	4	10.65	6.39	4.46	N	21.50	85	18.28	262
263	Elgin, Ill.[90]	38,333	23,984,539	24	2	23.70	23.80	3.75	N	51.25	30	15.38	263
264	Norristown, Pa.	38,181	22,880,690	0	1	14.50	23.00	1.50	N	39.00	50	19.50	264
265	Hazleton, Pa.[t]	38,009	28,222,960	0	1	15.50	23.00	8.00	4.00	50.50	50	25.25	265

[88] **Joliet.** City rate includes $4.10 township, $3 road and bridge and $4.10 park district rates. County rate includes $4.10 forest preserve rate. Authorities report that the Illinois legislature has enacted a statute effective January 1, 1946, increasing the assessment factor to 100 per cent and decreasing maximum tax rate to 50 per cent.

[89] **Norwalk.** The rate shown is the average tax rate for this year and includes appropriations for school, county, state and all city departments.

[90] **Elgin.** City rate includes $4.95 township and $1.70 sanitary district rates.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
266	Steubenville, Ohio	37,651	56,177,910	23	2	4.80	8.20	2.20	N	15.20	75	11.40	266
267	Zanesville, Ohio	37,500	Not reported										267
268	Plainfield, N. J.[n]	37,469	57,763,375	11	4	14.90	17.51	6.99	2.90	42.30	100	42.30	268
269	Pensacola, Fla.	37,449	31,295,273	24	10	12.00	8.00	—	N	20.00	85	17.00	269
270	Taunton, Mass.	37,395	Not reported										270
271	Mansfield, Ohio[91]	37,154	62,249,000*	22	2	4.40	8.70	2.50	N	15.60	74	11.57	271
272	Joplin, Mo.[92]	37,144	24,132,253	30	1	15.00	16.00	6.00	.90	37.90	50	18.95	272
273	Butte, Mont.	37,081	48,497,930	9	2	33.50							273
274	Newport News, Va.	37,067	52,234,738	20	1	19.50	13.00	N	N	32.50	60	19.50	274
275	Gadsden, Ala.[a]	36,975	23,017,461	5	1	10.00	3.00	11.50	6.50	31.00	60	18.60	275
276	Danville, Ill.[93]	36,919	20,695,782	27	2	25.90	29.00	4.30	N	59.20	46	27.40	276
277	Tucson, Ariz.	36,818	24,071,215	—	2	21.20	30.10	—	8.30	59.60	55	32.78	277
278	Colorado Springs, Colo.	36,789	30,077,410	23	2	14.00	22.30	6.51	3.64	46.45	100	46.45	278
279	Orlando, Fla.[c]	36,736	Not reported										279
280	Fort Smith, Ark.[b]	36,584	18,574,767	33	3	6.40	18.00	9.00	9.00	42.40	25	10.60	280
281	West Allis, Wis.[94]	36,364	78,953,075	31	4	16.06	7.63	9.79	.26	33.74	84§	28.44	281
282	Alameda, Calif.	36,256	35,933,825	17	2	15.80	—	31.60	N	47.40	50	23.70	282
283	Auburn, N. Y.[o]	35,753	51,098,515	0	2	17.69	8.56	3.84	—	30.09	100	30.09	283
284	Orange, N. J.	35,717	41,531,850	8	4	17.96	17.96	7.23	2.85	46.00	100	46.00	284
285	Meridian, Miss.[m]	35,481	23,831,632	34	3	17.00	14.00						285
286	Albuquerque, N. Mex.	35,449	25,606,749	14	2	17.53	4.41	10.40	6.40	38.74	60	23.24	286
287	Watertown, Mass.[h]	35,427	52,086,210	7	2	—	—	—	—	34.00	100	34.00	287
288	Richmond, Ind.[e]	35,147	37,965,877	32	2	3.70	13.85	6.95	1.10	25.60	60	15.36	288
289	Superior, Wis.	35,136	41,620,292	13	2	6.36	16.23	13.88	.21	36.68	100	36.68	289
290	Santa Barbara, Calif.	34,958	49,204,925	14	2	12.60							290
291	Greenville, S. C.	34,734	11,059,890	—	1	47.00	28.00	21.00	N	96.00	38	36.75	291
292	Baton Rouge, La.	34,719	Not reported										292
293	Riverside, Calif.	34,696	30,691,240	10	2	15.40	16.70	16.40	N	48.50	50	24.25	293
294	Moline, Ill.[95]	34,608	23,285,175	27	2	21.90	34.30	5.50	N	61.70	33	20.55	294
295	Revere, Mass.[h]	34,405	39,250,550	7	10	—	—	—	—	41.00	100	41.00	295
296	Burbank, Calif.[96]	34,337	64,531,460	33	2	16.60	18.71	18.77	N	54.08	60	32.45	296
297	Waukegan, Ill.[97]	34,241	18,280,002	34	2	30.40	41.60	7.40	N	79.40	25	19.85	297

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[91] **Mansfield.** City rate includes $.13 township rate. See footnote q.

[92] **Joplin.** Assessed value includes $1,882,676 estimated corporation tax. County rate includes $2.50 road rate.

[93] **Danville.** City rate includes $3.30 road and bridge, $4.20 township and $2.30 sanitary district rates.

[94] **West Allis.** City rate includes $2.74 metropolitan sewer system rate.

[95] **Moline.** City rate includes $1.70 township and $1.80 street and bridge rates.

[96] **Burbank.** County rate includes $2.39 county flood control and $2.50 metropolitan water district rates.

[97] **Waukegan.** City rate includes $4 park, $2.50 sanitary district, $5.10 township rates. School rate includes $19.40 township high school rate. County rate includes $2.10 road and bridge rate.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
298	Rome, N. Y.	34,214	32,347,934	0	2	20.16	15.35	9.54	—	45.05	78§	35.11	298
299	Norwood, Ohio	34,010	Not reported										299
300	Kokomo, Ind.	33,795	30,459,040	36	2	14.37	14.75	5.68	1.30	36.10	54§	19.60	300
301	West Hartford, Conn.[98]	33,776	101,667,759	12	Op	12.11*	5.55*	.26*	.58*	18.50	100	18.50	301
302	Paducah, Ky.	33,765	24,108,551	—	—	17.80	11.20						302
303	West Palm Beach, Fla.	33,693	36,466,430	15	1	36.00			N				303
304	Easton, Pa.[t]	33,589	41,356,408	0	4	12.00	14.50	8.50	N	35.00	93§	32.45	304
305	Alexandria, Va.[99]	33,523	54,000,000*	15■	2	—	—	—	N	25.00	50	12.50	305
306	Elkhart, Ind.[100]	33,434	44,500,000*	—	2	13.40	11.40	5.80	1.30	31.90	60	19.14	306
307	Wilmington, N. C.[p]	33,407	42,655,100	18	4	13.50	2.90	3.10	N	19.50	—	—	307
308	Watertown, N. Y.[o]	33,385	46,878,047	0	1	16.50	12.70	8.80	—	38.00	98§	37.38	308
309	Amsterdam N. Y.[o]	33,329	26,224,112	0	4	15.08	24.60	11.80	—	51.48	65	33.46	309
310	New Brunswick, N. J.[n]	33,180	41,412,482	10	4	19.55	16.00	13.22	2.93	51.70	70	36.19	310
311	University City, Mo.	33,023	43,411,234	15	1	8.80	16.30	9.00	.90	35.00	50	17.50	311
312	Nashua, N. H.[101]	32,927	41,755,145	37	—	30.55	.16	3.89	N	34.60	100	34.60	312
313	Bloomington, Ill.[102]	32,868	20,500,519	26	2	22.40	22.40	3.60	N	48.40	35	16.94	313
314	Port Huron, Mich.[j]	32,759	37,412,950	14	1	13.94	10.68	6.19	N	30.81	100	30.81	314
315	Danville, Va.	32,749	Not reported										315
316	Fargo, N. Dak.[103]	32,580	42,917,355*	31*	2	21.92	21.88	9.24	4.38	57.42	50	28.71	316
317	Hagerstown, Md.	32,491	50,500,000*	10	1	5.00	—	12.20	1.20	18.40	100	18.40	317
318	Muskogee, Okla.[r]	32,332	15,806,104	33	2	7.49	16.19	10.15	N	33.83	62§	20.81	318
319	Spartanburg, S. C.[104]	32,249	10,114,036	43	1	57.00	28.50	23.50	N	109.00	18	20.09	319
320	East Providence, R. I.[105]	32,165	51,289,340	22	4	—	—	N	N	23.80	100	23.80	320
321	Santa Ana, Calif.	31,921	28,114,570	63	2	16.00	23.33	17.32	N	56.65	33	18.69	321
322	Newburgh, N. Y.	31,883	39,098,522	0	3	20.66	12.70	3.59	.07	37.02	86	31.84	322
323	Lubbock, Texas	31,853	33,122,005	23	1	8.50	10.00	5.00	7.20	30.70	64§	19.72	323
324	Ottumwa, Iowa[106]	31,570	28,051,801	—	2	22.26	28.92	11.27	N	62.45	60	37.47	324
325	Newark, Ohio	31,487	Not reported										325

[98] **West Hartford.** Breakdown of total rate of $18.50 estimated on basis of appropriations.

[99] **Alexandria.** Rate for personal property is $28 per $1,000.

[100] **Elkhart.** City rate includes $.60 library and $1.14 township rates. See footnote e.

[101] **Nashua.** City rate includes most of school rate.

[102] **Bloomington.** City rate includes $3 township and $3.70 sanitary district rates. See footnote da.

[103] **Fargo.** Assessed valuation includes an estimated $4,900,000 in corporate utilities assessed by the state. City rate includes $2.46 city park system rate. Law specifies that realty must be assessed at 100 per cent, but millage is computed on 50 per cent of the assessed valuation. After this year millage will be computed on 75 per cent of assessed valuation.

[104] **Spartanburg.** City rate includes $5 metropolitan sewer district rate.

[105] **East Providence.** Assessed valuation includes $2,293,180 intangible personal property taxed at rate of $4 per $1,000.

[106] **Ottumwa.** Rate for Ottumwa independent center No. 1 is $45.96.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	No. of Payments City Taxes	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
						City	School	County	State	Total			
326	Alton, Ill.[107]	31,255	15,775,900	29	2	23.10	22.50	5.50	N	51.10	50	25.55	326
327	Middletown, Ohio[108]	31,220	66,557,179	35	2	3.55	8.34	3.52	N	15.41	80	12.33	327
328	Salem, Ore.	30,908	17,225,617	27	4	23.80	22.60	17.50	—	63.90	42	26.84	328
329	Marion, Ohio	30,817	39,216,750	27	2	5.54	8.52	2.54	N	16.60			329
330	Eau Claire, Wis.	30,745	27,246,480	13	2	8.25	18.98	7.50	.27	35.00	73	25.55	330
331	Newport, Ky.	30,631	22,854,180	4	2	18.20	11.00	—	—	29.20	66	19.27	331
332	Petersburg, Va.	30,631	27,061,464	17	4	—	—	N	N	22.50	80	18.00	332
333	Wyandotte, Mich.[j]	30,618	49,520,200	12	1	12.50	11.06	5.04	N	28.60	100	28.60	333
334	Clarksburg, W. Va.[x]	30,579	53,658,480	—	2	5.00							334
335	Newport, R. I.[u]	30,532	74,094,700	39	4	—	—	N	N	24.50	100	24.50	335
336	New London, Conn.	30,456	49,745,003	13	2	—	—	—	—	32.50	95	30.88	336
337	Owensboro, Ky.	30,245	18,282,209	25	1	10.50	13.60						337
338	Everett, Wash.[109]	30,224	16,763,313	32	2	23.00	13.00	10.00	2.40	48.40	50	24.20	338
339	Bristol, Conn.	30,167	66,169,020	31	2	—	—	—	—	27.00	90	24.30	339
340	Inglewood, Calif.	30,114	25,292,415	8	2	14.00	23.37	22.35	N	59.72	50	29.86	340
341	Parkersburg, W. V.[x]	30,103	48,328,710	42	2	5.00*	9.18	4.06	.10	18.34			341
342	West Haven, Conn.[110]	30,021	55,239,067	12	2	—	—	—	—	23.25	100	23.25	342
343	Hutchinson, Kans.	30,013	29,123,015	33	2	16.77	18.23	3.81	.70	39.51	68§	26.76	343

[107] **Alton.** City rate includes $4.10 township rate.

[108] **Middletown.** County rate includes $.92 conservancy flood rate.

[109] **Everett.** City rate includes public utility district rate of $1 and port district rate of $2 (estimated to be that of last year—1944).

[110] **West Haven.** The rate shown is for one of three fire districts. The rates for the two other fire districts are $24 and $24.40 per $1,000.

(See next page for General Notes.)

GENERAL NOTES

[a]**Alabama.** The legal basis of assessment is 60 per cent of true value. The rates shown are actual rates. *Homestead Exemption:* First $2,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state tax only.

[b]**Arkansas.** *Homestead Exemption:* The first $1,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state tax only.

[c]**Florida.** State tax levy discontinued. County assessments placed on 100 per cent of cash value basis. *Homestead Exemption:* The first $5,000 of the assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state and all local taxes except debt service on obligations incurred prior to the passage of the amendment.

[d]**Georgia.** Intangibles are assessed at 100 per cent of true value and taxed at from $.10 to $3 per $1,000 by state only. *Homestead Exemption:* First $2,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state, county and school district rates except for debt service on debt incurred previous to act.

[da]**Illinois.** Assessment ratios shown (except where otherwise indicated) are those reported by local authorities.

[e]**Indiana.** County tax rate includes township rate. Library rate included in school rate.

[f]**Iowa.** No state levy on property. Legal basis of assessment is 60 per cent of true value. *Homestead Exemption:* Amount of homestead exemption is determined by the Board of Assessment and Review each year. The maximum exemption is 25 mills on the first $2,500 of assessed values or $62.50 which was allowed in 1945. This applies to the state and all local units of government.

[g]**Louisiana.** *Homestead Exemption:* Applies to state, parish and special district taxes only, except that New Orleans (no other city) may also exempt homesteads from city taxes. Maximum exemption is $2,000 allowed hereafter. New homes are exempt from all state and local levies for three years following their completion.

[h]**Massachusetts.** In many cities the division of the total rate into city, school, county and state purposes is not available and only the total rate is shown.

[j]**Michigan.** County rates shown were fixed to cover fiscal year starting December 1, 1944. The new rates are not fixed in time for inclusion in this report except in the case of Wayne County.

[k]**Minnesota.** *Property Classification:* There are five classes of property assessed at varying percentages of true value: platted real estate at 40 per cent, except for first $4,000 of homesteads which is assessed at 25 per cent; unplatted real estate at 33 1/3 per cent, except first $4,000 of homesteads at 20 per cent; iron ore at 50 per cent; and personalty in three classes at 10 per cent, 25 per cent and 33 1/3 per cent. The first $4,000 of true value homesteads is exempt further from state levies except debt service on obligations issued prior to the enactment of the law. Assessments average 35 per cent of true value in Minneapolis and St. Paul, and 40 per cent in Duluth. Tax rates shown are actual rates.

[m]**Mississippi.** *Homestead Exemption:* First $5,000 of assessed value exempt from state taxes and levies for maintenance and current expenses of counties, school districts and road districts.

[n]**New Jersey.** The soldier bonus, formerly included in state tax levy, has been discontinued. State rate now consists of a school tax which is distributed back to the school districts. For comparison with former years, this item is left under state rate, although it might justifiably be added to the school rate.

[o]**New York.** Realty valuations include public utilities. Where state rate is not shown it is included in county rate. The ratio of true value at which property is assessed in New York cities is the subject of considerable controversy. The ratios shown in the tabulation are those given by local officials and in some cases differ from those given by the State Tax Commission. The reader may choose the ratio he believes most accurate:

	State Tax Commission	Local Officer
New York City	100%	100%
Rochester	95	93
Syracuse	96	100
Yonkers	95	100
Albany	93	95
Utica	82	82
Schenectady	88	85
Binghamton	92	100
Mt. Vernon	96	100
New Rochelle	85	100
Elmira	80	85
Poughkeepsie	84	70
White Plains	95	100

[p]**North Carolina.** *Homestead Exemption:* Authorized but enabling legislation not yet enacted.

[q]**Ohio.** Realty assessment includes public utility valuation.

[r]**Oklahoma.** *Homestead Exemption:* The first $1,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from tax rates for all units. Debt service charges on obligations incurred prior to this act are specifically allowed.

[t]**Pennsylvania.** Tangible personal property is not subject to city rate except as noted.

[u]**Rhode Island.** There is no county government in Rhode Island. State does not tax real property. School rate included in city rate.

[v]**South Dakota.** *Homestead Exemption:* Homesteads are exempt from state levies only. However, the state tax has been abolished on all property.

[w]**Texas.** First $3,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state taxes only.

[x]**Utah.** *Homestead Exemption:* Authorized but not yet effective.

[y]**Washington.** Legal basis of assessment is 50 per cent of true value.

[z]**West Virginia.** *Property Classification:* Property in cities is divided into three classes: Class I property (intangible personal property) pays ¼ full rate. Class II (property occupied by the owner as a residence) pays ½ full rate. Class IV (all real and personal property not in class I or II) pays the full rate. *Homestead Exemption:* Homesteads may be taxed at not more than 1 per cent of assessed value.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Recent Elections Further Council-Manager Plan

Commissions Selected to Frame New Charters

IN the November elections three cities were added to the steadily growing list of municipalities having the council-manager plan of government, and another elected a council pledged to support a new manager charter. Three municipalities adopted the plan in September and October elections, in addition to two (Old Town, Maine, and Corpus Christi, Texas) which voted in those months and were reported in this department in the November issue.

By a vote of 1,499 to 405 on November 5, **Sarasota, Florida,** became the 41st municipality in that state to adopt the council-manager plan. Less than half the registered voters participated, but the ratio of nearly four to one in the actual vote was conclusive. A council of five members is to be elected on December 4, two to serve for three years, two for two years and one for one year. They will receive no salaries. The charter movement was sponsored by the City Government Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, and was strongly supported by the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune* and campaigned for by an active Citizens' Committee. The legislature in passing the measure, subject to referendum, increased the city's powers over coastal waters and bayous, permitting greater control over illegal fishing and drilling for oil.

In **Key West, Florida,** the first election for the five-member city council under the council-manager charter recently enacted for that city by the state legislature resulted in the choice of three men sponsored by the charter group which had developed from the local committee which drafted the charter. A fourth member elected ran independently but as an opponent of the preceding council and in favor of the new charter—the enactment of which was unanimously opposed by the old council. The former mayor was the only charter opponent elected to the new council. He and one charter group member were elected for four-year terms, and the other three for two-year terms. The charter group intends to continue functioning. One of the anti-charter arguments was that it had not been submitted to a referendum. The council election is an indication that the people are in favor of the new charter.

In **Corbin, Kentucky,** the unofficial results of an election on November 6 were 657 votes for adoption of the manager plan and 649 against it. The plan is not to take effect until 1949, when the mayor and two commissioners who will be elected in November of that year are to appoint the manager. The League of Women Voters actively supported the manager plan, which was opposed by the daily newspaper.

Rockland, Maine, adopted a council-manager charter at a referendum election on September 10, each of the city's seven wards voting in favor. The first council under the new charter is to be elected on December 3 and will take office on December 17. It will consist of five members elected at large for staggered three-year terms.

Brookfield, Missouri, on November 6, adopted the council-manager plan by a vote of 1,037 to 642. A council of five will be elected next April after the primary election to narrow the field to ten.

On October 25 the voters of **Pitts-**

burg, Texas, decided 244 to 6 for the city council to appoint a city manager.

Speaker Frederic B. Willis of the Massachusetts House of Representatives introduced on October 22 a bill permitting the people of **Boston** to vote in the 1946 state elections on adoption of the Plan E form of government (city manager under a council elected by proportional representation), similar to that in the adjacent city of Cambridge. Speaker Willis declared: "I am satisfied that the council-manager form of government is the simple, modern and efficient way of handling a city's affairs." Mayor-elect James M. Curley has announced his opposition.

The New York Court of Appeals, highest court of that state, on October 24 upheld lower court decisions holding invalid the petitions of the so-called People's League for Government—American style, to change the city government of **Schenectady** from the manager form (Plan C) to the mayor-alderman form (Plan D). The petitions failed to give requisite information and had been ruled to be insufficient and illegal.

At the election on November 6 **Osborn, Ohio,** voted favorably—374 to 135—on the question of choosing a commission to frame a new charter. At the same time fifteen persons were elected as commission members. The *Osborn-Fairfield Herald* has campaigned vigorously for a new charter, advocating the manager plan as best for the village.

Spanish Fork, Utah, voted 812 to 212 at the November election in favor of a commission to frame a new charter; the voters also chose twelve charter commissioners.

The City Charter Commission of **Greenville, Texas,** at a meeting on October 11 attended by thirteen of the fifteen members, voted unanimously for the council-manager plan. A council of five members elected at large by plurality vote was also favored.

Van Wert, Ohio, is showing interest in the council-manager plan.

On December 13 **North Vancouver, B. C.,** will vote on a by-law to make the manager plan mandatory.

Cities Adopt Charter Amendments

Detroit, Michigan, and Youngstown, Ohio, adopted all charter amendments and San Francisco approved eleven of fourteen amendments up for consideration on November 6, according to the International City Managers Association.

Of the six amendments approved in Detroit, one establishes a city employees' benefit plan with death, hospital and surgical benefits, another creates a commission to operate a historical museum, and a third places court employees, with minor exceptions, under the Detroit Civil Service Commission. Twelve modifications were approved in the present city employees retirement system, the major changes being a reduction from fifteen years to ten years for the minimum service on which a pension is computed and a reduction from twenty years to ten years as the minimum service for an accidental disability pension. The other amendments concern acquisition of property for recreational and public purposes and consolidation of city funds.

Youngstown amended its charter by a four-to-one vote to provide two-year instead of the present four-year terms for mayor and vice-mayor, with the provision that they may be re-elected.

The San Francisco amendments adopted, according to complete semi-official returns, include one that extends the maximum period for which leases may be granted on airport property from twenty to forty years;

another permits police and firemen who have been injured while in the armed forces to transfer after discharge to other city departments. Salary increases for both the police and fire department personnel and equal pay are granted in another amendment. Others concern extension of civil service rights to additional city employees, standardization of salaries of appointive officers, authority granted to city officials to enable them to purchase commodities either from the federal government or the state without advertising for bids or securing written contracts, and removal of the $6,000 maximum salary limit on salaries of certain city officials.

A proposal to abolish Toledo's proportional representation system of electing councilmen was voted down.[1]

Portland, Maine, Revamps City Council Setup

By a recent charter amendment Portland, Maine, increased the number of city councilmen from five to nine and decreased their terms from five years to three. Only one-fourth of the city's registered voters went to the polls to vote on the amendment. Six councilmen are to be residents of districts they represent, although all six, as well as the other three councilmen, will be elected at large. Under the previous plan all councilmen were elected at large, one being elected each year for a five-year term.

Wilmington, N. C., Extends City Limits

By a vote of 2,857 to 1,564 on November 6 the electors of Wilmington, North Carolina, and of the suburban areas of East Wilmington and Sunset Park approved extension of the city limits to include these suburban districts. They are reported to contain a population of about 11,000 raising the city's population to more than 50,000.

Freeholders Commission Submits Seattle Charter

A new charter for the city of Seattle will be voted on at the city general election, March 12, 1946. It has been prepared by the Freeholders Charter Commission which was preceded by the Charter Advisory Committee. The existing charter dates from 1896, with numerous subsequent amendments, and takes up 69 pages of fine print. The proposed charter is less than half as long.

The Municipal League of Seattle cooperated with information and suggestions and was voted a resolution of appreciation by the commission.

The chief changes, as listed by the Municipal League, include somewhat increased power for the mayor, together with a four-year term instead of two and a salary increase from $7,500 to $10,000. He is authorized to appoint the police chief and health director for indefinite terms, with Council confirmation, instead of for five-year terms as at present, and may remove them for cause on filing reasons with the Council.

Councilmen would be elected for four years instead of three. There would be biennial elections instead of annual. The Board of Public Works, consisting of the superintendents of lighting, water and buildings and the city engineer, would hold office for four years instead of three, and would be increased by a superintendent of transportation after outstanding RFC loans for the acquisition of the transit system are all paid and the life of the present transit commission concurrently expires.

Salary changes other than the mayor's include increases from $3,000 to $4,800 for councilmen, from $4,800 to $7,500 for the corporation counsel, and from $4,200 to $6,000 for both the comptroller and the treasurer. The new "basic" salaries are subject to change by the Council but not during the incumbents' terms.

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[1] See p. 581, this issue.

The police chief, for whom the present charter specifies no qualifications, would be appointed from the winners of the three highest standings in a competitive examination held under the direction of the mayor. The fire chief, for whom no qualifications are now specified, would be required to have had at least ten years of service in a fire department of a city of 100,000 or more. Qualifications for city engineer and health director are increased.

A planning commission, not now a charter body, would be established as an official municipal agency with nine members, three *ex officio* and six appointed by the mayor with council confirmation.

A new budgetary provision is that revenue estimates must be based primarily on the previous year's collection and on legally authorized sources; an appropriation to cover uncollected taxes is required.

The purchasing agent's authority to make purchases for public improvements done by day labor, now uncertain, is made specific.

Utility fund revenues are not to be taken by the city until provision has been made for debt service and betterments.

Initiative and referendum measures, now subject to repeal or amendment only by another vote of the people, would be subject to amendment or repeal by the Council after two years. No expenditure over $20,000 authorized in such direct legislation is to be incurred until funds are provided.

Court Outlaws Lobbying by Michigan League

A recent Circuit Court decision in Michigan in a suit to prevent the city of Kalamazoo from paying dues to the Michigan Municipal League[1] permits the city to pay such dues, provided the league does not use the money to carry on lobbying activities. The court found that representatives of the league were active in urging the passage or defeat of various bills in the legislature — although "no claim is made that such activities were tainted with bribery or other unethical practices." It went on: "In the opinion of this court direct attempts to influence legislation through so-called lobbying activities is not a legitimate function of the league, and must be left to the municipalities themselves and to private persons interested therein."

Cities Seek Solutions for New Parking Problem

With the close of the war the automobile parking problem has become acute in many cities, which are examining proposed solutions and the question of what public assistance may be provided to solve the problem in the central business area, the American Society of Planning Officials reports.

Such assistance may be needed to assemble land and make street closings or other changes for large parking facilities. Condemnation is necessary in some instances to secure larger sites in desirable locations. Ten states have permissive legislation for cities to acquire land and engage in parking operations. Minnesota has provided for the creation of a parking district authority with power to assess taxes, upon the initiative of the owners of 60 per cent of the property.

Central business district parking plans, in addition to commercial parking lots, have been developed by merchants through cooperative arrangements and by municipalities which have either operated the facilities publicly or leased them to private operators, according to information from the Detroit Plan Commission.

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[1] See the REVIEW, March 1945, p. 134.

A cooperative plan has been operated by Oakland, California, merchants on leased land, and by San Francisco merchants in an underground garage. Public facilities are operated in Garden City, New York; Racine, Wisconsin; Burlingame, California; and Flint, Kalamazoo and Bay City, Michigan.

Kalamazoo, for example, has a municipal parking lot with a capacity of 390 cars. The total cost, $60,000, was assessed against the property believed to benefit, on the basis of zones, the first two being assessed 40 per cent and the third 20 per cent. The assessments were based 50 per cent on area and 50 per cent on valuation.

This lot may be used free for two hours, the third hour is charged at ten cents and each additional hour at five cents. Between 8.30 A.M. and 6 P.M. three attendants are on duty. The city manager reports that 85 per cent of the users of the lot do not pay for the service, that is, they park for two hours or less or park after 6 P.M.

Connecticut Contest for Municipal Reports

The Institute of Public Service of the University of Connecticut, at Storrs, is conducting a statewide contest for the best town and city annual reports. The contest closes January 2, 1946.

U. S. Mayors' Conference to Meet in New York

The 1945 annual conference of the United States Conference of Mayors will be held in New York City at the Astor Hotel, December 10-12. Among important questions for discussion are housing, public works, airports, cities and the federal aid highway program, the cities' concern with reconversion and unemployment, surplus war property and the veteran in relation to his community.

Kentucky Adopts Absentee Voting Amendment

At the November 6 election Kentucky adopted an amendment to the state constitution which partly removes a restriction on voting which had effectively prevented the participation of anybody away from home in state or local elections. The amendment authorizes the legislature to provide for absentee voting.

James W. Martin
University of Kentucky

New York Voters Use Care on Amendments

Six constitutional amendments were passed upon by the people of New York State on November 6. One was defeated and the other five received widely varying majorities, indicating the exercise of much discrimination by the voters.

The losing amendment would have required the governor and lieutenant governor to be elected together, as in the case of the president and vice president.

Almost defeated was a veterans' preference amendment which greatly extends substantial existing preferences. In appointing to a "competitive" civil service position (including the teaching service) it will be necessary to exhaust first the list of disabled veterans passing the examination and then the list of other veterans who pass before even the best qualified nonveteran can be reached, according to the Citizens Union of New York City, which organization, along with many others, opposed the amendment as a menace to the public service. In New York City the amendment lost by a narrow margin which was overcome by upstate votes.

Three amendments that carried by large majorities will eliminate special elections for lieutenant governor unless a governor is also to be elected, will permit the division of large towns (townships) in setting up districts for the Assembly (lower house of the legislature) and will allow county supervisors to override decisions of the "county executive" on local legislation. The last of these three will apply at present to only two counties, which have elective county executives.

Another amendment, which ran behind in New York City but passed by virtue of upstate votes, permits rural voters in districts without personal registration to vote in districts from which they had moved within 30 days preceding the election — a privilege denied other voters.

A statewide referendum on increasing state housing subsidies from $5,000,000 to $6,250,000 per annum was approved by a large margin.

The results of the vote in New York City only on all seven matters coincided with the recommendations of the Citizens Union, which were also followed by various newspapers. The New York City vote on the veterans amendment, which received the highest total, was about 600,000 as compared to nearly 2,000,000 votes for mayor.

Veterans' Legislation Adopted in 46 States This Year

Laws affecting the rights, benefits and privileges of veterans, members of the armed forces, their dependents and their organizations were enacted or amended in 46 states during 1945, the Council of State Governments reports. All 48 states now have state organizations to handle veterans' affairs as the result of action taken in 1945 or earlier. Mississippi and Louisiana legislatures did not meet in regular or special session this year.

The changes made in legislation in 1945 are chiefly extensions of prior state laws concerning assistance to veterans in the prosecution of their claims against the United States government, hospitals and home care of veterans, economic grants to veterans and men in service and their eligible dependents to relieve or prevent want and distress, employment preferences and preservation of job rights, land settlement benefits and occupational and tax exemptions.

New legislation passed in 1945 was primarily concerned with veterans of World War II and involved bonuses paid to veterans or their legal heirs, educational grants to eligible veterans to prevent want and distress when federal or other benefit is inadequate to meet the veterans' need, increased educational opportunities and training courses in state institutions, and loans to qualified veterans for their rehabilitation, education or for the purpose of aiding them in the purchase of homes, farms or business.

As noted elsewhere,[1] the voters of New York State adopted on November 6 by a narrow margin an amendment giving great civil service advantages to veterans.

New State Zoning Laws Protect Airports

In twelve states—Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin—zoning laws governing the construction and location of structures within airport hazard areas have been adopted during current legislative sessions, the American Society of Planning Officials has announced.

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[1] See p. 571, this issue.

The Iowa legislation, which allows political subdivisions to adopt airport zoning regulations to limit the heights of nearby structures and to eliminate other hazards, is said to be somewhat typical. Illinois authorizes the Department of Aeronautics, municipalities and other political subdivisions to exercise zoning powers and in addition to acquire air rights and other interest in land to prevent creation of and to eliminate hazards to air navigation.

Besides containing regular zoning provisions, North Carolina law provides for the acquisition, construction and maintenance of airports. Tennessee authorizes the expenditure of public funds for the elimination of airport hazards.

An amendment was passed to a Wisconsin law which provides that cities, villages, towns or counties shall have the right to condemn property needed for airports. Wisconsin also authorized municipalities or other political subdivisions of adjoining states to acquire and operate aeronautical projects in the state conditioned upon a reciprocal grant of authority to municipalities or other political subdivisions in Wisconsin.

A general zoning law was passed by Texas during the recent legislative session. It authorizes the legislative bodies of cities having a population of more than 290,000 to divide the city into neighborhood zoning areas, provided that a comprehensive zoning ordinance has been adopted under the law of the state.

Constitutional Revision Discussed in Kentucky

On September 17 a group of Kentucky educators, journalists and public officials met at Frankfort and organized a Society for the Discussion of the Kentucky Constitution. This organization was perfected in view of the fact that the last session of the state legislature passed a resolution calling for a convention to revise the state's 54-year-old constitution.

Before such a convention can be held it is necessary for the resolution to be passed again by the 1946 regular session of the General Assembly. If it is so passed the question will then go to a vote of the people in the general election of 1947, at which time it will be necessary for the proposition to secure a majority of all votes cast for or against it, which majority must equal one-fourth of the number of qualified voters who voted in the last preceding general election. The proponents of a new constitution realize that this is quite a hurdle and they are making their plans at the present time.

The society has as its primary purpose the promotion of discussion on the pros and cons of calling a constitutional convention. One debate on the subject, promoted by some of the leading members of the society, was held prior to its formal organization. Another debate was held prior to the general election this fall and steps are being taken to organize debates and forums at the various institutions of higher learning in the state. The society is also promoting discussions before luncheon clubs, the League of Women Voters and other similar organizations. The Lexington chapter of the League of Women Voters has already planned a study group and invited several members of the faculty of the University of Kentucky to lead discussions on various phases of the state constitution.

The proponents of a new constitution are looking forward to the organization of a "grass roots" movement if the resolution is passed by the 1946 session of the General Assembly, which now seems assured.

J. E. Reeves

University of Kentucky

Researcher's Digest

Research Bureaus—Watchdogs of the Treasury

Baltimore and Milwaukee Groups Check on Budgets

"ARE budget funds wisely proportioned to city functions?" asks the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy,** which devotes several issues of *Your Tax Dollar* to 1946 budget matters. Calling attention to the rundown condition of much of the city's equipment, it comments that adequate maintenance, now that the war is over, is the number one requirement.

In analyzing major changes in budget revenue and appropriations during the last fifteen years (data shown for 1930, 1940 and 1945) the commission stresses the fact that 82 per cent of the budget increase over the past decade has been for personnel and welfare; less than one per cent for public works operation, maintenance and repair material (other than payroll of the Department of Public Works). Meanwhile, motor equipment is run down, an estimated $75,000,000 of street paving needs replacement; swimming pools in the parks, structures of the Bureau of Water Supply and the Bureau of Sewers, as well as city piers, need immediate attention.

"This commission has been urging repeatedly," says *Your Tax Dollar* for October 6, "that if the everyday services essential to citizens are to be preserved and if the public facilities universally used by citizens are to be restored and adequately maintained, some substantial adjustment must be made in budget allocations so as to put first things first and to draw a sharp distinction between needs and wants."

The **Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee** also devotes a number of issues of its *Bulletin* to budget matters. It comments on the need of a coordinated budget for the five taxing units within the county of Milwaukee, asks whether Milwaukee can maintain its present tax rate position—twelfth (or average) as compared to the 25 largest cities, and points out that the $1,625,000 payroll increase requested by the Common Council (salaries and wages included in the 1946 tentative budget amount to 54 per cent of the total city budget) is a 13 per cent increase over 1945 salary appropriations and a 55 per cent increase over those for 1941. It suggests that a definite plan should be made—such as an annual tax—for the liquidation of the tremendous delinquent tax burdens acquired during the depression years. Commenting that the Common Council has paved the way for improved personnel administration by creating the position of classification examiner, the bureau suggests that appointment of a budget examiner, in accordance with the Board of Estimates' recent recommendation, will pave the way to securing full benefits from the 1943 legislative modernization of Milwaukee's budget law.

California's Employment Problem

The reconversion problem in California differs from that in other parts of the country because of three main factors, says Samuel C. May in *Postwar Unemployment Problem in California, 1945-1947*, published by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California.**[1] These factors, somewhat similar to those in other Pacific

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[1] Fifteen pages, no charge.

Coast states, include the tremendous increase of population in recent years, expansion of employment in war manufacturing and federal civilian employment, and the small percentage of prewar employment in heavy industry. "California did not *convert* existing industries into war work," says Professor May, "but superimposed these huge industrial establishments on the existing economy." Citing figures to show that even under the most favorable conditions jobs must be found for 1,050,000 unemployed he comes to the conclusion that "taking the most optimistic interpretation of the factors set forth above, it is wishful thinking to conclude that California can avoid a very severe unemployment problem. . . . What will be needed above everything else is cooperation between labor, industry, agriculture, business and government on all levels on a scale at least commensurate with that which we have witnessed during the war itself."

Seeks County Efficiency

"The government of St. Louis County is characterized by popular election of administrative officers, lack of any strong executive and a large degree of state control," says the **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute** in its bulletin, *Mind Your Business.* The institute presents an organization chart of the present county government—the first published for the county—which shows a total of 45 officers elected. It calls attention to the fact that the county has no executive comparable to a governor or mayor or the manager of a business organization. "Through adoption of a home rule charter," claims the institute, "the voters of St. Louis County can give a county board or commission more adequate power to determine policies and to enact ordinances. They can also provide for an effective executive, reorganize the administrative agencies in an efficient manner, and place such restrictions on the use of the taxing power as may seem proper."

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Bureau of Airports

"Is it advisable to create a bureau of airports in Philadelphia's Department of Public Works?", the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** is asked by the **Citizens' Council on City Planning.** The bureau's answer is yes: the creation of a separate bureau of airports would make the city's airport administration loom larger in the public eye; would emphasize the responsibility of the official in charge of airports and increase his opportunity for leadership in the development of the city's airport program; appropriations for airports would be made to the bureau rather than to the office of the director of the Department of Public Works and people could readily ascertain the purposes and amounts of these appropriations and the expenditures made.

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Citizens Finance Committee

Los Angeles' City Council, at the suggestion of Councilman Ed J. Davenport, has approved creation of a citizens committee for the study of the city's fiscal situation by a vote of ten to four. The committee, made up of representatives of business, civic and labor groups, is expected to make a report in thirty days after its appointment.

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Electing the Sheriff

Commenting on the proposed constitutional amendment offered in Pennsylvania which would permit the county sheriff to succeed himself, the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** says that "for Philadelphia it appears harmless but not helpful. . . . The great need here goes far beyond giving the state legislature the power to fix the length of time a person may serve continuously as sheriff; it includes giving the legislature the power to effect a complete consolidation of Philadelphia's city and county governments."

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Study in Contrasts

The **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** contrasts the graduation of the city fire department's first promotional school class, where candidates for promotion were designated on the basis of merit alone, with appointment of a superintendent by the board of one of the city's hospitals, when it passed over a man who had served thirteen years as deputy superintendent and "enjoyed the confidence and respect of the medical profession and his fellow employees." Suggests the bureau, "The organization and subsequent operation of the fire training school had given promise of improved personnel policies but careful calculation could not produce a better method of depriving government of capable public servants than the action of the hospital commission."

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What Price Stable?

A report of the **Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research** on a proposed new horse barn for the mounted police unit raises two questions: (1) Should a stable to accommodate some fifty-odd horses cost $130,000? (2) Is there any need for a new stable at all, in view of the fundamental doubt about the need for the mounted unit? J. M. Leonard of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, consultant of the Cleveland bureau's police survey, comments that "this runs about $2,300 per horse stall, which exceeds the cost per room for high class residences. Something must be wrong." A digest of Mr. Leonard's comments on the proposal is published in *Greater Cleveland.*

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Committees Report on Community Problems

Studies on Welfare and Recreation Published

THE Committee on Reorganization of Community Services of the **Woman's Foundation, Inc.,** composed of 27 men and women from the fields of education, health, welfare and recreation, has published its report, *The Road to Community Reorganization.*[1] Under the chairmanship of Mrs. Eugene Meyer of Washington, assisted by Leonard W. Mayo of Cleveland, meetings were held, community and governmental studies examined and conferences arranged with experts in the fields explored.

The committee's recommendations include:

In Local Communities

Organization of coordinating bodies of representative citizens to study, strengthen and extend community services in education, health, recreation and welfare as needed; establishment of community service centers or of information and referral centers to aid in the coordination of services and to provide information, advice and service to citizens and families; recruiting and selection of both volunteer and professional personnel to administer community services; improved financing of community services in cooperation with state and federal agencies, both public and private.

In the States

Organization of a state council or interdepartmental committee to coordinate and when feasible to integrate the functions of education, health, recreation and welfare; extension and substantial improvement of such functions; close cooperation with local communities in providing leadership, adequate standards of service and financial aid; clarification of the role of the state in relation to local communities and the federal government.

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[1] The Woman's Foundation, Inc., New York City, 1945. 32 pp.

In the Federal Government

Establishment of a federal department of education, health, recreation, welfare and social insurance, headed by a secretary with cabinet rank, and three assistant secretaries of education, health and welfare, all of whom should be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate; acceptance by this department of responsibility for program planning in cooperation with national, state and local agencies, both public and private, for standard-setting in cooperation with appropriate state agencies, for furnishing financial aid to states and localities (through the states) and for research as needed.

Los Angeles Study

The **County Citizens Committee on Parks, Beaches and Recreation Facilities,** which was created by the Board of Supervisors of Los Angeles County late last year because "the existing park, beach and recreational facilities of many incorporated and unincorporated areas are inadequate," has made its report. The committee was composed of sixteen members, three designated by each of the five county supervisors, with Charles W. Eliot, planning expert, appointed at large and made chairman.

The committee's report, *Parks, Beaches and Recreational Facilities for Los Angeles County,*[2] has been published by the Haynes Foundation. It recommends that a County Park, Beach and Recreation District be created to include the entire county or at least the area south of the San Gabriel Mountains and covering all incorporated and unincorporated territory;[3] that the governing authority for such a district rest in the Board of Supervisors with a County Park, Beach and Recreation Commission of five members, a director of county parks etc. appointed by the Board of Supervisors on recommendation of the commission, and consolidation and integration of existing county park, playground and related activities under the new commission and director.

The report discusses existing recreational facilities in Los Angeles County, the need for additional facilities and for their county-wide administration and finance. An appendix covers county and metropolitan organization for parks, beaches and recreation in other parts of the country. Included also is a map of the Los Angeles metropolitan region showing parks, playgrounds, golf courses, beaches, schools, etc.

Cleveland Postwar Plans

The most recent publication of the **Postwar Planning Council of Greater Cleveland,** which is trying to help solve the planning problem of its community on a metropolitan basis, is "Rolling Along!". The fifteen-page leaflet is attractively illustrated with small drawings and has obviously been prepared for those who have little time to delve into more weighty reports. It describes how the council works, what it has been doing and the progress it has made.

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[2] Los Angeles, 18 pp., 10 cents.

[3] The committee does not propose that municipalities or special districts in the county give up jurisdiction over parks etc. unless they so contract with the proposed county agency.

Seattle League Creates Advisory Council

The new Advisory Council of the **Seattle Municipal League** has held its first meeting, electing O. B. Thorgrimson and Mrs. Carl L. Cooper as chairman and vice chairman respectively. J. W. Clise, member of the league's Board of Trustees and temporary chairman, outlined the history of the league and demonstrated how its objectives and programs are correlated with "those freedoms which we Americans hold dear." He called attention to the fact that "the basic tool of the league is education, that is, fact-finding and fact-disseminating. We believe our citizens will act intelligently on their problems if they clearly understand them." Mr. Clise expressed the hope that by the creation of the Advisory Council the Board of Trustees and the league would be strengthened by the advice of experienced and senior citizens who may not be in a position to serve actively as committee or board members. A proposal by William M. Livengood that the council suggest to the league's board that a study be made of the Milwaukee plan for debt reduction, to determine its applicability in Seattle, was adopted.

Teaching Democracy in the Schools

"Feeling that student governments, particularly school councils, had been in operation long enough to have accumulated valuable experience," says Richard Welling, chairman of the **National Self-Government Committee,** "we invited Dr. Kelley and Mr. Faunce to set forth the highlights of this experience." *Your School and Its Government,* by Earl C. Kelley and Roland C. Faunce,[1] is the result.

Though citing no specific examples, the authors describe the type of student council which will best, in their opinion, educate the student in the ways of democracy. "We must see that our schools are organized in such a manner that they take the emphasis off regimentation," they warn. "Many of our schools are still thoroughly autocratic. . . . If we know anything about education at all, it seems clear that we cannot teach an idea when our method of operation and living contradicts the very words as they fall from our lips. . . . The child must practice cooperative living and self-government in the school room if he is to be able intelligently and effectively to take part in a working democracy when he reaches adult life."

Included in the study are suggestions on how school councils should be organized and what they can do. "There seems to be practically no limit to the services which councils can and do perform for their schools, unless it is the limit which doubting adults often place upon the scope of the council."

From War to Peace

The **New York League of Women Voters** is appealing to its members to "talk to your Red Cross leaders, your U.S.O. and civilian defense organizers, and ask them for help in turning their volunteers from war work into the equally important fight for peace. Can't you get the names of these women," it inquires, "and interest them individually in specific league jobs? You must remember, of course, that the work you offer must be as tangible as a pile of bandages, as clearly useful as a pint of blood, as important as a ration book."

* * *

Taxpayer Training School

The **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations** will start in the near future a rigorous four-months course to train young men of outstanding qualifications in political science and federation procedures. Such studies are to qualify them for positions on the staff of the federation as secretaries and research experts for local associations, and as field men adequately prepared to step in and aid local associations where no local secretary is available. Lectures on various phases of government will be given by Norman MacDonald, executive director of the federation, members of its staff and outside experts.

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[1] National Self-Government Committee, Inc., New York 5, 1945. 27 pp.

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Watching Democracy Operate

Students studying problems of American democracy at the Bloomfield, New Jersey, High School, have been attending sessions of the Town Council. Some of the students travelled also to town council meetings in nearby communities to compare them with meetings in Bloomfield. After studying in the classroom the various forms of municipal government available to communities, an overwhelming majority of the students voted for the council-manager plan even though Bloomfield has the mayor-council form of government.

* * *

Budgeting in a Hurry

"Your City Planning Commission," says the **New York Citizens Budget Commission,** "has allowed the public six days—including a legal holiday and a weekend—to analyze and offer recommendations on a proposed capital budget for the coming year." The budget, which was made public on October 11 and brought to public hearing on October 17, calls for 626 separate construction projects at an ultimate cost of $1,200,000,000. The commission warns that the proposed program is so vast it cannot possibly be financed by the city, even with federal aid, and that it must be reduced.

Legislative Score

The **Massachusetts Civic League,** in its publication *Lens*—"To Focus Public Opinion"—has published its score on the 1945 session of the legislature. Listed are 32 bills supported by the league which became laws. "Never has your secretary seen the legislators under such constant pressure from selfish interests," says *Lens*. "League committees, working overtime to gather and present basic information on bills within their special fields to legislators, kept daily (and sometimes nightly) vigilance to prevent dangerously bad bills from becoming law."

* * *

Legislative Records

Looking forward to the next session of the legislature in 1947, the **Minnesota League of Women Voters** has compiled and mailed out to local leagues the voting records of all members of the 1945 legislature. "It is not too soon now," says *The Articulate Voter,* publication of the league, "for each league to write or interview its representatives in House and Senate, commending or asking for reasons for stands they have taken on measures which the League of Women Voters supports."

* * *

Study Government Setup

"The League of Women Voters should examine the blueprints of the various government machines to determine whether or not they use the best principles of design," suggests the **Wisconsin League.** "Likewise the performances of the machines should be watched for flaws, defects and necessary repairs or replacements."

* * *

Planning by Citizens

"As the individual citizen is the real authority on what sort of community is desired, the best plans can be made only with his assistance," says Margaret Pouder, research associate of the

Tennessee State Planning Commission, in *The Tennessee Planner*. "Not only is it desirable that the citizens have a share in developing a city's plans, but the more citizens there are participating the more effective the planning is likely to be."

* * *

Civic Groups Together

"Civic service will reach a new high in Minneapolis," says the **Minneapolis Civic Council,** announcing that the council and its seven affiliated agencies are now housed in a single building. The other groups concerned are the Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association, Associated Industries of Minneapolis, Minneapolis Taxpayers Association, Better Business Bureau of Minneapolis, Greater Minneapolis Safety Council, Minneapolis Research Bureau and the Hennepin County Good Roads Association.

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Constitutional Convention

The **Illinois League of Women Voters** continues its efforts in behalf of constitutional revision in Illinois. Topic of a recent round table was "Unpopular Government and the Illinois Constitution."

* * *

Fiftieth Anniversary

The **Civic Club of Allegheny County** (Pittsburgh) celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding with a two-day program on November 2 and 3. On the first day an afternoon meeting was held at the Twentieth Century Club, addressed by Miss H. Marie Dermitt, secretary of the club, founder members who gave brief reminiscences of "yesteryears," and Miss Katherine E. Smith who presented pictures of former Civic Club events. A tea and social hour followed. The Saturday evening program was held in the William Penn Hotel, with Samuel E. Phillips, president of the club, presiding. An address on "The Background of Current Affairs" was given by Martin Agronsky, war correspondent and commentator.

* * *

Annual Meetings

The fourteenth annual meeting of the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations** was held December 1 at the Hotel Statler in Boston. Speakers included Congressman Harold Knutson of Minnesota, Roswell Magill, tax expert, Governor Maurice J. Tobin of Massachusetts, Reginald W. Bird, president of the federation, and Norman MacDonald, its secretary.

Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio was the principal speaker at the fifteenth annual meeting of the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association** held in Newark on December 1. Other speakers included Sanford Bates, commissioner of the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, and Mark Jones, of Princeton University.

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New Publication

Beginning with September the **Pittsfield Taxpayers' Association** has been issuing a monthly publication, *This Is Your City*. The October issue is devoted to postwar planning.

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Strictly Personal

Max P. Heavenrich, Jr., has resigned as director of the Department of Governmental Research of the Dayton Chamber of Commerce. He is now consultant and supervisor of an annexation study being made by the Dayton City Plan Commission.

Major Ralph R. Temple has been awarded the Legion of Merit for "exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services in Italy." Major Temple was formerly a member of the Board of Directors of the Central Queens Allied Civic Council of New York City and later on the staff of the Chicago Civic Federation.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Toledo Votes to Keep P. R.

Revolution in Long Beach Fusion Victory in Yonkers

TOLEDO voted once more on November 6 to keep P. R. in its city charter. The vote was 38,444 to 21,429. It was the third time that opponents had put charter amendments on the ballot by petition to repeal the plan since it was first adopted as part of a city manager charter in 1934.

In 1934 the majority for adoption of the P. R.-manager charter was 5,215.

In 1935 the majority to sustain P. R. was 9,216.

In 1937 the majority was 17,824.

In 1945 the majority was 17,015.

Several financial proposals were defeated the same day, but all by smaller majorities than the attack on P. R.

This year's repeal proposal was sponsored, oddly enough, by the local Political Action Committee, which had been casting about for a popular issue to test its new political strength. Many of its own people considered the choice unfortunate, since P. R. had regularly given representation to organized labor, of which it would by no means have been assured under the proposed substitute.

If the amendment had carried, future councils would have been elected by plurality vote at large without primaries. Defenders of P. R. pointed out in their campaign literature that this would be comparable to results in the nearby city of Detroit if that city's election of nine councilmen were determined by the votes cast at the primary with the votes scattered over all the original candidates, instead of at the final election with the field narrowed by the primary to eighteen. In recent Detroit elections this would have given the following results:

Year	Number of Candidates	Votes Electing All 9 Candidates
1933	104	41%
1935	44	50%
1937	66	43%
1939	43	46%
1941	122	38%
1943	47	56%

In contrast the Toledo Council has regularly been elected under P. R. by 90 per cent of the voters, with some of the remaining 10 per cent voting for candidates elected by others.

The repeal proposal was opposed by both Toledo newspapers, the *Times* and the *Blade*, and by a specially organized Committee Against the P. A. C. Council Amendment.

For the information in this account we are indebted principally to Professor O. Garfield Jones, of Toledo University, one of the most active members of the defense committee. Professor Jones wrote on November 11: "Our councilmanic count is not quite completed, but it will in any case give us as good a representation of area and other articulate political interests as did the 1943 election, and that was excellent." We hope to carry a report of the Toledo P. R. Council election in a future issue.

The First P. R. Election in Long Beach, N. Y.

The first use of P. R. in the little suburban seaside resort of Long Beach, Long Island, resulted in a spectacular civic revolution. The outgoing city administration has been dominated by Mayor Theodore Ornstein and a solid Democratic organization Council of five. The new Council will contain only one member endorsed by the Democratic organization and he is not an Ornstein man.

The new Council, which will serve for the next two years without pay and choose the city's first manager, will be composed of the following members, listed in the order of their election:

Robert J. Leik, Democrat endorsed by the Republicans, the only active candidate from the "West End";

Ralph B. Weiss, independent Democrat nominated by the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee and endorsed by the Long Beach Citizens Union, which sponsored the new P. R.–manager charter, but not by any political party;

Louis Fuchs, candidate of the American Labor party;

Former Mayor Charles Gold, independent Democrat endorsed by the Republicans;

Frank Barbieri, Republican.

The *Long Island Independent*, which had been backing the five independent candidates supported by the Citizens Union, of whom only one was elected, said editorially on November 8:

"P. R. did some startling things to Long Beach. It wrecked the Democratic machine which has given this city inefficient and expensive government for too long a time. The Democrats elected nobody who is an out and out machine hack. The Republicans, while they gained strength in the city, elected nobody who is strictly 'their' man. The Citizens Union made a disappointing showing. It elected only one man, incidentally a most excellent choice.

"P. R. proved that it does what it is supposed to do, and that is to give all groups a voice in local government."

The total number of P. R. ballots cast was 4,940, of which only 102 (2.1 per cent) were invalid and 15 (.3 per cent) were blank.

The total valid vote for Council on the P. R. paper ballots, 4,823, exceeded the total valid vote for county supervisor, the leading local office on the voting machine, which was 4,626.

Of those who cast valid P. R. ballots, 3,903, or 81 per cent, had helped to elect winning candidates by the time the runner-up was declared defeated at the end of the count; 2,551, or 53 per cent, helped elect their first choices.

Mr. Leik, on whom a large part of the West End votes was concentrated, was the only candidate elected on first choices. He had two more than the quota. Mr. Weiss stood sixth on the count of first choices, but gained steadily by transfers from his Citizens' Non-Partisan running-mates as they were defeated and reached the quota second, on the ninth of the eleven counts. The total first-choice vote of the candidates on this ticket was 1,189, less than one and a half quotas, and its original division among five candidates did not prevent the ticket from winning the one place out of five to which its vote entitled it.

The count was carried out in public in the Central High School gymnasium the night of the election, being completed about 5.30 the next morning. It was conducted by the Nassau County Board of Elections with the assistance of Joseph Gershman, a veteran of the P. R. counts in Manhattan, and the editor of this department as consultants in charge of the count machinery, two accountants, and two count directors and eighteen counters chosen by the local Democratic and Republican organizations. Although the campaign had been unusually bitter, the actual balloting and the central count were quiet and uneventful.

The Fourth P. R. Election in Yonkers

While Long Beach was using P. R. for the first time, a larger New York suburban community was going to the polls and using the same system effectively to install what is generally agreed to be a dependable and able good government majority.

Readers of this department will remember that the Yonkers City Manager League won a striking victory in the third Yonkers P. R. election two years ago, re-electing a Republican, an independent and an insurgent Democrat as a working majority of the Council of five. After a year and half of continued progress, however, the Democratic member of the City Manager League majority went over to the Democratic organization minority in a vote to oust the city's capable city manager against vigorous public protest. Since that time the city has been coasting with an acting manager awaiting the outcome of this fall's election.

For this election the City Manager League and the Republican party joined forces on a high-grade coalition ticket, including Mayor Curtiss E. Frank and Councilman Edith P. Welty, the two City Manager League councilmen who had remained loyal to their original supporters. The deserting City Manager League member, Councilman Thomas B. Sheridan, was one of six nominated by the Democratic organization, but was badly defeated.

His place on the new Council was taken by Albert L. Fiorillo, Republican, runner-up at the first P. R. election in 1939 and a president of the old Common Council before the advent of P. R. Mr. Fiorillo is a lawyer of high reputation.

Councilmen Frank and Welty, the two incumbents on the Fusion ticket, and Councilmen James A. Sullivan and John J. Whalen, incumbent Democrats, were all re-elected.

The runner-up was Benjamin F. Barnes, former mayor, who, like Mr. Sheridan, was once elected as an independent Democrat on the City Manager League ticket and subsequently went over to the Democratic organization, depriving the independent forces of what had appeared to be a majority. Since that time he has been defeated twice as an official Democratic candidate.

The *Yonkers Herald-Statesman*, which supported the Fusion ticket editorially but reported both sides impartially and did a superb job of educating the electorate to an intelligent use of the P. R. ballot and reporting the P. R. count, had this to say of the results:

"As one of the top Democratic party leaders observed . . ., if Yonkers had not been voting by P. R. it is likely that no Democratic councilman would have been elected at all. . . . The new Council majority—Frank, Fiorillo and Mrs. Welty—will be representing fully 60 per cent of those [votes] tallied, while Sullivan and Whalen will represent 40 per cent—representation exactly in proportion to the first and early choices of the voters.

"In no other common council election in any city in Westchester . . . is there any such proportionate representation of the voters; is there any similar effectiveness of votes cast; is there any comparable ratio of proportion among those elected to the political lineups of the voters who put them in office.

"That is one of the priceless features of proportional representation. If we can perceive the difference, we will cling to P. R. no matter what criticism is hurled against it, and even if we do have to wait a little while to get the results."

Preferential Count for Mayor

For the second time Yonkers chose its mayor, who is president of the Council and political and ceremonial head of the city but not its administrative head under the city manager charter, by a majority preferential recount of the P. R. ballots.

At the beginning of this count the

valid ballots were all sorted to their earliest choices among the five councilmen-elect. This showed that 45,136 out of 46,309, or 97.4 per cent, had voted for one of the elected councilmen, considerably in excess of the five full quotas (five-sixths of the total valid vote) credited to the successful candidates at the end of the P. R. count.

The lowest candidates were then dropped one at a time and their votes transferred to next available choices until only two candidates were left, when Mayor Frank was shown to be re-elected over Vice-Mayor Sullivan by a clear majority vote of 23,403 to 15,731. Under the Yonkers charter the runner-up for mayor is elected vice-mayor, which automatically gives that honor to the leading candidate of the opposition.

The P. R. count was carried out in three long days by a bipartisan group of 50 experienced counters under the direction of the editor of this department after all necessary arrangements had been made by City Clerk Francis J. Heafy and members of his staff. Then a fourth day was taken for the recount for mayor.

The final Council and mayoralty results were forecast by the count of first choices, which showed a majority of the votes, more than three full quotas, divided among the Republican–City Manager League candidates and more than two full quotas among the Democratic candidates, with less than a quota distributed among the three candidates who were not on either ticket.

Of the 48,287 marked P. R. ballots 1,978, or 4 per cent, were invalid. In addition there were 411 blanks.

Other P. R. Elections

New York City, Cincinnati, Cambridge, Lowell, Hamilton (Ohio) and Boulder (Colorado) also elected coun-

(Continued on page 596)

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Counties Cooperate on Local Needs

Joint Fire, Recreation and Library Services Planned

THE successful experiment of mutual aid for fire defense in time of war has proved so gratifying to its participants in Monroe County, New York, that it has been determined to continue the plan as a permanent system.

The plan involves the cooperation of the fire departments of the city of Rochester and of all the surrounding towns and villages in the county. They are represented on an advisory board which establishes the rules of mutual aid. Any department may withdraw after giving notice a month in advance. The plan involves not only the pooling of equipment and information, but also organized training in which city, town, and village firemen, paid and volunteer, participate side by side.

Joint Reference Library for City and County of San Diego

A new governmental reference library has been established by the city of San Diego and the county of San Diego to serve officials and employees of the two local governments. Although financed jointly by city and county, the library will be under supervision of the city public library, with the advice and cooperation of the county library. The reference library will serve as the central storehouse of information on current developments and practices in local government.

Tri-county Groups Plan Recreation

The Tri-County Regional Planning Commission, consisting of the Colorado counties of Adams, Jefferson and Arapahoe, recently has issued a preliminary report regarding the needs for recreational facilities in the three counties. The Tri-County Council of Youth-Serving Agencies is cooperating in the survey.

The preliminary report indicates that the greatest need is for construction of community buildings, ice skating rinks, swimming pools and tennis courts. The commission intends to explore the possible alternative means of financing such construction and to prepare model plans and designs of community houses, parks and other improvements.

Los Angeles City and County Create Civic Center Authority

Under a joint contract agreement, the city and county of Los Angeles have created a Civic Center Authority, with a budget of $20,000, to make a comprehensive study of a proposed civic center project. The chief administrative officer of the county, the chief architect and the chief engineer of the regional planning department, the deputy mayor of Los Angeles, a deputy city engineer and the director of planning constitute the authority. They will submit recommendations regarding the property to be acquired, layout of streets, buildings, costs, etc., as well as the method of operation and maintenance of the civic center.

Wisconsin Retirement Plan Includes County Employees

The retirement system for municipal employees in Wisconsin has been modified by the state legislature to include county employees within its provisions. When a city employee transfers to a county, or vice versa, his retirement credits will be transferred with him. Employees on military leave will be given retirement credit from the date that the county elects to enter the statewide system.

Veterans Service Officers Appointed

As a result of the war's end and the mounting problem of placement of veterans, an increasing number of counties are reporting the appointment of veterans service officers.

Wisconsin County to Experiment in Forestry

As part of a statewide forestry program, the Douglas County, Wisconsin, Board of Supervisors recently voted to set aside an 80-acre tract of forest land to be used as an experimental plot in reforestation. It will be under the supervision of the county forestry committee. All cutting in the forest will be done by the state forestry division, but annual reports will be made to the county board.

Simultaneously, the state government is acquiring large tracts of forest lands under legislation enacted in 1943 authorizing it to spend not more than $150,000 annually for such land acquisition and development.

Competitive Bids on Ballot Printing Save Money

The Municipal League of Seattle recently sent inquiries to several counties comparable in size to King County in order to verify the county auditor's opinion that competitive bidding was impractical in letting contracts for printing of election ballots. Replies from Multnomah County, Oregon, Jefferson County, Alabama, and St. Louis County, Minnesota, uniformly asserted that competitive bidding had resulted in entirely satisfactory work and in addition that it had produced substantial economies.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Many Bond Issues Voted at November Elections

Communities Secure Funds for Postwar Improvements

VOTERS in a large number of American communities committed themselves to postwar improvement programs at the November 6 elections, as cities, school districts, and counties submitted new bond issues to the people. *The Daily Bond Buyer's* tabulation shows issues submitted aggregating $191,422,395, with $150,962,290 approved, $24,916,000 defeated, and $15,544,105 not yet reported.

Where last year a few large proposals dominated the November bond election picture, this year smaller issues by more communities was the rule. At the November 7, 1944, election issues submitted aggregated over $250,000,000, but three states accounted for over $78,000,000 of this and four cities and their overlapping school districts and counties for another $130,000,000, leaving roundly $50,000,000 submitted by a little over a hundred units.

No states submitted bonds to the electorate on November 6 this year, and the largest municipal issue was $20,000,000 airport bonds approved by the voters of San Francisco. Other large issues were mainly in Ohio and included $9,500,000 submitted by Franklin County, $9,000,000 by Dayton, $8,700,000 by Columbus, $6,500,000 by Columbus school district, $4,300,000 by Dayton school district, $4,260,000 by Springfield, $3,750,000 by Lima school district, and $3,582,000 by Springfield school district. Other issues of $3,000,000 were submitted by Allentown, Pennsylvania, school district, Montgomery County, Ohio, and Tacoma, Washington.

It is noteworthy that this year a very considerable amount of financing has already been authorized at special elections, with an above-average volume scheduled for later November dates and for thereafter. Through the first half of 1945 municipal bond authorizations ran well ahead of 1944, but in the third quarter there was a sharp falling off, and August 1945 was only 30 per cent of August 1944. October came back strong, although the total of approvals did not reach the June peak, and for the first ten months of the year authorizations were 121 per cent above the corresponding period last year. The following table shows the trend, as reported by the *Daily Bond Buyer.*

Bond Authorizations
(Last 000 omitted)

	1944	*1945*
1st Quarter	$17,007	$17,050
2nd Quarter	43,175	158,623
July	5,953	7,080
August	50,949	15,505
September	1,154	9,987
October	3,535	62,573
Ten Months	$121,774	$269,581

Some sizeable issues will be submitted to local voters during the remainder of the year. On December 8 Dallas will submit a number of issues aggregating $40,000,000 embracing a long-range improvement program, while on December 4 voters of Oklahoma City and vicinity vote on $16,000,000 city bonds, $4,650,000 county bonds, and $4,050,000 school district bonds.

The upswing in authorizations this year has not been matched by municipal bond sales, which for the first ten months of 1945 exceeded the 1944 period by only 21 per cent according to *Daily Bond Buyer* figures. Sales through October this year totaled $688,675,648, as compared with $566,587,239 for the first ten months of 1944. October 1945 alone was $76,752,010, as compared with $113,956,599 in October 1944.

Housing Up to Cities Says N. H. A.

According to press reports National Housing Administrator John B. Blandford, Jr., in a letter to the mayors of cities of over 25,000 population, has given warning that the chief burden of handling the housing shortage will fall on the cities. The administrator is reported to have written that at present an estimated one million families are living "doubled up" and that by the end of 1946 another two million will be in the same plight, and to have urged that cities establish some system of organizing their housing supplies and giving preference to veterans.

The letter drew a tart rejoinder from Mayor F. H. LaGuardia of New York City who said, "We ask for bricks and stones and plumbing and they give us a mimeographed press release." At the same time the *New York Post* estimated that at least 30,000 construction workers had left New York City for the west coast and south, and that new construction in any volume might not get under way until May 1946. And over 700 servicemen and their wives swamped New York's Hotel Commodore when the Officers' Service Committee began receiving applications to lease 600 apartments in eleven buildings vacated by the Navy, which had used them to house WAVES at its Hunter College training station.

In Newark city officials have given consideration to setting up temporary housing in parks and other publicly-owned areas, to meet the housing shortage. Temporary war housing of the demountable type and Quonset huts were among the units proposed, which would be rented by the city through a special agency capitalized at an estimated half million dollars. Legality of the proposal as a city venture has not yet been determined, but the city attorney was quoted in the press as favoring establishment of a non-profit corporation if the city could not legally handle the job.

New York State Speeds Local Audits

The office of the New York State Comptroller is charged by law with examination of the accounts of all cities in the state except New York, Buffalo and Rochester, and of all counties, school districts and other districts. In the 37 years prior to 1943, however, the department examined only 4,450 units out of about 9,500 subject to examination. In 1943 the department was reorganized following the election, in November 1942, of Frank C. Moore as comptroller, and since January 1944 more than 5,500 units have been examined.

In making the 5,500 examinations, Mr. Moore is reported by the press to have told a banking group at a recent upstate meeting, accounts handled by more than 27,500 officials were involved. Out of this total, only 41 individuals were discovered in thefts of public funds. This is a rate of less than two per thousand, and is said to have been reflected in the action of insurance companies in twice reducing premiums on surety bonds in the last three years.

Minneapolis Considers City Income Tax

Faced with the need for additional revenues to finance current requirements, Minneapolis' City Council has before it a proposal to enact a local income tax, submitted by the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, Alderman Henry H. Bank. Alderman

Bank estimates the tax would yield about $2,140,000 a year, the equivalent of about nine dollars per $1,000 of assessed valuation.

The proposal, according to press reports, is that the first $2,000 of income be exempt from the income tax. On the third $1,000 the tax would be at the rate of one per cent; on the fourth thousand, at 1½ per cent; on the fifth thousand, at 2 per cent; and on all income over five thousand, at 2½ per cent. In addition, Alderman Bank suggests a flat rate of 1 per cent on the net income of corporations before deductions of state and federal income taxes.

The proposal was made during consideration by the Council of the city's 1946 budget, which city officials fear will necessitate an over-all tax rate of $113 to $115 per $1,000 as compared with the present rate of $100. (Assessed valuations in Minneapolis average approximately 34 per cent of estimated full valuation, so the present rate is the equivalent of about $34 per $1,000 of full value, the fifth highest for cities of 250,000 to 500,000 population in 1945.)[1] Failure of the state to either increase its aid or to authorize the city to impose new taxes was described by Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey as responsible for the prospective tax increase.

To study not only the proposed income tax, but other new revenue measures as well, Mayor Humphrey appointed on October 9, 1945, a special fifteen-member commission to make recommendations for overhauling the city's tax structure. At its first meeting some members of the commission approved the principle of a city income tax to reach what one member termed "escapists" — persons who earn their living in the city but live in the suburbs. Long-range study of consolidation of Minneapolis and Hennepin County was also urged.

New Baltimore Taxes Authorized

On November 7, according to press reports, the city of Baltimore was given wide authority to raise new revenues. Under a bill passed by the special session of the Maryland legislature and signed that day by Governor O'Conor, the city was given unlimited general taxing power for a two-year period.

The city has not yet formulated its definite program, but a local cigarette tax and a general sales tax are reported to rank high on the taxes under consideration.

State Tax Collections Rise

Sales tax collections by the 23 states imposing sales, use and gross income taxes rose 9 per cent in the first eight months of 1945 as compared with the corresponding 1944 period, according to data released by the Federation of Tax Administrators. Each month of 1945 recorded an increase over the corresponding 1944 month, the eight-month total for the current year reaching $498,000,000.

Cigarette and tobacco taxes, imposed by 31 states, ran below 1944 until July, when 1945 collections reached nearly $15,000,000 as compared with just short of $13,000,000 in July 1944. In August, with the war's end speedily reflected in increased release of tobacco products for civilian—and hence taxable — markets, collections jumped to over $17,000,000, as compared with $13,700-000 in August 1944. For the eight-month period, however, 1945 collections fell slightly short of $97,000,000 as compared with more than $102,000,-000 for the 1944 period.

For the same eight-month period, 1945 collections of state gasoline and motor fuel taxes rose 6.4 per cent, to $522,000,000. Except for March, each 1945 month was above the corresponding month last year.

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[1] See "Tax Rates of American Cities," pp. 547-566, this issue.

Baltimore Sells Bonds for Postwar Program

Proceeds of a recent sale of $13,050,000 of public improvement bonds will bring up to $25,500,000 the loan funds available for the postwar program which the city of Baltimore plans to start next year. The bonds, with maturities ranging to 1964, sold at 100.554 for a one per cent coupon rate. This results in an interest cost of 0.942 per cent. This is the second time in the city's experience that it has sold its bonds at interest costs less than one per cent. In 1944 municipal bonds totaling $5,150,000 were sold at an interest rate slightly under seven-eights of one per cent. Pending actual expenditure of its postwar funds, the city is investing them temporarily in United States Government securities yielding a return greater than the interest cost to the city.

D. Benton Biser, *Director*
Baltimore Commission on
Governmental Efficiency and Economy

Kentucky Amendment Restricts Revenue Use

At the election November 6, voters of Kentucky adopted by a large majority a constitutional amendment which requires that revenues from motor vehicle license and excise taxes, automobile operator license fees and motor fuel excises shall be irrevocably dedicated to road purposes. Although there has never been a serious suggestion of using Kentucky motor vehicle registration, motor transportation (bus and truck), or gasoline tax revenues for any purpose other than highways, a small proportion has in the past been distributed to counties for local roads.

Quite aside from long-run considerations, there will be certain interesting immediate effects of this legislation: (1) About $2,750,000 will be immediately removed from the general to the road fund—and incidentally from the purview of effective budgeting. The bulk of the estimated revenue to be shifted is the proceeds of the so-called motor usage tax, a general revenue measure which was imposed in much the same form and in much the same manner as the tax on alcoholic beverage and cigarette consumption. (2) All the important revenue measures which exhibit marked stability of yield will be permanently earmarked for roads, and the support of education, welfare, and general government will be left with small-scale revenue measures which can be depended on and several important revenue sources which exhibit distinct sensitiveness to business conditions. (3) The airplane users (except for interstate common carriers, in the instance of which a refund is granted), will be called on to pay into the state treasury gasoline tax revenues which cannot constitutionally be used in any degree for building airports or for any other purpose directly connected with aviation. (4) It seems that the amendment may deny the counties the grant which has thus far been made them from the truck licenses. The total amount of this grant is small, but in the poor counties it is substantially the only money which is available or which can under the constitution be made available for highway support. (5) There is disagreement as to whether local gasoline and motor registration taxes will be precluded.

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Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Local Government Elections Planned

Laws Revamped, Suffrage Widened in Many Countries

A WORLDWIDE trend toward reorganizing election laws and broadening the suffrage is in progress. Striking, too, is the fact that local government has been the first level of government in liberated or occupied countries to be put on a permanent basis. Evidently Bryce's maxim that "the habit of local self-government is the best training for democratic government in a nation" is being widely acted upon.

Woman suffrage has been granted in Belgium. Even in such remote areas as Saipan democratic local elections have been held, under AMG supervision, with women participating for the first time. A summary of some recent developments follows.[1]

Alberta has extended the vote in local elections to all persons, whether citizens or not, who are over 21 years of age and who have resided in the electoral division for six months immediately preceding nomination day. Thus all non-property owners are at last enfranchised. A similar provision has been enacted in Saskatchewan for city and town elections. The franchise for village elections in this province, however, has been extended only to include tenants who pay rentals of at least $60 annually and the tenant's wife or husband.

In Great Britain in August Parliament passed the Local Elections (Service Abroad) Act as a temporary measure to permit servicemen or war workers abroad to become candidates in the recent and forthcoming local elections.

In announcing new local government codes for the United States zone in Germany, General Eisenhower's headquarters said, in part: "It is anticipated that elections of the township level will be held in January. It is particularly desired that the initial elections be held at a local level so that experience may be gained in handling election machinery and also in providing the first opportunity for local political activity to be resumed. It is believed that the proposed elections represent a practical experiment as well as the logical first step to bring about democratic processes in Germany. Depending somewhat on the results obtained in the local elections, county and large city elections will be held a few months later."[2]

The Netherlands National Advisory Council has accepted a motion that elections for the provincial legislatures be held in the first half of April 1946, and that municipal elections be held as soon as possible before that date. The chaotic conditions of the voting registers, which were falsified and in many cases destroyed by patriots during the occupation, is the primary reason for the delay. National elections are scheduled for the second half of 1946.

Revision of Local Boundaries Considered

Modern requirements of local government for more and more services are forcing local unit boundary revisions. Revision of boundaries and powers of local units is being considered in widely separated areas—New South Wales and Queensland (Australia) and Saskatchewan (Canada).

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[1] For previous discussions of suffrage reform see THE REVIEW, February 1945, pp. 100-102; October 1944, pp. 497-498; and September 1944, pp. 432-434.

[2] See *New York Times,* September 16, 1945, and THE REVIEW, November 1945, pp. 525-6.

By far the most sweeping proposal is being discussed in Queensland. In a report to the state government by a special committee on regional development, a plan to amalgamate all local authorities in Queensland into 25 groups, each with a head center, has been recommended. The committee, comprised of the director of the Bureau of Industry, the coordinator-general of public works, the director of local government, and the undersecretary of the Health and Home Affairs Department, hope the plan will result in the attraction of population and industry.

In recommending regional subdivision, the committee suggested that the main purpose of such division would be to strengthen and increase local government efficiency by amalgamating existing local authorities, providing regional centers for state administrative purposes, and bringing state and local administration so far as possible into common centers.

Local officials have branded the plan as "fantastic" and considerable opposition to consolidating urban with rural districts has already been expressed.[1]

As a result of the metropolitan problems confronting the Sydney area, the New South Wales government has appointed a royal commission to examine and determine the boundaries of the city itself and of surrounding units of government.

Meanwhile questions of boundary revision were temporarily in abeyance in England and Wales, New Zealand, and Saskatchewan. In Great Britain the Boundary Commission is in process of being organized. In New Zealand and Saskatchewan committees are in process of gathering information on the basis of which they are expected to make comprehensive recommendations soon.

Puerto Rico Holds Public Administration Conference

From October 29 to November 2 governmental and political leaders of Puerto Rico turned their thoughts and efforts to improved administration in the insular government by participation in a five-day public administration conference sponsored jointly by the Puerto Rico Civil Service Commission and the Public Administration Program of the University of Puerto Rico. Several thousand persons attended one or more of the sessions.

Louis Brownlow, retired director of the Public Administration Clearing House, was guest of the conference and participated in all its sessions. Governor Rexford Tugwell also participated in several of the programs. Senator Muñoz Marín, political leader of the Popular party, which holds 54 of the 58 seats in the insular legislature, emphasized in the opening session the necessity of distinguishing between the functions of political parties and those of government.

The university's chancellor, Jaime Benítez, a former professor of political science, and James Watson, director of the Public Administration Program, stressed the need of training for public service and the role to be played by the university in meeting this need. Other participants included the chairman of the Civil Service Commission, the planning board chairman, insular auditor, budget director, and several members of Public Administration Service who are presently engaged in installing new procedures for the insular government.

After introductory sessions the first

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[1] See *Australian Municipal Journal*, July 20, 1945, pp. 35 and 37.

two days, the three remaining sessions were devoted to panel discussions on staff problems of personnel administration, budgeting and planning, respectively, in which both administrators responsible for such functions and research experts in the various fields participated. The Public Administration Program of the university plans to conduct a similar conference for local government officials of the island at some near future date.

E.A.M.

Victoria Suffers from District Phobia

Just as in some counties in the United States there has been a tendency to finance roads separately in each district of the county, so too in Victoria, Australia, in its cities, boroughs and shires, there has been a tendency to separate taxes received from each ward or riding for use in the subdivision only. In extreme cases, according to the *Australian Municipal Journal,* urgent work has been left undone in one subdivision because it has a debit balance, while the municipality as a whole has ample funds represented by credit balances in other subdivisions.

Examining this situation editorially, the *Journal* continues: "Local government is naturally parochial, and rightly so. It is the function of the council to look after local affairs and leave to the other forms of local government those matters which can only be dealt with by an authority having a wider field. But it is both needless and disruptive to introduce parochialism within parochialism by treating the subdivisions as separate and distinct entities.

"The law recognizes no separate liability in regard to finance. All the liabilities of the municipality are liabilities of the municipality as a whole, not of any one subdivision. If we accept the principle that the revenue derived from each ward should be restricted to that ward, then if we follow such a theory to its logical conclusion we come to the point where the revenue from any one street should be spent in that street, and finally the rates paid by any individual ratepayer should be expended onlv in front of and for the benefit of his particular property, which is absurd."

"Whitleyism" to the Fore in Scotland

The Joint Industrial Council in Scotland is coming to occupy a place similar to that of the Whitley Council in England and Wales.[1] Local government employees and the local governments are settling disputes together by means of the J.I.C. In the past twelve months, two major salary disputes have been dealt with by the council. The influence of the council has been extended and its authority more generally recognized.

The National Association of Local Government Officers, active in this movement, has been increasing the council's effectiveness by keeping close watch on advertisements for local government positions. Whenever appointments covered by J.I.C. agreements are listed at a salary lower than the agreement allows, representation to the J.I.C. is made—so far, successfully in every case.

News in Brief

London Planning

In a recent report of the planning committee of the London County Council it has been recommended that the council be given greater powers for planning and acquiring land and property in order that the

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[1] See The Review, October 1944, pp. 495-6, and *Local Government Service,* September 1945, p. 405.

"County of London Plan" might better be carried out. The plan called for a correction of poor housing, intermingling of housing and industry, congestion of traffic, and lack and maldistribution of open space. Certain general planning principles to put these recommendations into effect were contained in the report.

The "City of London Plan" has failed to meet the approval of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, and has been returned to the city corporation with the recommendation that a new plan be drawn up. The main problem is how to correct existing defects in the city's layout without injuring too greatly London's historical sites.

* * *

Health Services Plan

The *Health Services White Paper* issued by the Churchill government will be the basis for the Labor party's consideration of a health services plan, according to A. Greenwood, Lord Privy Seal. Although the *White Paper* was generally approved, the late government, after debate on the paper in the House of Commons, entered into conversations with the British Medical Association and made numerous concessions to the profession. The Labor party feels it must put aside these concessions and begin again with consideration of the *White Paper's* proposals.

* * *

New Zealand Libraries

An important issue for local government in New Zealand is the desirability of free libraries. Only about 100 municipally-controlled libraries exist in the country, 62 of which are free. The latter are largely concentrated in the less populous localities. About 300 other libraries are not governmentally controlled and charge fees. Recently there has been a trend toward free public libraries, or at least free library facilities, for children, promoted by the New Zealand Library Association.

* * *

Soviet Planning

In line with cities all over the world, Soviet cities are planning and rebuilding. Master plans limit the population of Moscow to 5,000,000 and that of Leningrad to 3,500,000, while Stalingrad's population, now estimated at 300,000, will increase to 450,000 over the next few years. City planning is centrally controlled by the Committee on Architecture established two years ago, while rebuilding is directed by the commissariat for construction. Each of the 70 big cities for which rebuilding plans are now under way will have a complete reconstruction group in charge, headed by an architect appointed by the committee and assisted by economists, transportation and sanitation experts, and representatives of all branches of economy and civic affairs.

* * *

Milk Regulation

Milk pasteurization in Victoria, Australia, and in New Zealand has resulted in the establishment of special boards or districts. In New Zealand boards are to be elected in the main metropolitan centers with jurisdiction over the purification of milk; in Victoria the metropolitan area has been divided into six districts, the councils in each to pasteurize the milk for the area jointly or designate some person or firm to do it for them.

Correction

A report on page 528 in the Local Affairs Abroad section of the November REVIEW, entitled "France Plans Rebuilding of Cities," appeared, as the result of a printer's error, to end on that page. It continued on page 531, second column, third line. Corrected substitute pages will be mailed to subscribers on request.

Books in Review

Sales Taxes and Other Excises. By Roy G. Blakey and Gladys C. Blakey. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1945. xii, 216 pp. $3.

This volume meets a pressing need for a concise factual treatment of sales taxes and other excises, supplying the latest available information in a single volume. It discusses state sales and use taxes, a national sales tax, gasoline, alcoholic beverage, tobacco and chain store taxes, as well as problems of intergovernmental relations and the general effects of sales taxes. Appendices cover 1945 legislation, a comparison of United States, British and Canadian excises and noncomparable excises imposed by the three countries, collections for the 1944 calendar year on certain state taxes, and a bibliography. The volume should prove a valuable reference work for administrators, students and teachers of public finance, economists, tax and corporation lawyers, accountants, and others concerned with problems of taxation.

The Elements of Administration. By L. Urwick. New York City, Harper & Brothers, 1945. 132 pp. $2.

This book is based on five lectures given by the author under the auspices of the London Branch of the Institute of Industrial Administration. In it the author points out that "the art and science of administering the social groups, large and small, which are increasingly characteristic of our civilization, has emerged during the past quarter of a century as a technical skill." The author comments that "there is admittedly an insufficient basis in the physical sciences for an exact science of administration," but "it is only by the development of administration based on principle that humanity can hope to make headway against the problems created by power-driven machinery."

Correction

The book review of *McCarthy of Wisconsin*, page 531 in the November REVIEW, ends on that page, second column, second line. The rest of the column is a continuation of "France Plans Rebuilding of Cities," from page 528. Corrected substitute pages will be mailed to subscribers on request.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Administration

Lectures on Administrative Regulation. By Ashley Sellers etc. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Agriculture, Graduate School, 1945. 76 pp. 50 cents.

Aviation

Airport Planning for Urban Areas. By U. S. Department of Commerce, Civil Aeronautics Administration. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945. 98 pp. 20 cents.

Recommendations on National Aviation Policy. By William A. Burden. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1945. 12 pp. 10 cents.

Civil Service

Demobilization and Stabilization of the Civil Service. New York 18, National Civil Service League, 1945. 8 pp.

Efficiency Ratings. Proceedings of the Second Annual Conference on Efficiency Ratings Administration. Washington, D. C., U. S. Civil Service Commission, 1945. 61 pp.

Democracy

Constitutionalism and Democracy in America. The Evolution of Constitutional Government in the United States. By Richard J. Stanley. Hartford, Connecticut State Department of Education, 1944. 128 pp.

Economic Security

4 for 4—Questions for National Action. Washington 6, D. C., National

Planning Association, 1945. 35 pp. 25 cents.

The Full Employment Act of 1945. Report of Committee on Full Employment. Los Angeles, Chamber of Commerce, 1945. 42 pp. 25 cents.

Matching Men and Jobs. Sacramento, California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission, 1945. 32 pp.

Fire

Fire Protection Outside Municipal Boundaries in Pennsylvania. A Survey of Practices in Municipalities Between 5,000 and 25,000 Population. By Eugenia Gravatt Kimmel. State College, Pennsylvania Municipal Publication Service, 1945. 25 pp. $1.

Government

Introduction to American Government (eighth edition). By Frederic A. Ogg and Orman Ray. New York City, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1945. ix, 1024 pp. $4.25.

Introduction to American Government. The National Government (eighth edition). By Frederic A. Ogg and Orman Ray. New York City, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1945. viii, 750 pp. $3.75.

Housing

Housing After World War I. Will History Repeat Itself? The War Effort Then and Now, Removal of Controls, Postwar Housing Shortage, The Boom and Bust of 1919, 1920, 1921, Building Costs and Housing Demand. Washington, D. C., National Housing Agency, 1945. 59 pp.

Housing Goals. Finding the Facts and Measuring the Need in American Cities. Washington, D. C., National Housing Agency, 1945. 33 pp.

Housing Needs of Vancouver, Washington (Part One). By Josephine Lund. Vancouver, City Planning Commission, 1945. 9 pp.

International Affairs

International Administration. A Bibliography. By William C. Rogers with Foreword by Quincy Wright. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1945. vii, 32 pp. $1.

Parking

To Park or Not to Park. Survey of Municipal Public Parking Lots. Boston, Massachusetts State Planning Board, 1945. 5 pp.

Planning

Building the Future City. Edited by Robert B. Mitchell. Philadelphia, *The Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November 1945. viii, 215 pp. $2.

A Plan for the Central Business Area, City of White Plains, N. Y. By Arthur C. Holden. White Plains, Post-War Planning Commission, 1945. 60 pp.

Planning Legislation — 1945. State Planning and Post-war Planning, City Planning, County Planning, Regional Planning, etc. Chicago 37, American Society of Planning Officials, 1945. 22 pp. $1.

Report on Community Planning and Integration in Allegheny County. A Demonstration Course in Community Planning. By the Course Planning Committee. Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute of Technology, 1944. 47 pp. charts.

Some Plans for London: A Selected List of References. By Katherine McNamara. Cambridge, Harvard University, Library of the Departments of Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning, 1945. 3 pp.

Urban Redevelopment Legislation in the United States. A Comparative Analysis. By Edward B. Wilkens. Chicago 37, American Society of Planning Officials, 1945. 8 pp. $2.

Public Health

Nutrition in Review. Report of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Nutrition. Albany, New York, 1945. 191 pp.

Public Utilities

The Financial Record of the Electric Utility Industry 1937-1944. Washington, D. C., Federal Power Commission, 1945. 14 pp.

Race Problems

Community Relations Manual. What to Do About Your Community's Problems of Intergroup Relations. Chicago 1, American Council on Race Relations, Community Services Division, 1945. 23 pp. 25 cents (reduction on quantity orders).

Hemmed In. ABC's of Racial Restrictive Housing Covenants. By Robert C. Weaver. Chicago 1, American Council on Race Relations, 1945. 14 pp. 10 cents.

Manual for Official Committees. What Your Official Intergroup Relations Agency Can Do. Chicago 1, American Council on Race Relations, Community Services Division, 1945. 26 pp. 25 cents (reduction on quantity orders).

Will Negroes Get Jobs Now? By Herbert R. Northrup. New York 20, Public Affairs Committee, 1945. 32 pp. 10 cents.

Taxation and Finance

City Finances 1943. (Cities Having Populations over 25,000). Volume 3: Statistical Compendium. By Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945. ix, 224 pp. 60 cents.

Diagnosing City Tax Problems. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1945. 7 pp. 25 cents.

Governmental Finances in the United States: 1942. By Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945. iv, 144 pp 45 cents.

A Modern Tax Plan. Designed to Protect the Homes of America and Strengthen Local Governments. By Charles G. Oakman. Detroit, City Controller, 1945. 12 pp.

Transportation

Urban Transportation. Report of the Transportation and Communication Department. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the U. S. A., 1945. 15 pp.

Veterans

The CIO and the Veteran. By Alexander L. Crosby and Carol S. Simon. New York 19, National CIO Community Services Committee, 1945. 32 pp. illus. 25 cents.

Keeping Faith with the Veteran. The Community's Responsibility in Providing Jobs and Care for Returning Service Men and Women. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1945. 16 pp. illus.

Zoning

A Zoning Manual for North Carolina Towns and Cities. By Patrick Healy, Jr,. revised by George C. Franklin. Raleigh, North Carolina League of Municipalities, 1945. 23 pp. $1.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 584)

cilmen by P. R. on November 6. The results of these elections, as well as that in Toledo already mentioned, will be described in future issues of this department.

The New York City P. R. election, which restricted the Democratic majority to 14 out of 23 in the new Council while the Democrats swept every place but one on the Board of Estimate under the old plurality system, will be reported in detail next month.

What's the Postwar Picture for Public Utilities?

An authoritative study by JOHN BAUER (originally appearing as a series of articles in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW), based on a nation-wide survey, analyzes the steady march toward organization and operation on a metropolitan regional basis, forecasts peacetime needs and problems, suggests patterns for future utility districts.

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Timely Publications on City Management

The Municipal Year Book, 1945. The eleventh issue of the only general yearbook for American cities. 1945. 600 pp. $8.50.

Planning for Postwar Municipal Services. An analysis of problems and trends with suggestions for developing local policies. 1945. 90 pp. $2.

Monthly Administrative Reports for Cities. Suggested forms for use by department heads in reporting to the chief administrator. 1943. 32 pp. $1.

Management Methods in City Government. A manual based on a survey of the best administrative practices in council-manager cities. 1942. 60 pp. $1.50.

Municipal Public Relations. A suggested program for improving relations with the public. 1940. 50 pp. $1.

Measuring Municipal Activities. A survey of suggested criteria for appraising administration. Revised edition, 1943. 75 pp. $2.

Governmental Data for Small Council-Manager Cities. Personnel, financial, and utility data for 126 cities under 5,000. 1944. 32 pp. $1.50.

Specifications for the Annual Municipal Report. 1939. 60 pp. Supplementary checklist of 266 suggested items—for the report. 1940. 18 pp. Both, $1.50.

The Police and Minority Groups. A program to prevent disorder and to improve relations between racial, religious, and national groups. 1944. 20 pp. 50 cents.

Council-Manager Developments and Manager Directory. 1945. 16 pp. $1.

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